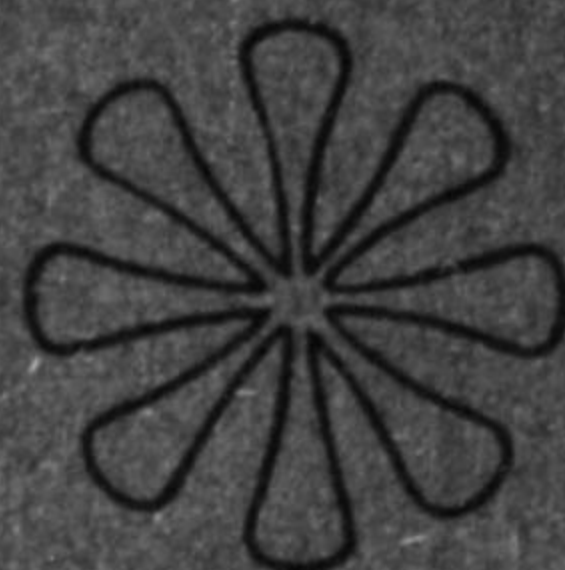


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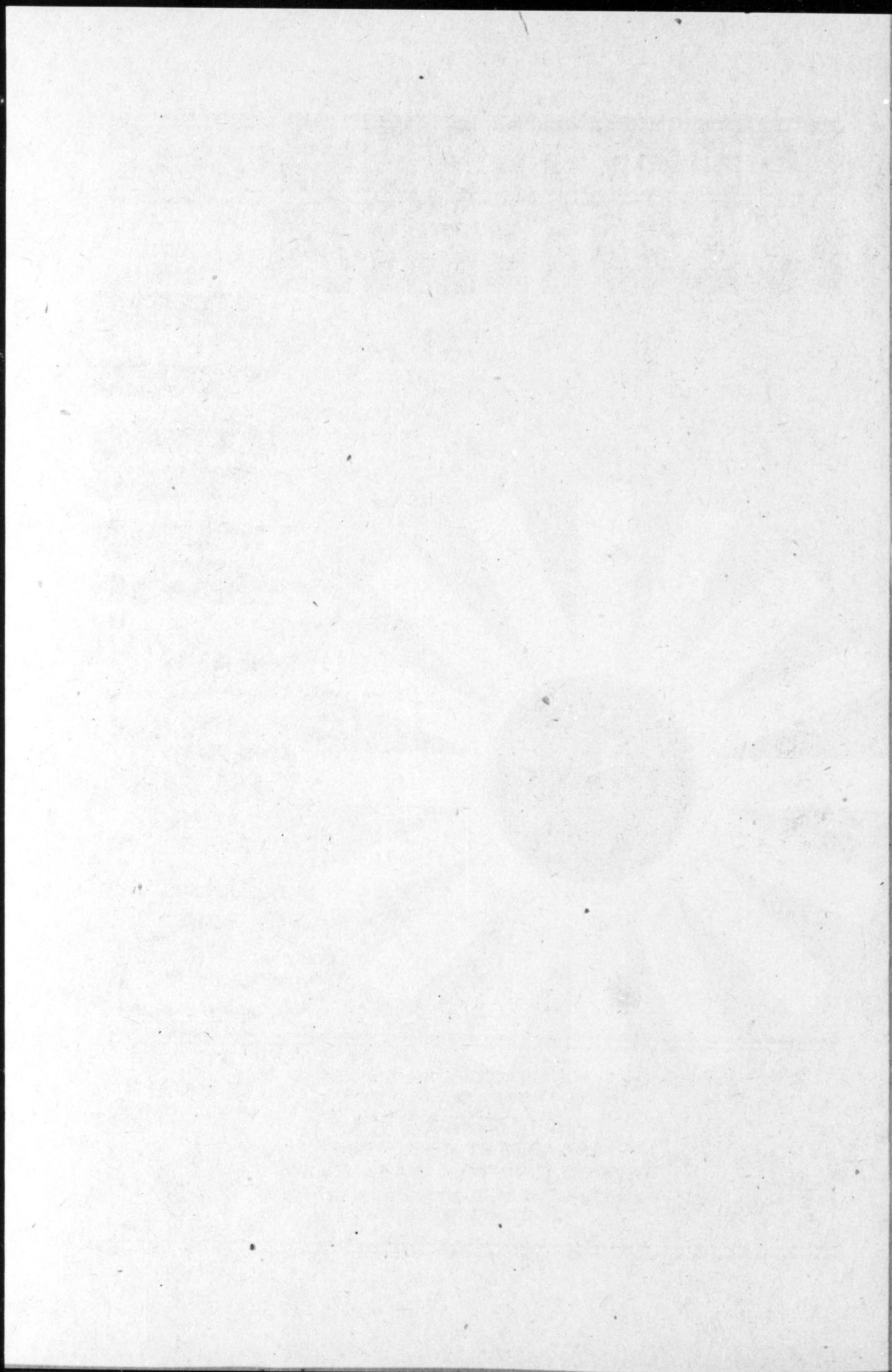
**PEKING'S
BANKRUPTCY**

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MIDDLE EAST

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POLAND

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PEKING'S MILITARY, POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL BANKRUPTCY

AGGRESSION AGAINST ANY STATE MUST BE COLLECTIVELY REBUFFED

From Leonid Brezhnev's Speech

Edward Gierek, First Secretary of the Central Committee, Polish United Workers' Party, was on a friendly visit to the Soviet Union from March 12 to 14.

On March 13, the CC CPSU Political Bureau gave a dinner in honor of the Polish leader, at which Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU and President of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, made a speech, saying in part:

The logic of life is such that the further we advance along the road of cooperation, the broader the horizons opening up before us. This is particularly in evidence now that our countries stand at the threshold of a new five-year plan. The work on cooperation is gaining in scope, especially in engineering and the chemical industry, in building large-scale enterprises through joint efforts, in sharing the achievements of scientific and technological thought. All this, undoubtedly, has a beneficial effect on the economy and the well-being of the working people of both countries.

Although five-year plans do not exist in the sphere of political cooperation, the same general regularity exists there, too: our interaction is gaining in depth and content with every passing year. This fully applies to the common struggle for peace and security, for détente and disarmament.

Nothing, perhaps, is more important for international policy, than to draw the right conclusions from the trials to which peace is subjected. The most serious among them in the recent period is the incursion of Chinese troops into socialist Vietnam. This became possible largely thanks to the virtual encouragement of the aggressor on the part of definite imperialist circles.

The conclusion is obvious: peace is not yet strong enough, espe-

cially in Asia. We must assure that aggression against any state be seen as a threat to all, that it be met with a collective rebuff. Otherwise a catastrophe awaits humanity.

Now the Chinese leaders have been forced to call a retreat. This is the result of the staunchness and courage of the Vietnamese people, the militant solidarity with Vietnam of the Soviet Union, Poland and other socialist community states, the support of world opinion. But the situation in Southeast Asia remains critical and explosive.

Our course is clear: we will do everything necessary to help the just cause of Vietnam and to thwart any new provocations that threaten universal peace.

Socialist Poland is celebrating its 35th anniversary this year. We congratulate our Polish friends on this occasion and wish them happiness, well-being and prosperity.

OBVIOUSLY THERE IS NO U.S. NEUTRALITY

From an interview with *William Kashtan*, General Secretary, CP Canada.

Q: What was the purpose of China's attacks on Vietnam?

A: Peking did not like the emergence of a united, independent and socialist Vietnam. Neither did it like the idea of a group of independent states in Indochina. The very existence of such states constituted an obstacle to Peking's aggressive plans in Southeast Asia. Peking opposed the very idea of a united Vietnam which stood in the way of its plans of expansionism and hegemonism.

Teng Hsiao-ping's visit to Japan and to the USA and the various agreements signed with these countries were part of the preparations for aggression against Vietnam.

Q: What is the role of the United States in this aggression?

A: The USA is not an innocent bystander in the criminal act of aggression by the Peking leaders. It knew of the plans of the Chinese leaders but did nothing to stop them. Indeed, while Teng Hsiao-ping declared the intention of China to attack socialist Vietnam, the U.S. government agreed to give strategic arms to China. President Carter declared that the "strategic interests and many goals of the USA and China coincide." At the same time the U.S. government decided to put the question of recognition of Vietnam on the shelf and strove to prevent U.S. business interests from going to Vietnam. After almost two weeks of Chinese aggression, after clear declarations by the

Chinese leadership of their aims in Vietnam, the U.S. government sent Treasury Secretary Blumenthal to Peking and the British Labour government sent its representative to Peking to discuss arms sales to China.

... Obviously there is no neutrality. The U.S. government sides with China in its aggression against socialist Vietnam.

That this is so can be seen in the position taken by the United States in the United Nations Security Council. It calls upon China and Vietnam to exercise "restraint". ... This is the so-called even-handed way in which it covers up criminal Chinese aggression against a socialist country.

One should not forget that it is not only China which wishes to "teach Vietnam a lesson." The USA tried to do that for years and failed. Now it is using China for that purpose.

Maintaining a high moral tone U.S. imperialism, which has troops all over the world and which today, through the voice of Defense Secretary Schlesinger, declared its intention to send its navy, air force and army into the Middle East to uphold its "national interests," now dares to lecture Vietnam on its alleged aggression in Kampuchea. This is so much nonsense.

Q: Would you comment on the West's effort to link China's aggression against Vietnam with Vietnam's assistance to the liberation struggle in Kampuchea?

A: Those who mix up two separate events do so purposely. In Kampuchea a civil war took place led by the United Front for National Salvation. It overthrew the Pol Pot regime and established a new government. Vietnam gave support to the United Front for National Salvation but that was not aggression. It was support to a liberation struggle to get rid of a barbaric regime doing enormous harm to the Kampuchean people themselves. Vietnam has a Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Peace with the People's Republic of Kampuchea. This will ensure that border conflicts will end and that Indochina can become an area of peace, not conflict.

The systematic effort to counterpose an act of liberation with an act of aggression is not accidental. This is a way of justifying Chinese aggression and trying to create the impression that the changes which took place in Kampuchea caused the attack by China on Vietnam. This is so much hogwash. Chinese Maoist aims go beyond Vietnam. They are directed to achieve hegemony in Southeast Asia and well beyond it. This is the purpose of the alliance the Chinese Maoists are striving to effect with Japan, the USA and Western Europe.

It is prepared to act as a shock force for imperialism against the Soviet Union, Vietnam and the national-liberation movements. This is the aim of its call to the USA, Japan and Western Europe for a united front against socialism. Its actions are a direct threat to peace in the world. China has betrayed the principles of peace and cooperation as it has betrayed the principles of socialism.

Q: The West seems to be conducting a "business-as-usual" policy toward China and, in some cases, even gloating over this attack. What's your view on this?

A: The media is making much of the fact that "two communist states" are in all-out war, in order to denigrate socialism and show that not only imperialism, but communism too, leads to war. If this were true the world would be in a sorry state.

China under Maoist leadership however has moved away from the basic principles of socialism, indeed has undermined socialism in China and created the danger of capitalist restoration in that country. The forces which are presently at the helm of government, state and party are not communists. They are nationalists, petty-bourgeois radicals, whose policies are endangering socialism in China and at the same time threatening world peace. How can one equate "we will punish Vietnam" and "teach it a lesson" with Marxist-Leninist positions? This is the language of imperialism. This is the language of those who have lost their bearings and class positions and have moved over to the imperialist camp.

History will yet punish the Chinese Maoists and teach them a lesson.

In the meantime, time waits for no man. The dangerous actions of the Peking leadership which the whole world can see, are still being supported by imperialism. In the name of trade it is preparing to assist in the modernization of the armed forces of China in the hope that thereby it can tip the scales away from the forces of peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism and into the camp of imperialism.

It did that with Hitler. It is now proposing to do that with the Peking leadership despite the fact that Peking speaks of the inevitability of war and undertakes aggression. This is playing with fire with a vengeance.

It is the duty and obligation of all peace-loving Canadians, all who cherish the independence of Canada, to give all-out support to the Vietnamese people in the unconquerable determination to defend the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of their country.

Peace is in danger today arising from Chinese aggression. While the

struggle takes place in Vietnam, Canada, like other countries, is directly affected. Escalation of Chinese aggression means escalation of the war danger. The demand that China get out of Vietnam unconditionally is an integral part of the fight for peace and in defense of sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity.

Abridged from *Canadian Tribune*, March 5, 1979

AN IGNOMINIOUS DEFEAT

Jesus Faria

General Secretary, CP of Venezuela

After negotiations with the U.S. government the Chinese rulers launched an aggression against the heroic and long-suffering Vietnamese people.

The rulers of this country with a population amounting to 900 million, deliberately and without the slightest justification, contrary to the cynical official Chinese statements, flung their hordes across the China-Vietnam border, sowing death and destruction, destroying whatever was left after the recent U.S. war of aggression.

The peace-loving people of the world are angry over this crime against a small and peaceful country, which has been compelled over almost half a century to counter the aggression of France, Japan and the USA.

The cynical Peking reactionaries will also be defeated where the big imperialist powers met their ignominious defeat. . . .

It is not a matter of differences between socialist countries, as some circles are saying, but of foul aggression by a powerful ally of imperialism against a much smaller socialist country, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. It is not a matter of "differences" but of a large-scale and brutal aggression by China, on the one hand, and a patriotic, liberation war by Vietnam, on the other. . . ."

Abridged from *Tribuna Popular*,
February 20, 1979

PEKING RULERS IN ISOLATION

Gilberto Vieira

General Secretary, CC CP Colombia

China's aggression against Vietnam is an appalling crime similar to the aggressive actions of nazi Germany, which led to the Second World War. . . .

The "punitive expedition" against Vietnam is similar to the so-called "gunboat diplomacy" of the colonial powers in the past. The Chinese troops seized a part of the border regions of Vietnam where they committed brutal crimes and systematically destroyed cities and villages. But they came up against the growing heroic resistance of the Vietnamese people. . . .

In an attempt to "save face," the Peking rulers are saying that the "Chinese troops have attained their aim and punished Vietnam." But the aggressors have clearly suffered heavy losses and now find themselves politically isolated. In fact, the Chinese aggressors have broken their teeth on the heroic resistance of the Vietnamese people, for even their brand new U.S. and Japanese allies have declined to openly support this venture.

Peking's new attempt to launch a large-scale military conflict to demonstrate the correctness of its theses "on the inevitability of a world war," of "each generation needing its own war," and that the United States and the Soviet Union will not avert an armed conflict which will enable China to establish ultimately its hegemony over the world without very great losses, has failed. . . .

The former Foreign Minister of Colombia, the conservative Alfredo Vasquez Carrizosa, said with untypical frankness that "Maoism suffered from this conflict most of all." How true. For, what we communists have been tirelessly repeating for almost 20 years has now become quite clear to democrats of diverse trends: Maoism has exposed itself as a reactionary, chauvinist ideology that is counterposed to Marxism-Leninism and against world peace. . . .

The principles of internationalism proclaimed by Marx and Engels in the *Communist Manifesto* in 1848 are immortal. The great Lenin came out in defense of these principles, exposing the foul treachery of the social-democratic leaders, who in 1914 upheld their governments in the first world imperialist bloodbath. These principles meet the most sacred interests of the proletarians and of all progressive humanity. It is in the name of these principles, which the world communist

movement is guided by and which are implemented by the socialist community with the Soviet Union in the lead, and worthily represented on our continent by socialist Cuba, that we must continuously develop the campaign of solidarity with the heroic Vietnamese people. This campaign is at the same time a campaign of protest against China's aggression, a campaign denouncing the emerging Washington-Peking-Tokyo axis, a campaign that is designed to prevent the world from being plunged into the same kind of bloody catastrophe as that resulting from the notorious Berlin-Rome-Tokyo axis. The principles of militant internationalism, solidarity of the working people and cooperation between the peoples will certainly triumph over the imperialists and chauvinists who are inciting irrational hatred between the peoples and committing aggression.

Abridged from *Voz Proletaria*, March 8, 1979

SOLIDARITY WITH THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE

To the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam

Dear Comrades,

On behalf of the communists and broad patriotic circles of Senegal who have closely followed the Vietnamese people's long struggle for their liberation, first against French colonialism and then American imperialism, the Central Committee of the African Independence Party expresses its solidarity and support in connection with China's aggression against socialist Vietnam.

Together with the people of our country and progressives the world over we demand a stop to this predatory war, which runs counter to the interests of the Chinese people themselves, and the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the Chinese troops from Vietnamese soil.

Vietnam's victory over American imperialism, now a close ally of Peking in its policy of war and expansionism, contributed substantially to the present-day revolutionary movement and will remain a factor of stability in Southeast Asia and in strengthening world peace.

As for China's aggression against socialist Vietnam, it confirms the adventuristic character of the Peking leadership's foreign policy and shows that it is staking on the military-political bloc of imperialism directed primarily against the socialist countries so as to obstruct the détente and the strengthening of international security.

Such a foreign policy, which is devoid of a socialist or class content, has detached China from the other countries of the socialist system; it is an expression of the most fanatical nationalism and is splitting the communist and national-liberation movement.

The whole world has become convinced of the expansionism and hegemonism characterizing the ideology and practice of the Chinese leadership.

That is why the peoples of the African and other developing countries condemn the Peking leaders' alliance with imperialism and its neo-colonialist toadies wherever the forces of progress are countering the forces of reaction, from Chile to Zaire, from Iran to Ethiopia.

The just cause of socialist Vietnam enjoys the support of the socialist countries and other progressive forces. The Vietnamese people will be able to rebuff China's aggression just as at one time they threw the French colonialists out of the country and heroically countered the American war machine. Now Peking is playing the role of aggressor in Southeast Asia, seeking to carry out its great-power nationalist plans which have nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Hands off socialist Vietnam!

Central Committee,
African Independence Party of Senegal

SOUTH AFRICAN PEOPLE SAY "NO!"

Press Statement of the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress of South Africa.

Only four years ago, heroic Vietnam regained a well-deserved peace and her independence after decades of people's war which resulted in the defeat of French colonialism and the United States' aggression and occupation.

On the 17th of February, seeking once more to compromise this peace and independence the armed forces of China invaded the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, realizing an objective for which the leadership of China had prepared over a period of many months.

During this period, the Chinese leadership encouraged and assisted the regime of Pol Pot in Kampuchea to commit acts of aggression against Vietnam, fomented social unrest within Vietnam and, through the amassing of troops and border violations, introduced a state of tension along the Vietnam-China border.

During this same period, on the 14th of January, in Lusaka, representatives of the African National Congress met a delegation from the government of the People's Republic of China led by Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien, at the request of the Vice-Premier.

During this meeting, the Chinese side expressed the readiness of China to normalize relations with the African National Congress on the basis of their support for our struggle and the policies of the ANC and a common hostility to imperialist domination.

The naked aggression against Vietnam has however shown that this was not a genuine approach but constituted an attempt to organize the ANC into a reactionary front spearheaded against the world progressive forces.

Loyal to the principles of unity and solidarity among all forces fighting racism, colonialism, Zionism, fascism and imperialism and convinced that honest dealing must underline our own system of international relations, the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress on behalf of our entire membership and the vast majority of our people accordingly:

- unreservedly condemns the criminal act of aggression committed by China against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and demands the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all Chinese troops from and the cessation of all hostilities and acts of aggression against Vietnam;

- expresses its complete solidarity with the government and people's Republic of Vietnam and calls on all peace-loving forces to support the heroic people of Vietnam;

- declares its readiness to normalize relations with the People's Republic of China as and when China rejoins the forces genuinely fighting for the liberation of all oppressed people, against imperialism, for national independence, democracy, peace and social progress.

Alfred Nzo Secretary General,
National Executive Committee,
African National Congress, South Africa

IS CHINA A SOCIALIST COUNTRY?

The Chinese armed incursion into Vietnam, which has only recently gone through a bitter trial, has stunned progressive people throughout the world. The people of Czechoslovakia have taken the tragedy of the heroic Vietnamese people close to heart. Many people here wonder if China can be considered a socialist country.

Our generation has witnessed the great victorious Chinese revolution. We rejoiced in every achievement of the Chinese people. We were bound together by ties of class kinship. Time was when we sincerely admired the modesty, industriousness and perseverance of the Chinese people and regarded them as an ally in the worldwide struggle for peace, socialism, democracy and progress.

But look at what is taking place today. By their adventurist, militarist, and chauvinsitic policies the present Chinese leadership opposes the forces fighting imperialism on the international scene and working to ease international tension, prevent another world war, and achieve lasting peace. This is, and has been, how the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia assesses the developments in China. An identical stance is maintained by the majority in the international communist movement.

Last January, in connection with Teng Hsiao-ping's visit to the USA, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USA sent the Peking leaders a letter containing a detailed and comprehensive analysis of their policy, a policy of betrayal of Marxism-Leninism, of the principles that 30 years ago underlay the founding of the People's Republic of China. The U.S. comrades characterized Maoism as "opportunism tailored to fit the relationship of forces in a world where there are two competing socio-economic systems. It is, therefore, the opportunism for a period of the transition from capitalism to socialism. . . . Maoism is opportunism in a period when world capitalism is decaying and is forced to retreat, and is, therefore, looking for ways to divide and weaken the forces of the world revolutionary process. Maoism is out to sell this service to imperialism.

"It is impossible to estimate the amount of suffering and death in human terms that Maoism has contributed to around the world. And, it is possible only to generalize and speculate as to where the world revolutionary process, the transition to socialism, the national-liberation and working-class movements of the world would be, if it were not for the divisions, diversions, the slander of socialism and the

confusion created by Maoism. Only history, in its objectivity, will make a full assessment of these crimes."

Let the facts speak for themselves.

In 1962 U.S. imperialism was determined to destroy socialist Cuba by force of arms. Already then the assistance that the Soviet Union extended to Cuba by supplying missiles for national defense was used by Maoist China as a pretext for openly attacking the USSR and calling this assistance a "provocation." What were the motivations of the Maoists for these attacks? When the crisis ended and U.S. imperialism had to abandon its plans of invasion, when the Soviet missiles were withdrawn from Cuba, China shamelessly accused the Soviet Union of "cowardice and betrayal." In fact, China supported the provocative actions of the U.S. imperialists.

Perhaps the most odious act of Maoist China was its support for U.S. imperialism after the counter-revolution in Chile. The assassinated President Allende had not yet been buried when physical force was used in Peking to expel the ambassador of the Allende government to China.

The war of liberation fought by the Angolan people against the Portuguese imperialist-racists was long and laden with suffering. When the Angolan people won liberation many countries gave diplomatic recognition to their new revolutionary democratic government. Again the exceptions were the USA, the People's Republic of China and the Republic of South Africa. After the Angolan people achieved independence, Maoist China began supporting the armed struggle aimed at destroying the People's Republic of Angola.

In line with its divisive policy, Maoist China is objectively associating itself with the U.S. imperialist plans in Angola, Ethiopia, Afghanistan, Yemen and many other countries.

By their armed invasion of socialist Vietnam, the Maoists have completely unmasked themselves. Progressives throughout the world are indignant but not in the least surprised. This is not a casual incident but a step logically stemming from the Maoist concept of war as a deliberate program. This is not China's first aggression and provocation against neighboring countries, and not its first territorial claim.

In this context it is worth recalling that with the exception of Israel, China is the only country that does not recognize present boundaries as inviolable and lays territorial claims to almost all its neighbors. Let us recall 1962 when China attacked neighboring India. Let us recall the hundreds of armed incidents on the Chinese-Soviet frontier pro-

voked by the Chinese aggressors. Let us note China's interference in Burma's affairs and its efforts to incorporate Mongolia.

For many years the Maoists have been organizing all sorts of provocations against neighboring Vietnam. They perfidiously violated the understanding reached in 1957-1958 between the CC of the Communist Party of Vietnam and the CC of the Communist Party of China on the inviolability of frontiers and on the peaceful settlement of outstanding issues between the two countries. China went so far as to seize Vietnamese islands in the South China Sea. Chinese border provocations were stepped up against Vietnam following the fall of the Maoist dictatorship in Kampuchea. In January and the first week of February of this year there were 230 Chinese violations of the Vietnamese border.

This was followed by the so-called punitive action — a barbarous aggression for which there is no justification. Not one of the Western powers that in fact approve Peking's hostile policy toward socialist-community states and the progressive forces has ventured to publicly endorse China's invasion of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

With world peace threatened, nobody can close his eyes to the fact that Peking is going over to the blood-letting stage of the expansionist policy springing from its hate-filled, aggressive great-power claims.

An article in *Pravda* of February 28, 1979, which evoked a broad response in the world, asks on what grounds China was assuming the right to "punish" the sovereign Vietnamese state? This is a striking illustration of great-Han chauvinist contempt for other nations. This is hegemonism in practice.

Some bourgeois media are belittling the gravity of the conflict and go so far as to portray the Chinese aggression as an internecine war in the socialist camp.

Indeed, *socialist* Vietnam has been attacked. But what does the regime that launched a military attack on the socialist country have to do with socialism? A regime that is openly calling upon the capitalist countries to enter into an alliance against the socialist community? A regime that has in fact gone over to the class positions of imperialism and now dreams of world supremacy, caring nothing for human losses and true vital interests of the Chinese people?

The ruling political party in China is still called communist. But is it enough to regard it as communist when in fact it is not?

The responsibility for this devolves on the Maoist leaders. It would be a mistake — and we do not make it — to identify the Chinese people with the Maoist leadership. It is these people who are sys-

tematically deceived and daily betrayed by their Maoist leaders. They have been drawn into this war against Vietnam by unparalleled brutality and monumental deceit. This is testified to also by captured Chinese soldiers.

We must return to the letter of the American communists, in which they eloquently expose the hypocrisy of the Maoists. They stress that the hostility of the Maoists for the socialist countries and the international communist movement is also a key element of the ideological, political, economic and military plans of U.S. imperialism. China is going to all lengths to block détente and wreck agreement on controlling and limiting armaments because, as they allege, "this would weaken the NATO states." In November 1977 the Vice-Premier of China Li Hsien-nien, declared: "We want Europe to be powerful and its defenses against the Soviet Union reinforced. China and the United States need cooperation to get the better of the Northern Bear." "It is indeed a sad day," the U.S. communists write, "when the leading cadre of a socialist country publicly shed tears because imperialism might be 'weakened'."

Who applauds China for its aggression, for its hate-filled policy toward socialism? Only the ultra-reactionary imperialist circles.

The policy of the present CPC leadership is totally at variance with the policy of the working class and absolutely alien to Marxism-Leninism. It does not meet with the interests of socialism and the national-liberation movement and comes into conflict with the interests of the progressive forces and the tasks of the struggle for peace.

What then is *communist* in this policy?

This policy did not take shape at once. Briefly, the history of the Communist Party of China is a history of struggle between two lines, between two different orientations. The first was a Marxist line, which was consonant with the interests of the working class and facilitated the victory of the Chinese revolution. At the same time, the opposing line — precarious, classless, petty-bourgeois and narrow-nationalistic — was always in evidence and later began to gain prominence. Regrettably, in a brutal struggle in the party and the state, this line, articulated by Mao Tse-tung, crushed the line meeting with the interests of the working people, socialism and peace.

Indeed, the foundations of a society that had the building of socialism as its objective were laid in China 30 years ago. The means of production owned by the bourgeoisie were nationalized, agriculture was collectivized, the old state apparatus was replaced and so on.

These foundations, however, were and still are threatened by the anti-people, militarist and expansionist policy of the present Chinese leadership, which has nothing in common with the principles of a socialist state.

The line which has temporarily won supremacy in the Communist Party of China and which is the guide for the present Chinese leaders is totally alien to the communist movement and the ideals of socialism. Essentially speaking, this non-class line, which is not Marxist, flouts the fundamental principles of our movement, namely, proletarian internationalism, and solidarity with all the working people of the world. The question arises: What has remained in it that may be called *revolutionary* and *communist*? As regards the Maoist party, it is not a question of individual personal views on one issue or another or of individual errors. A regime that plays up to the mortal enemy of the working people prejudices the interests not only of the international revolutionary movement, of socialism, but also and chiefly of the people of its own country.

The Maoist leadership has betrayed the ideals of the revolution and socialism. In its fanatical, chauvinistic drive for world supremacy it has betrayed the anti-imperialist camp and become a faithful ally of international reaction. Today Maoism uses the revolutionary achievements of the Chinese people and, above all, the system of state and cooperative ownership to attain its anti-socialist aims, thereby further imperilling the socialist elements created in the economic basis of Chinese society 30 years ago.

The problems of modern development in China are extremely complex. Much depends on the road that this society will follow. Will this road be the continuation of the present policy? The future will show. But today it is quite obvious that by its aggression against Vietnam China has undertaken a role that conflicts with socialist ideals. This is a reactionary role, and the aggression itself bears the stamp of an expansionist and predatory policy that has nothing in common with socialism.

Abridged from *Rude Pravo*, March 3, 1979

COLLAPSE OF THE "THREE WORLDS" THEORY

China's aggressive operations in all the frontier areas of Vietnam, says a statement issued by the Standing Bureau of the CC Presidium, Communist Party of Japan, "trample all the principles of international law, including the UN Charter. For the sake of world peace and national self-determination, and also for the cause of socialism" these acts must be "sharply criticized."

These aggressive acts also testify to the collapse and harmful influence of China's "three worlds" theory.

This is a division of the world into three blocs: the "first world," the "second world," and the "third world." The first includes the USSR and the United States, the second, Japan, the FRG, Italy, Britain and other countries, and the third, the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. According this theory, the "third world" countries, including China, constitute the main force of the world revolutionary movement, and those of the second, forces which have a twofold character, but with whom alliances can be formed. The two "superpowers" of the "first world" are regarded as the objectives of struggle in the international revolutionary movement, with the USSR being designated as the "more aggressive" of the two. In the light of this, it has been assumed up to now that China's world strategy was to carry on a struggle with the "chief enemy" — the Soviet Union — making use of the "third world" countries as the chief force, entering into alliance with the countries of monopoly capital, which include Japan and the states of (Western) Europe, and temporarily even getting U.S. imperialism to act on its side.

However, in the recent period, under the pretext of acting against the "hegemony" of the USSR, China has been moving close to the United States, which belongs to the "first world," and to Japan, which belongs to the "second world." While entering into alliance with these countries, China has ever more obviously directed the edge of its attacks against the anti-imperialist countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, that is, representatives of the "third world." Just now, China has directly attacked Vietnam, which it had until recently regarded as belonging to the "third world." In fact, China has used force against the SRV, something it has not done even against the United States, a representative of the "first world."

These facts show very well that the "three worlds" theory has become groundless. It has quite obviously collapsed.

One must note that China has not carried on its fight on the basis of solidarity with the anti-imperialist forces of the "third world," but has, under the pretext of "acting against hegemonism," given active support to the most reactionary regimes in countries belonging to the "third world." Thus, it instantly gave recognition to the Chilean military-fascist regime, and in August last year Premier of the State Council Hua Kuo-feng paid a visit to Iran to consolidate relations with the Shah, whose despotic and absolutist regime received aid from U.S. imperialism and oppressed the population. One expression of the collapse of this policy of China's is that the Shah's regime, which partnered Chinese diplomacy in coming out against "hegemony," has been overthrown by the people of Iran for its anti-national and anti-democratic policies.

In addition, China still supports the former Kampuchean regime of Pol Pot, who grossly trampled human rights, massacred the population on a large scale, forcibly resettled the townsfolk in the countryside, and went in for forced weddings.

This Chinese support for reactionary regimes also shows that the "three worlds" theory, whose substance is unity with the "third world," not only has nothing to do with ideology of scientific socialism, but is reactionary.

What is now left of China's collapsed "three worlds" theory is its great-power isolation and its hegemonism.

China has slandered Vietnam, which has pursued an independent line and has refused to act on China's orders, by alleging that Vietnam "dances to the Soviet Union's tune." An even greater mistake is China's illegal attacks on Vietnam and its insistence on "sanctions" against it. These amount to no more than "great-power sallies which liken China to a world arbiter" (*Akahata* editorial, February 9). They have "exposed China's aggressive hegemonism aimed to bend other peoples to its will with the use of all means, including armed forces" (Statement by the Standing Bureau, CC Presidium, CP Japan on February 18).

China's current invasion of Vietnam shows that its "three worlds" theory is, in the final analysis, nothing but another expression of its great-power stand. And that is what makes this theory so harmful.

Akahata, February 21, 1979

ATTACK BY CHINA IMPERILS PEACE OF THE WORLD

A flagrant violation of Vietnam's national sovereignty and a serious blow to peace in Southeast Asia, was how the executive committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain yesterday described China's military attack on Vietnam.

A special statement strongly condemning the attack said it would also create "acute problems in connection with the wider struggle for peace and détente."

It went on: "That China, a socialist country, should launch an act of military aggression against socialist Vietnam, is completely opposed to socialist principles.

"Throughout the world, governments and peoples have urged China to withdraw its troops from Vietnam. It is necessary that such a withdrawal be complete and unconditional.

"The interests of China, Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos, all of whom have immense tasks to build up their economies and provide a better life for their people, demand that political and state differences be resolved by peaceful negotiations and not by military action.

"This is particularly the need of the people of Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos, whose countries were so devastated by the powerful United States military machine during their long and arduous struggle for national liberation.

"China's action against Vietnam is a grave threat to world peace. This danger will persist as long as China pursues its present course in world affairs.

"The British government should be urged by all labor and progressive organizations to condemn China's action, and insist on the immediate, total, unconditional withdrawal of Chinese troops from Vietnam.

"The government should be pressed to abandon its moves to cut off economic aid to Vietnam and, on the contrary, enter into early negotiations with the Vietnamese government in order to assist it in its task of reconstruction. The conclusion of such an economic agreement would also contribute to creating employment in Britain.

"We welcome steps being taken to expand normal economic trading relations with China but demand that such economic arrangements should not include any forms of military assistance and,

in particular, that moves to sell China Harrier jump jets should immediately cease.

"Hands off Vietnam!"

"Withdraw all Chinese troops from Vietnam!"

Abridged from *Morning Star*, March 12, 1979

THE SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Excerpts from a statement of the Central Committee of the Communist Party USA.

The Communist Party USA views with alarm and anger the provocative maneuvers of the Carter Administration to create a new military alliance and a war atmosphere in the Middle East.

With the removal of Iran as the U.S. surrogate gendarme in the region acting on behalf of the giant oil monopolies, imperialism now seeks to knock together to a new military alliance of Zionism and Arab reaction to stem the tide of the Arab liberation movement. Imperialism seeks to split that movement from its firmest allies — the socialist countries, the Soviet Union in the first place. Central to the formulations of imperialist policy is the building of a strategic military force in the region directed against the Soviet Union.

The attempts to shore up the reactionary Saudi regime and its puppet forces in North Yemen must be seen, in the first place, as an attempt to suppress the revolutionary movements on the Arabian Peninsula and along the Persian Gulf, and constitute a direct threat to the very existence of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (South).

The visits to the Middle East of President Carter and Pentagon Secretary Brown to force through the Camp David accords are not only a serious threat to peace in the Middle East and a conspiracy against the heroic Palestinian liberation movement. They are also a threat to the well-being of our own working class and people. The Carter Administration declares class war against the people in the form of cutbacks for health care, housing, jobs and education. . . . At the same time, it plans to rob the taxpayers of over \$6 billion to pay

for new military bases and hardware for the first year alone of the Camp David accords, in the event they are ratified.

Our party views the present Middle East "peace talks" as a council of war directed against the Palestine resistance, the Arab liberation movement and the progressive and peace-loving forces — Arab and Jewish — in the region.

The framework of a just peace is contained in numerous United Nations' resolutions and declarations and the U.S.-Soviet Agreement of October 1977, which called for an international peace conference with all legitimate parties present, including the Palestine Liberation Organization.

By hatching new plots against the people of the region in alliance with reactionary forces, the Carter Administration had increased tension in the world, and now threatens to lead our country along the path which led to the war in Southeast Asia. We urge the widest unity and concerted protest and solidarity actions to reverse this direction, and to demand the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. military forces in the Middle East.

Daily World, March 14, 1979

... Israel and Egypt have displayed enviable firmness in one thing: demanding payment for their "concessions," for their readiness to take upon themselves a new role in the framework of U.S. military doctrines. This will cost the U.S. people approximately \$10 billion.

So is an "historic compromise" made, so are the rights and interests of other peoples sold for cash, so is a treaty written that has nothing in common with the UN resolutions, with the decision of the Arab League, or with U.S. commitments to other states.

The main thing about the "compromise" is that it substitutes the creation of an Israeli-Egyptian military and political alliance for an overall Middle East settlement, that it is frankly anti-Arab and anti-Palestinian in character. It is based on Sadat's total capitulation and Egypt's adoption of the conditions dictated by Israel and the USA.

In exchange for the promise of U.S. financial and military aid, the lion's share of which goes to Israel, the Egyptian-Israeli alliance, armed with U.S. weapons, is committed to safeguarding U.S. interests and carrying out the functions of a gendarme in this region.

The new policy structure in the Middle East is designed to replace the collapsed pro-American Iranian regime and the disintegrated CENTO bloc. It is charged with ensuring U.S. interests (including by military means), access to Middle East oil resources, suppression of

the struggle of the Palestinian people and other anti-imperialist movements in the Arab countries. . . .

The separate agreement imposed by the U.S. on the Middle East people does not solve a single one of the just and urgent demands of the Arab peoples. It bypasses the crucial problems underlying the Middle East conflict, complicates and postpones indefinitely a genuine all-round peaceful settlement and sets the stage for a new dangerous aggravation of the situation in the region.

Pravda, March 18, 1979

The U.S.-NATO circles seek to prolong the impasse in the Cyprus question, considering that such a situation will help in furthering and ultimately implementing their own plans.

The avowed enemies of Cyprus are out to liquidate our republic as an independent, sovereign, territorial integral and non-aligned state, a member of the UN, and to subordinate it in one or another form to the NATO bloc, so that it would serve their plunderous economic aims in this oil-rich region, as well as their broader strategic aims in the Middle East and throughout the world.

The loss of U.S. imperialism's positions in Iran, whose people through the common mass struggle of all patriotic, progressive and anti-imperialist forces overthrew the tyrannical regime of the shah and the imperialist puppets, took the country out of CENTO and paralyzed the U.S. bases on its territory, compelled the U.S. ruling circles to hurriedly seek a new support base in the explosive Middle East region.

The U.S.-NATO circles are staking on using such strategic support bases as Turkey, Greece, Egypt and Israel, and that is the aim of President Carter's Middle East visit. To these they have added our motherland, Cyprus, where the "extra-territorial" British bases facilitate the realization of their imperialist plans.

Cyprus' importance as a strategic base of imperialism is growing and taking on a new aspect because the political disarray and instability in Turkey saps to a certain extent the U.S.-NATO circles' confidence, making problematical their use of that country for their strategic goals.

The Political Bureau of the AKEL Central Committee holds that in this connection the U.S.-NATO circles will step up their subversive actions. . . .

From the CC AKEL Political Bureau statement
Haravghi, March 11, 1979

DOCUMENTS

LOYALTY TO PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM

The 17th National Congress of the Communist Party of Ireland, whose membership includes the communists of the Irish Republic and Northern Ireland, was held on February 23 to 26, 1979, in Belfast.

Michael O'Riordan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Ireland, made a report. After a broad discussion the delegates approved the main document of the Congress — a political resolution — and a number of other documents, including a resolution on solidarity with Vietnam, a resolution on international solidarity, and others.

The delegates elected a new National Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Ireland.

Below are excerpts from the Resolution on International Solidarity.

The Communist Party of Ireland is proud of being part of the international movement of the communist and workers' parties, sharing its achievements, problems and responsibilities. The CPI is guided in its attitude to all international developments and problems by the principles of working-class internationalism in its many forms, such as, support for all peoples struggling against imperialism (within the imperialist countries), the struggles for national liberation and the upholding of the world socialist system.

We salute the peoples throughout the world who are fighting for freedom and national independence. We also hail the assistance provided for the above struggles by the international solidarity of the Soviet Union, Cuba, the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia and other countries, provided without strings, for the national-liberation movements throughout the world. . . .

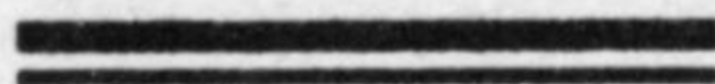
We greet the great struggles now taking place in Great Britain and our people in Northern Ireland who have partaken in such struggles. But much more is required. The people of Britain — English, Scots

and Welsh — must be lined up with the people of Northern Ireland (and the rest of Ireland) in the struggle for greater freedom and democratic rights so that our four nations will live in peace and amity with each other. We have a common enemy and we should be united in the face of the enemy — British imperialism.

Our internationalism has its source in the conditions of historic struggle between capital and labor. It has its own specific national source in the Irish section of the First International. It has its source also in both a class and a patriotic way of life, in the works and life of James Connolly who combined the struggles for national independence and socialism into one task.

Treasuring such a heritage, the 17th Congress of the Communist Party of Ireland, pledges its fealty to the great cause of proletarian internationalism, the weapon which has won so many victories since our last Congress (1975).

This 17th Congress salutes the victories recorded for peace and détente, the signing of the Helsinki Agreement (1975) and the many conferences and seminars convened by the various parties of the socialist countries and the *World Marxist Review* over the past four years. Not least, we hail the conference held in Sofia, the capital of socialist Bulgaria, in December 1978, which brought together the representatives of the world communist and workers' parties and at which was born the rebinding of the world front of the communist movement. The advice given by Marx and Engels was not disobeyed — "Workers of all lands unite," and we are nearer to the day of doing just that. Their advice was given in 1847. It is now 1979 and surely we must learn, if not by precept but by example.



UNITY OF THE LEFT AND DEMOCRATIC FORCES OF THE COUNTRY — THE URGENT NEED OF THE HOUR

The National Council of the Communist Party of India was held in Delhi on February 22-26 to discuss the Indian people's mass struggle and the communists' tasks in the light of the latest domestic and international developments.

Printed below are excerpts from the program of struggle for greater left and democratic unity.

Two years of Janata government rule, following Indira Gandhi's emergency regime, has landed our country in the most severe crisis witnessed in the post-independence period.

The reactionary anti-people policies pursued by the Janata government have hit all sections of the people, barring only the landlords, monopolists, profiteers and wholesale traders. Our national economy is in shambles and is left wide open for penetration by the multinationals.

The infighting inside the Janata Party has reached a stage of acute crisis at the center and in the states. The bureaucracy and the police rule everywhere. Mounting political instability and uncertainty has left the nation vulnerable to dangerous pressures from inside and from outside.

Utilizing the Janata umbrella, the RSS¹ and the Jana Sangh are steadily forging ahead and capturing key posts inside the state and administrative apparatus. Casteism and communalism² pose a serious threat to the very unity and secularism of independent India.

The Janata government's foreign policy of "alignment with all" has increased the danger of India getting involved in the global Peking-Washington conspiracies, posing a threat to our national sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Taking advantage of this whole situation and of mounting people's discontent, Indira Gandhi is trying seriously to stage a political comeback.

Replacement of Janata rule by the rule of Indira Gandhi will not help either to solve our people's problems or safeguard Indian democracy. Already in the emergency period, World Bank recipes were

being accepted, multinationals were allowed to come in and anti-people policies unleashed. Indira Gandhi is still defending the policies of the emergency regime.

The crisis of the capitalist path of development, to which successive bourgeois parties in power have committed this country, has deepened to such an extent that the nation can be saved only by breaking away from this path.

The urgent need of the hour is to unite the left and democratic forces in the country, including those inside the two Congress and the Janata Party — all those factors which are looking for an alternative path of development freed from the exploitation of the imperialists, monopolists and landlords — and project such a front as an alternative to both the Congress (I)³ and Janata rule.

Only a government formed by such a front and committed to such a platform can effect basic transformations in our country's socio-economic setup, solve the burning problems of our people, safeguard democracy and open up the path to a socialist India.

The Communist Party of India puts forward the following political platform as a basis for discussion among the left and democratic parties, groups and individuals in the country in order to bring them together into a common political front.

The Communist Party of India calls for a fruitful dialogue among all the left and democratic forces in the country in order to evolve by mutual discussion and consensus a political program for left and democratic unity.

THE PROGRAM

(1) Full democratic rights for the people and their mass organizations, including the right to strike. An end to internal emergency provisions and all repressive laws and measures directed against the working people. Democratization of the administrative machinery and the state apparatus, including setting up of popular committees with statutory powers.

(2) Restructuring of center-state relations to expand the powers of the states and provide adequate resources for their development.

(3) For a firm stand against World Bank-IMF pressures, against neo-colonialism and penetration by multinational corporations. Review of foreign collaboration agreements with western countries and curb on remittances of profits by multinational concerns. For a new world economic order based on equality, for immediate moratorium on foreign-debt payments to imperialist countries.

(4) For nationalization of the monopoly houses. As a first step nationalization of foreign drug companies, sugar, textiles, jute and foreign trade.

(5) State takeover of wholesale trading in foodgrains and essential raw materials. Building of a public distribution system of foodgrains and essential commodities that will guarantee remunerative prices for the peasant and reasonable price for the consumer. Against inflation, deficit-financing, heavy taxation on the common people and high prices.

(6) For planned and independent development of the national economy, based on a dominant position for the public sector and on increasing integration with the socialist world market as well as with the markets of the countries of the non-aligned world. . . .

(7) Full protection to small-scale industry, including guaranteed supply of credit and raw materials, as well as marketing facilities. . . .

(8) For need-based minimum wage for working class; against wage-freeze, lockouts, layoffs and closure of mills . . . for full trade union rights, for full democratic rights to central and state government employees and abolition of the police verification system; effective worker participation in management of public sector at all levels, including in the decision-making field.

(9) For abolition of landlordism and effective implementation of radical land reforms . . . for fair wages to the agricultural worker, . . . for reduction of tax burdens on the working peasantry and for a progressive land revenue system. . . .

(10) For inclusion of the right to work in the Constitution and employment to all or unemployment relief to the unemployed.

(11) For implementation of compulsory primary education and introduction of free education up to secondary stage in all states. Stipends to all students belonging to lower income groups. For eradication of illiteracy. Adequate participation and representation of students and teachers in all the academic and administrative bodies of the universities; thorough overhaul and reform of educational system and its democratization; for use of mother tongue as medium of instruction, administration and judiciary in all the states.

(12) For drastic steps to put an end to atrocities against scheduled castes and tribes; for ending economic and social oppression of these sections by landlords, contractors, traders, moneylenders, etc., and for restoration of lands alienated from them.

(13) For ending discrimination against and for safeguarding the rights of Muslim and other minorities and for according official recog-

nition to Urdu as provided for in the constitution. For fighting out the communal position being spread by the RSS.

(14) Equal wage, status and opportunity for women.

(15) Lowering of the voting age from 21 to 18; for proportional representation and radical reform of the electoral system.

(16) Against forcible imposition of Hindi and for the three language formula, respect for the rights of all regional languages and special assistance for the promotion of tribal languages. . . .

(17) For full regional autonomy within the existing states or separate statehood if the tribal people so desire for all tribal majority areas which are contiguous in territory and specific in composition; liberal state assistance for their rapid economic, social and cultural development.

(18) Effective steps for elimination of corruption, including permanent judicial machinery both at the center and in the states for inquiring into allegations of corruption. . . .

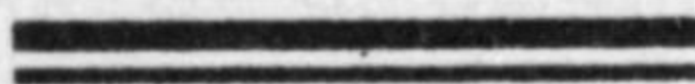
(19) For a firm and consistent foreign policy of peace, anti-imperialism, friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries; for strengthening the anti-imperialist content of the policy of non-alignment; for strengthening India's unity and solidarity with the non-aligned world on the basis of anti-imperialism.

New Age, March 11, 1979

¹Rastriya Swamsevak Sangh — extremely reactionary paramilitary organization of the rightist Jana Sangh Party. — *Ed.*

²Communalism in India is aimed at inciting hostility between religious communities, above all between the Hindus and the Muslims. — *Ed.*

³INC (I — for Indira) is used to denote the part of the Indian National Congress which follows Indira Gandhi. — *Ed.*



ALL REVOLUTIONARY FORCES FOR A FLOURISHING, INDEPENDENT AND DEMOCRATIC ALGERIA

Letter from Sadek Hadjeres, First Secretary, CC, Socialist Vanguard Party of Algeria, to Benjedid Chadli, General Secretary, FLN, and President of the Republic.

With all patriots and revolutionary communists we rejoice at the trust our people have placed in you after your election as FLN General Secretary by electing you President of the Republic.

We noted in our appeal of February 2, that your candidature is an expression of the broad consensus for stability and national consolidation and for more favorable conditions for revolutionary continuity. For our people, striving for unity and peaceful construction, your election is a constructive solution to the situation following the death of Houari Boumedienne, for whom we grieve deeply. In work and in daily activities it is best possible to distinguish between those who support the revolution and those who stand on the sidelines.

By supporting your work as head of the FLN Central Committee and Political Bureau we displayed our support for the National People's Army which has played a decisive patriotic role during the recent events. Just as the National Liberation Army, so also the National People's Army is the offspring of the working masses and defends their interests. As a conscientious participant of the revolution, and its armed force, the army remains true to the people's traditions and interests.

We assure you, dear brother, that our support is based on the principles of the National Charter, which is also a guide in your work. We shall defend this line just as consistently as we defended the anti-imperialist progressive line of the late President. In defending this wise political line, a line of broad alliances and irreconcilable struggle against opponents of our gains, we shall continue the struggle against all manifestations of sectarianism, and support the efforts of our brothers in their struggle against attempts to effect a split, which run counter to the national interests, through regionalism, hostility among clans and individuals, and likewise anti-communism, a serious danger which President Boumedienne fought with such courage and sagacity, viewing anti-communism as a splitting weapon of the imperialists and

multinationals, a weapon wielded by those who have no faith in and oppose the revolution.

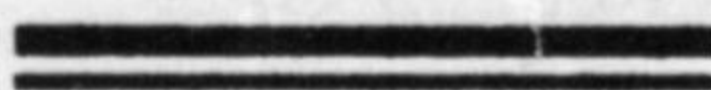
We are a part of the country's healthy forces, standing together with the other active social and political forces of the revolution, united in the camp of the supporters of the National Charter. As always, we shall spare no effort in order to consolidate this camp which includes those who not only speak out for unity but prove this by their unostentatious, painstaking work in promoting the agrarian revolution, the production efforts, revolutionary democracy, in defending economic and political independence, the public sector, and in creating the instruments of revolution.

We are fully aware of the difficulties and complexities of the tasks at the many stages of the long road toward creating a strong vanguard party which would be leader of the revolution and simultaneously unite the broadest anti-imperialist forces. We hail the first step toward this difficult goal, taken by the last FLN Congress, which demonstrated a broad approach to the role of each of the social and political forces of the revolution.

We are certain that this initial success will be consolidated if all the united revolutionary forces maintain such a broad approach, making it a permanent factor of the revolution's success, a factor not swayed by changing conditions. Such a broad and realistic approach would help unite the patriotic forces against the serious danger and become a decisive factor in the FLN's movement toward building a strong vanguard party based on socialist principles, and achieving broader goals — creating the political instruments of revolution.

Please accept my sincere and fraternal congratulations and our pledge of support. We wish you every success in your noble task, supported by the whole people, for a prosperous, independent and democratic Algeria.

For the Communists of Algeria
Sadek Hadjeres



FROM THE PRESS

AN OUTSTANDING EXAMPLE OF PROLETARIAN SOLIDARITY

*Scientific Conference Devoted to the 60th Anniversary
of the Comintern*

A scientific conference devoted to the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Communist International was held in Moscow on March 15. It was sponsored by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, the Academy of Social Sciences and the Institute of Social Sciences.

The opening speech was made by academician Boris Ponomarev, alternate member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the CC CPSU. Among the outstanding dates in the history of our revolutionary epoch, he said, a special place is held by the day in March, when representatives of 35 communist and left socialist parties and groups from 21 countries of Europe, America and Asia proclaimed the founding of the Third, Communist International. Thus started the 25-year history of the international revolutionary organization which exerted an enormous influence on the entire development of the working-class movement in the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism.

The speaker went on to characterize that stormy period: under the impact of the Great October Socialist Revolution enormous forces which opposed imperialist wars and capitalist domination, class exploitation and colonial oppression were set in motion throughout the world. As Lenin put it: "everyone saw, felt, sensed, each from his own country's experience, that a new proletarian movement was in full swing. Everyone realized that this unprecedentedly strong and deep-going movement cannot be confined to any of the old frameworks. . . ."

The founding of the Comintern will always be linked with name of the great Lenin, with the October Revolution. But this does not imply that the Comintern was the creation of the Bolshevik Party alone, the creation of "Moscow," as bourgeois propaganda and the right reformists seek to depict it. The founding of the Comintern "was a

record of what has been gained not only by the Russian workers, but also by the German, Austrian, Hungarian, Finnish, Swiss — in a word, by workers of the world."

The Comintern reflected the objective need for international class solidarity of the revolutionary forces. It was charged with accumulating the international experience of the working-class movement at the new stage of its development, which was qualitatively enriched by the October Revolution and the revolutionary upsurge in other countries. The point was to defend the interests of the working people, save the cause of socialism, save internationalism from chauvinism and social-chauvinism, to revive in the new conditions the best traditions of the international proletarian organizations linked with the names of Marx and Engels, the great founders of scientific socialism.

The Comintern initiated the present-day communist movement. It helped the sound forces in the international working-class movement to bar the way to conciliation with the bourgeoisie, to defeat reformism and facilitated the creation of revolutionary parties of a new type on an international scale. At the same time it did much to rid the revolutionary working-class movement of the "left-wing infantile disorder" and sectarianism. A cadre of tested Leninist leaders of the working-class movement who are now known throughout the world as outstanding proletarian leaders was formed and steeled in its ranks. And first among them was Georgi Dimitrov, a splendid man and revolutionary Leninist.

The Comintern raised high the banner of struggle against the policy of war and aggression, against world war. It never stopped sounding the alarm, alerting the peoples against the threat of war, tirelessly explaining to the peoples the source of the war danger, exposing imperialism as the source of war and the most reactionary imperialist circles as war-mongers. At the same time the Comintern envisioned the forces that were capable of averting a new world war. Decisive among them was socialism — the state of workers and peasants, the Soviet Union, whose policy is aimed at securing peace not only for its own country, but for all the peoples. Hence, the Comintern concluded, solidarity with the Soviet Union, with its peace policy, and support of this policy is in the interests of all the peoples. So when fascism came to power in Germany and humanity was directly threatened by a world war, the Comintern was the chief organizer of all the peace forces, which, if united, could have stayed the criminal hand of the aggressor.

The Comintern warned the aggressive forces of imperialism that if

they launched a second world war, they and the capitalist system headed by them would have to pay dearly for it. And so it turned out. As a result of the heroic struggle of the Soviet people and the resistance movement in other countries, German fascism, the fascist regimes in Italy, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Rumania were wiped off the face of the earth. The war criminals were called to account and got their well-deserved punishment. Victorious revolutions were carried out in a number of big states in the West and East, and shortly afterwards the world colonialist system collapsed. Enormous successes were achieved by the working-class and revolutionary movement throughout the world. The socialist world system was formed. The world socialist community is growing and flourishing.

Thus the forecast of the Comintern, the prediction of the Marxist-Leninist theory came true on a world scale. These lessons are unforgettable, and they should be remembered by everyone.

The Comintern was the first to reveal the nature and danger of fascism in such dramatic detail. The historic Seventh Congress forcefully opposed any tendency to ignore the qualitative difference between fascism and bourgeois democracy and emphasized that the working class and all working people had a vital stake in the defense of democracy.

The Comintern gave a powerful impetus to the endeavor to unite the working class and all working people on a fundamental, class, anti-imperialist basis. It not only rallied in its ranks all the best, internationalist forces of the working-class movement, but from the very first days of its existence, on Lenin's initiative, took steps to establish interaction between the communist and social-democratic trends of the working-class movement and waged a struggle for working-class unity. This line in the Comintern's activity was forcefully reflected in its elaboration of the policy of a united workers' front, a popular anti-fascist front, an anti-imperialist front. This line and this experience laid the foundations for the communist movement's present-day strategy in developing a dialogue and cooperation between the diverse trends of the working-class and democratic movement.

The Comintern's elaboration of the problems of the anti-colonial revolutions and the national-liberation movement in general, identifying its motive forces, its character and prospects were of enormous importance. The political far-sightedness of the Comintern in this question is particularly clear today.

The Seventh Congress' ideas on the correct combination of na-

tional and internationalist tasks by the communist parties were of crucial importance. The Congress, Boris Ponomaryov recalled, emphatically opposed any underestimation of national specifics by the communists.

In practice the Comintern was the inspirer, vehicle and organizer of international proletarian solidarity with the liberation and anti-imperialist movements. Can anyone ever forget its enormous moral, political and material support for thousands upon thousands of communists and revolutionaries over a quarter of a century? Or how many worker activists and leaders it saved from extermination? The Comintern saw its primary duty in mobilizing the masses in support of the struggle against colonial oppression, whether in North Africa, Indonesia, India or Vietnam. It firmly supported the Chinese revolution and energetically opposed Japanese imperialism's aggression against China and fascist Italy's aggression against Ethiopia. The glorious feats of the international brigades, formed with the active participation of the Comintern to counter fascism in Spain, will never be forgotten.

This extremely important activity of the Comintern in the period between the two world wars, Ponomaryov noted, cannot be minimized by its shortcomings or errors. The Comintern itself rectified many of them, displaying a capacity to approach its work self-critically, to soberly and realistically analyze and assess its actions, while creatively applying Marxism-Leninism in elaborating new guidelines opening the way to the future. The decisions of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, which ensured broad independence for individual parties in defining their strategic and tactical objectives in their specific national conditions anticipated the ideas and conclusions of the international communist movement in the period ahead. The Comintern was dissolved in accordance with the Marxist-Leninist provision which stipulates that the forms of activity must comply with the needs and specifics of each historic stage.

Much of what the forces of peace, national liberation and progress have attained stem from the ideas that took shape and were formulated during the Comintern years. And when Marxist-Leninist researchers, representatives of various fraternal parties now analyze its activity, they are moved not solely and not merely by an interest in history. Discussion among communists of these questions are directly related to "current events." Fidelity to the fundamental principles of the scientific revolutionary world view and concern for its creative development in accordance with the new historical experience pro-

vides the key to the Marxist-Leninists' approach to the problems of the history of the communist movement as well.

From this viewpoint, what does fidelity to the revolutionary traditions of the working-class and the entire liberation movement on the basis of which the world-historic victories were won, including during the Comintern days, signify? It implies seeing the decisive role of existing socialism for the entire revolutionary process, to facilitate in every way the development of the community of states that are building socialism and communism and to strengthen solidarity with them; loyalty to the fundamentals of the Marxist-Leninist theory and, creatively employing it, to search for and find answers to the most urgent present-day problems; improving the strategy and tactics of revolutionary struggle against capitalism; safeguarding against any attacks the gains of the working class, and all working people in the struggle for democracy, national independence, peace and, of course, all that has been created during the construction of socialism and communism; strengthening the internationalist solidarity of the communists, as well as all progressive forces; implacability toward imperialism, toward any forms of anti-communism, toward opportunism; carrying high the banner of struggle for peace, against aggressive actions, against the threat of war.

Genuine innovation, Ponomaryov went on to say, has nothing in common with nihilism in relation to historical experience, with rejection of the principles of Marxist-Leninist theory and practice. The position of the fault-finder in regard to the real gains of world socialism, the position of total negation, far from opening up opportunities for creative thought, on the contrary, clips its wings, saps the purpose and reliable inner guidelines of creative quest. But worst of all, such a position is fraught with distortion of policy and not only with the danger of separate mistakes, but of serious setbacks. The catastrophic consequences of rejecting the ideological and political heritage of Marxism-Leninism can be seen in the tragic example of the Communist Party of China. Every instance of the Maoist group's departure from Marxism-Leninism signified a downward step in its moral and political degradation and degeneration. Peking's shameful action — armed aggression against socialist Vietnam — is the ultimate, concentrated reflection of this degradation. This perfidious and cynical aggression violates all internationalist principles. It clearly shows what nationalism, which in China has been carried to the extreme, can lead to.

All this, the speaker emphasized, clearly shows that observance of

the principles of internationalism and resistance to nationalistic tendencies and chauvinism are part of the struggle against the war danger. The communist parties have wrathfully condemned Peking's venture. Their unanimous renunciation of the attack against a socialist country, their ardent solidarity with the fraternal Communist Party of Vietnam has once again clearly demonstrated the vital force of the internationalist traditions of our movement.

Today it has made big strides in its development. "The conditions in which the fraternal parties are working are extremely varied and complex," Leonid Brezhnev said. "At present there is no leading center of the communist movement, nor can there be any. Each party defines its political course independently and on its own. This does not, however, exclude active and voluntary coordination of their actions in the struggle against the common enemy, but, on the contrary, makes it all the more important."

The internationalist interaction of the communists and all working people has become an important and weighty factor in the world balance of forces. Any weakening of this interaction is used by the class enemy and reactionary circles against the movement as a whole, and above all against the contingents at which imperialism's main blows are now directed. Internationalist solidarity is the common property of the entire communist movement, and each party has used it in the past, is using it now and will always be able to use it. As for the CPSU, we have never understood it one-sidedly, as something benefiting our party alone. Internationalist solidarity is needed by all communists. Now more than ever the success of each fraternal party is linked with the advance of the entire communist movement, with the strengthening of the positions of the forces of socialism and peace as a whole.

The pivot of internationalism has been and remains solidarity in the struggle against imperialism, against its oppressive and militaristic policy. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union steadfastly and consistently upholds the principles of proletarian internationalism. Unity of the communists, international solidarity of the working class and working people in general the world over is an important prerequisite for the further consolidation of the positions of socialism and communism, in safeguarding universal peace and the national independence of the peoples, in the successful struggle for democracy and socialism.

Pravda, March 17, 1979

PROBLEMS OF THE MORAL AND POLITICAL UNITY OF POLISH SOCIETY

Jerzy Lukaszewicz

*Alternate Member of the Political Bureau
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The moral and political unity of Polish society, which is realizing the objectives of building a developed socialist society, is reflected above all in the general accord with the principles of building People's Poland, in the approval by word and deed of the key directions and long-range goals of the country's socio-economic development. In practice this signifies agreement with the Party Program, which in accordance with Marxist-Leninist theory is elaborated in line with the conditions of the current stage of socialist construction. "Building up the unity of the people," Edward Gierek said at the Ninth CC PUWP plenum, "constitutes an inviolable principle of our party policy. In recent years this unity has grown deeper and stronger. We will continue along this road, uniting in endeavor for the benefit of the homeland all Poles, party members and non-party people, people of all professions and generations, everyone who is guided by a patriotic understanding of the rightness of the state and the people." This aspiration of the party was confirmed by Edward Gierek at the Second National PUWP Conference: "We will continue to strengthen in every way this unity of the people on fundamental questions concerning the prospects of the country's development, the socialist principles of its system, socialist alliances and goals in the foreign policy sphere."

Such a unity of Polish society could not be attained by a single act like the proletariat's taking over the reins of power at the dawn of People's Poland. It could only be achieved as a result of a protracted process of socialist changes. It was based on program objectives set by the Polish communists: creating a just social system free from exploitation and ensuring the people the opportunity of fully implementing the fundamental right of man, the right to live in peace.

This unity was forged in the years of war against the nazi occupation when precisely the Marxist-Leninist Party — the Polish Workers' Party — rallied and organized all patriots for the struggle for a new Poland. It was steeled in the period of struggle to strengthen people's

power, in the years of heroic endeavor and sacrifice by the first generation of the builders of People's Poland at the time of rehabilitation of the war-ravaged country.

The formation and consequent strengthening of the moral and political unity of our people is not a conclusive process, but a long-term objective of winning ever broader strata of Polish society to the cause of socialism, the party's action program, the purport of which is struggle and work for the good of humanity and the socialist homeland. Without continuously strengthening the unity of society we could not have done so much in such a short time. Poland's weight in the economic sphere, in the international division of labor, in the persistent struggle for peace, social progress and development of civilization is indisputably due to the unity and cohesion of our society, its confidence in party policy, in its own strength. This shows that the party has wisely used these forces and continues to do so.

Accord with the PUWP Program, recognition of the party's leading role by the whole people are an important basis of their moral and political unity. A contributing factor was the renaissance of the Polish state within its ethnic boundaries. A guarantee of the independence and sovereignty of our country at present is the firm alliance with the other socialist community states, above all with the Soviet Union, based on identity of ideological and class goals. This cordial alliance ensures the inviolability of our borders.

Hence the bulk of our society is now aware that the unity of our people is an indispensable factor in mobilizing them for intensive, selfless and honest endeavor in the name of realizing the objectives of the country's socio-economic development — the source of the well-being of each citizen, for the unity of the society assures the concentration of forces and means, the organization of social effort and achievement of maximum activity of each person in resolving important problems.

The formation of the moral and political unity of the Polish people has been and remains a process of achieving general agreement with the key directions of the socio-economic and cultural development of socialist Poland; moreover, proposals for optimal solutions are worked out by the PUWP together with all social forces which approve of the socialist principles on which People's Poland is based. Edward Gierek spoke of this at the Seventh PUWP Central Committee plenum. "The main source of our strength, of all our achievements," he said, "is unity of the Polish people on important questions of the country's development, their active support for the program of

the National Unity Front set forth by the party together with the United Peasants' Party and the Democratic Party." The basis of this program, Gierek noted at the Second National PUWP Conference, "was laid in the struggle for the liberation and renaissance of Poland. Together with the entire people we have improved it as we achieved successes in the rehabilitation of the country and in socialist construction. Early in 1970, drawing on our best traditions, we revised our program setting ourselves unprecedented socio-economic objectives."

The formation and strengthening of the moral and political unity of socialist society is a complex dialectical process. Life, Lenin pointed out, advances through contradictions, and contradictions of life are much more fertile, diverse and meaningful than the human mind can initially imagine. Therefore, although functions involving the entire nation become increasingly pronounced in the activities of the Marxist-Leninist party and the socialist state, these functions retain their class character. Neither the program nor the social practices of the party in the interests of the integration of society, in the interests of its unity can be seen from this point of view as the sum total or result of differentiated views and interests of one or another class, strata or group of society. The unity of socialist society is forged and strengthened on the principle of the primacy of the long-term interests of its forward-looking force, the working class. At the present development stage of People's Poland the interests of this class are identical with the interests of the national community of the Poles. In accordance with Lenin's instructions, with the principles of Marxist-Leninist theory, our party is guided by the principle that a developed socialist society — as the highest stage on the way toward a classless society — signifies, essentially, the transition of all strata and classes to the ideological and political position of the working class.

Such a unity of our society does not rule out, but directly places on the agenda, the confrontation of ideas and discussion on ways and means of implementing a generally accepted strategy of the country's development. Unity on cardinal, fundamental questions requires a general discussion with the aim of finding the most effective ways of solving them. This is reflected in the day-to-day practice of our party, which is consistently developing socialist democracy, setting in motion diverse forms of the citizenry's participation in the solution of important problems of the country and the people.

Socialism creates conditions for the formation of genuine unity of

broad social strata. This general regularity applies to Poland, too.

The impact of socialist transformations on forging the unity of our society is manifested in many spheres of social life. Crucial transformations in the life of our country, initiated by the reforms in the spirit of the July Manifesto of the Polish Committee of National Liberation, released enormous reserves of social energy and set in motion factors that played the role of forces stimulating the unification of society, the emergence of a new, hitherto unknown community, and still unknown in a society based on private property.

Patriotism and internationalism, love for the motherland, defense of her freedom and the freedom of other peoples continue to play the role of a key force in the formation of the unity of our society. The patriotic unity and internationalist solidarity of the Polish people are factors that have been historically confirmed by the actions of collectives and the behavior of individuals. Though in our country class and group differences, differences in material and cultural spheres, in world view and customs are still in evidence, yet people belonging to diverse social spheres, whose material conditions vary and who adhere to differing world view principles are united by patriotic motives, support for the socialist path of development, an identity with the people and responsibility for their destinies.

Patriotism in our time — the patriotism of honest responsible endeavor for the good of society and of oneself, present-day socialist patriotism — fulfills an integrating function, uniting broad circles of Poles. The patriotism of honest, disciplined labor now acquires a special value. The point is that the enormous economic potential of our country can be put to optimum use only in conditions of the growing responsibility of each Pole for his individual work and at once for the common endeavor. Hence it would be wrong to consider that the traditional patriotism of a defender of the motherland differs from the patriotism of honest labor and creation, the patriotism of responsibility for the social property one is entrusted with, for tasks set, for an individual and for the collective. At present the Polish people are waging a peaceful struggle to enable their country to occupy an increasingly prominent place in the world economy and civilization, for the full use of the potentialities for an accelerated development of democracy and for genuine, as opposed to formal, human rights.

The PUWP is the key integrating force in the country's socialist development, and in strengthening the moral and political unity of our society. Its inspirational, organizational and mobilizing activity, its

long-term program for the realization of socialist goals, its Marxist-Leninist ideology basically ensure the formation of a deep-going unity of broad social strata. As the crucial motive force of socialist changes and the basic factor of the political integration of all classes and strata of society, professional groups and generations, the PUWP represents in the conditions of People's Poland the sole social force capable of eliminating the non-antagonistic contradictions, tensions and conflicts emerging in the course of accelerated social progress, and of mobilizing broad social strata for this purpose.

The guiding role of our party in the political and socio-economic life of the country and people determines also its responsibilities before the working class, society and the world communist and working-class movement for the fulfillment of its commitments. Over a period of 30 years, in incredibly complex external and domestic conditions the PUWP has steadfastly directed the country's socio-economic development. The party has inspired and organized the social, political, economic and cultural life of the country. In accordance with Marxist-Leninist theory and with account for specific conditions it has systematically influenced the consciousness, position and behavior of party members, and through them, the rest of the people.

Our party has drawn up a comprehensive program of ideological educational work that is closely linked with the country's socio-economic development program, with the strategy of the dynamic growth of Poland's potential and improvement of living standards formulated by the Sixth Congress and developed by the Seventh Congress, which is being realized "by the people for the people."

The special significance of the party's ideological educational work stems from two main factors. First, the strengthening of the moral and political unity of Polish society is taking place in conditions of a sharpening ideological struggle. Second, the country's embarking on the road of building a developed socialist society poses new sweeping tasks. With the accelerated development, new growth problems are emerging which can be resolved only through the common effort of the entire people. This demands of every Polish citizen a high sense of responsibility and discipline both at work and in residential neighborhoods, enhanced social and professional activity as a factor of the growing participation of each in forming the present and future image of the country.

An important factor in the formation of unity is the Polish socialist state, the varied forms of socialist democracy. This unity is served by the foreign policy of our state, its fraternal relations with the socialist

community, the Polish people's friendship with the peoples of the other socialist states and above all the Soviet Union.

Under socialism a new socio-historic community takes shape, uniting classes and peoples in one whole and embracing all of society. This fundamentally changes both the character of state power and the position of the individual in the system of the political organization of the state.

An important feature of socialist democratism is the real, actually existing economic and political rights and freedoms of the populace. Precisely the unity of basic interests and goals based on public ownership of the means of production serves as the primary guarantee of the rights and freedoms of the individual in our country. Only when they are equal, when they are united by common aims, do people have the opportunity of freely expressing their will and fulfilling their right to participate in managing the affairs of society.

The PPR citizen's rights and freedoms cannot be used against the interests of the people, of society as a whole, or against humanity. Hence the laws of People's Poland forbid the propaganda of war, the incitement of racial and religious hatred, hostility between the peoples. The legislation of socialist Poland guarantees all citizens genuine equality before the law, and state activities in all spheres are unconditionally subordinated to this demand.

The main support of the moral and political unity of a society that is building socialism consists in the system of socialist economic relations, which rests on public ownership of the means of production. Collective ownership of the means of production in our country, the introduction and streamlining of economic planning on a nationwide scale have resulted in a community of the working people's basic economic interests, elimination of exploitation of man by man, a fundamental change in the position of members of socialist society in the system of production relations. Free from the parasitical exploiting classes, this society has become a society of the working people. Now labor is the source of the wealth and well-being of society as a whole. The prestige and position of the individual in society is determined above all by quantity and quality of labor, active participation in common affairs, and not by property standards, as under capitalism.

The moral and political unity of society rallied around the goals of socialism in People's Poland is the result of an inevitable historical process, but it is not an ossified phenomenon, for this unity is continually developing and growing stronger.

The PUWP sees the formation and strengthening of the moral and political unity of Polish society as a dynamic process. This unity is continually being enriched by a new content thanks to the creative activity in all spheres of the life of society, but above all — in accordance with the slogan of the Seventh Congress “for higher quality of work, for better living standards” — in the economic sphere and in material production.

Such a unity presupposes the priority of goals and interests of society as a whole to private goals and interests. At the same time it presupposes conscious socialist public discipline and a high level of public and professional activity.

Concern for the common good, readiness to wage a struggle against any manifestation of evil is the most effective method of asserting the responsibility of all for each individual.

Thanks to the consistent activity of the United Workers' Party, Polish society is rising to an ever higher level of moral and political unity.

Abridged from *Ideologia i polityka*,
November 1978

THE PORTUGUESE COMMUNIST PARTY WILL ALWAYS BE AT ONE WITH THE PEOPLE

*Excerpts from a speech by Alvaro Cunhal at a rally
in solidarity with the people of Chile*

PORTUGAL AND THE SINISTER SHADOW OF PINOCHET

The temporary defeat of the Chilean revolution and the coup accomplished by Pinochet have aroused the concern of the Portuguese people not only because of the sufferings imposed on the Chilean people by fascism, not only because of the international repercussions, and not only because the Chilean events are an instructive lesson, but also because, as has happened time and again on the thorny road of the Portuguese revolution since April 25, during ominous developments and dangers, our people have felt the sinister shadow of the Pinochet-type coup overhanging Portugal.

In Portugal all of us are aware that the fascists and reactionaries in

our country, like imperialism and its specially trained agents, have likewise learned a thing or two from the Chilean counter-revolution and have tried to employ in Portugal the methods and means that in Chile paved the way to the Pinochet coup.

As in Chile, the revolution in Portugal has experienced economic and financial subversion by big capital and imperialism, the unrealistic and demagogic demands feverishly concocted by reaction, and even strikes and acute social conflicts triggered at turning points to undermine the effectiveness, prestige and foundations of the democratic government.

As in Chile, we in Portugal have witnessed unceasing efforts to destabilize the economic, social, political and military situation.

As in Chile, democracy in Portugal was assaulted in the name of freedom and democracy, thereby blunting vigilance and blocking steps to defend the new system.

As in Chile, leftist elements with their ultra-revolutionary slogans (asserting that the provisional governments represented a military dictatorship, and the Revolutionary Council was a "counter-revolutionary body") acted as actual allies of the counter-revolution, and whenever the situation deteriorated they invariably pursued the same aims as the reactionaries, engaging in major acts of provocation and using as a cover the same name, the same banner, and the same symbol as the PCP in order to alienate the vacillating middle strata from the communists.

As in Chile, the multinationals, the IMF, the CIA and imperialism generally, and the social democrats who have joined them, used blackmail, among other things, to pressure Portugal's domestic policies and, through agents, instructions and funds, took part in all the conspiracies that followed one another in quick succession.

In Portugal we knew that prior to the coup Pinochet and other generals, who have shown themselves fiends capable of the most terrible and foul crimes against the people, had posed as respectable democrats and sincere champions of freedom.

All of this made our people feel the sinister shadow of Pinochet overhanging the new, democratic Portugal.

This was by no means idle anxiety or a specter. We have time and again been on the brink of a counter-revolutionary military coup . . .

Today, comrades, when obstacles are piling up against Portuguese democracy and the danger is mounting, we are asked if the threat exists of a Pinochet-type military coup.

Without discouraging vigilance, we reply that at present there is no

danger of a military coup à la Pinochet in Portugal. Only madmen would take that gamble. But if they tried, we are certain they would fail ignominiously.

We believe there is no danger of this sort in the present situation.

But there are other dangers that are seriously threatening the democratic system in Portugal . . .

TOTAL ASSAULT ON THE DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM

As our party CC noted at its plenary meeting on January 15, the offensive mounted by reaction is entering a qualitatively new phase.

Its goal now ranges beyond the restoration of various positions and the recovery of various enterprises or estates.

It is a total offensive with the all-embracing aim of demolishing the democratic system and restoring the power of the monopolies and landowners associated with imperialism.

By stepping up their attacks and reversing the process of political, economic, and social democratization the reactionaries are hoping to bring about radical changes.

In their drive for a quick restoration of the brutal forms of exploitation of the fascist era, they are continuing to cut real wages and raise consumer goods prices to the extent that places them out of the reach of the masses. At many factories they are reintroducing old methods of repression: dismissals, and acts of violence by private agents.

They seek to restore the dynamics of capitalist accumulation, guaranteeing growing profits, paying out billions of escudos through compensation, and by means of classical methods of state-monopoly capitalism they are recommencing the process of centralization and concentration of capital in the hope of bringing the monopoly groups back to power.

By adopting decisions that spell out flagrant violence and lawlessness, they seek to liquidate the agrarian reform, taking livestock, machinery, and the products from the collective producers' farms and cooperatives and turning them over to people who, in most cases, have no right to them.

Directly or indirectly, they are out to abolish or emasculate nationalized industries and thereby clear the way for private banks, beginning the mass reprivatization of factories, creating insuperable difficulties for nationalized industries and individual enterprises, and channelling the surplus value created at nationalized enterprises to capitalist enterprises by means of the relevant price, credit, investment, tax and market policies.

They want a deeper purge of the state apparatus and continue the mass dismissal of democrats, placing in key positions and executive bodies fascists and reactionaries who are gradually taking over control of the administrative machine, economic activity, the mass media and the education system.

They want a fundamental change of the situation in the armed forces, provoking the disintegration or paralysis of the Revolutionary Council, removing or neutralizing military men who had distinguished themselves on April 25, their purpose being the restoration of the reactionary military hierarchy that would use the armed forces not for the promotion of democracy and national independence but for the restoration of monopoly and landowner domination and the dissolution of the democratic system.

They want Portugal to be even more dependent on foreign imperialism diplomatically, economically, financially and militarily so that foreign governments, the Common Market, NATO, the big banks and the multinationals would bring pressure to bear and interfere in Portugal's internal political situation and support the total offensive of reaction against the gains of the revolution, against the democratic system.

More, they want to do away with the electoral system, questioning the constitutionally immutable system of proportionate representation and, by using the mandatory voting rule and threatening those who do not wish to vote with large cash fines, they are dooming large constituencies to compulsion by reactionary ringleaders.

Their central objective, to which other aims are subordinated, is an unconstitutional revision of the Constitution . . .

DEMOCRACY, NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND SOCIALISM

The experience of Portugal (as that of Chile) clearly shows that imperialism is endeavoring to cut short the liberation struggle of the peoples.

From our own experience we can say that had it not been for the pressure, aid, and direct or indirect interference from imperialism in order to counteract the Portuguese revolution, big capital and the landowners would have been defeated and democratic Portugal would have advanced inexorably, without serious hindrances, along the road chosen by the people, the road of socialism.

The fact that today internal reaction is so bold and aggressive is due

not so much to its own strength as to imperialism and external reaction, which are supporting, aiding and prodding it.

The PCP emphatically denounces imperialism's pressure and interference and the surrender of the nation's present governments to them.

The PCP holds that Portugal should show firmness and courage in order to reject dictation from the IMF, which is insisting on a reduction of the working people's real wages, massive dismissals, a lower growth rate of the national product, the devaluation of the escudo, the liberalization of imports and high interest rates that would be ruinous for thousands of small farmers, traders and entrepreneurs.

The PCP believes that a stop must be put as soon as possible to the present pernicious policy of using foreign loans, which are strangling the Portuguese through their tough terms and the annual increment of 25 billion escudos, nearly half of which comprises interest.

The PCP emphatically rejects external pressure and interference aimed at undermining the democratic system.

In the present situation every effort must be made to prevent not only entry into the Common Market, which would be calamitous for the national economy, but also the Portuguese government's agreement to restore monopoly capitalism and revise the Constitution in return for this entry.

Entry into the Common Market is being given out with growing cynicism as payment for granting imperialism the right to impose on Portugal a regime and a policy contravening the will of the Portuguese people. Moreover, the PCP opposes entry into the Common Market because in the present situation it would be tantamount to a sellout of national independence.

Similarly, we must reject NATO's pressure on the regime, on the government, its interference in internal affairs which are under the exclusive jurisdiction of the Portuguese people, a jurisdiction that may be surrendered by the capitulators but never by the Portuguese people.

The reality of Portugal shows that democracy and national independence are indivisible. To defend the democratic system enshrined in the Constitution means to defend national independence, and to defend national independence means to defend the constitutional democratic system.

However, the reality of Portugal also shows something bigger. It shows that political democracy is inseparable from economic and social democracy, that the democratic political system is inseparable

from the final abolition of the monopolies and latifundia and from the democratic transformation of economic structures.

Reaction is spreading the idea that freedom and political democracy can only be saved if the major gains of the revolution, particularly nationalization and the agrarian reform, are nullified.

However, the fact is that every blow struck at nationalization and the agrarian reform is a blow at freedom and Portuguese democracy ...

Some leaders of the Socialist Party claim that today it is necessary to defend democracy and that it will be possible to think about socialism afterwards. But the fact is that renunciation of the socialist perspective would signify renunciation of democracy. In Portugal democracy can be consolidated only by advancing toward socialism ...

ANTI-COMMUNISM AND THE ROLE OF THE COMMUNISTS

All of us remember how some years ago even the enemies of socialism maintained that they were socialists. But today the PCP is the only major party in the nation fighting for socialism.

The PCP does not feel that its program can be changed like a pair of gloves. It is party adhering to firm principles. It is a party that has been in existence and fighting for over half a century. Many of its finest sons and daughters have been persecuted, manhandled, tortured and imprisoned. Many of them have given their lives or thousands of years of their freedom because the fight for the freedom and well-being of the Portuguese people is the purpose of the party's very existence.

Today when reaction is going over to a total offensive against the democratic system, there are defectors and former counter-revolutionaries who become the hired spokesmen of the rightist forces; there are some who join hands with the enemy; there are some who surrender in the face of danger. However, as always, the PCP does not retreat in the face of obstacles, violence and threats. The people will always see it on the front line of battle, where it has stood and always will stand.

The PCP is the most dependable political mainstay of Portuguese democracy, and for that reason it is the target of all the anger, campaigns, and hate of the reactionary forces.

Anti-communism is spearheaded chiefly at the PCP. However, other democrats should harbor no illusions. Portuguese and world

history makes it plain that anti-communism is also directed against other democratic and progressive forces. The label of "communist" is given by reaction to all civilians and military men who at the given moment act against it or do not serve it . . .

Today there are people who shout that the PCP should be driven into a ghetto. When reaction demands the PCP's enclosure in a ghetto it means that the PCP should be removed from national life on the level of participation in the adoption of government decisions and of participation in alliances of political forces.

By driving the PCP into a ghetto, they want to isolate not only the communists but also the working classes, the working people and their class organizations, all true democrats and patriots.

But what happens actually?

Of course, they can unite and continue to connive at the intrigues of the élite with the purpose of championing the unlawful interests of big capital, the latifundists and imperialism, and temporarily have the opportunity to divide spheres of power and distribute key positions.

But they themselves will lose their base of support and antagonize the entire nation. In the long run, they will drive themselves into a ghetto.

The PCP is a party that cannot be driven into a ghetto because it is always at one with the working class and all other working people, with the working masses, and because with the freedoms and rights granted it by the Constitution it will always be tireless in championing their interests and rights.

Avante! March 3, 1979

NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT OF NICARAGUA: "WE WILL CONTINUE THE STRUGGLE"

Commander German Pomares is one of the founders of the Sandinist National Liberation Front (SNLF). He has waged an armed struggle against the Anastasio Somoza dictatorship for 18 years. In this interview German Pomares, who now commands the Carlos Fonseca Amador northern front, sums up the most important aspects of the struggle against Somoza over the period up to mid-December 1978.

The SNLF is continuing the struggle in Nicaragua; it is fighting the tyranny not only on the battlefield — in the north and south of the country, in the rural areas and the cities — but on the political plane as well, thwarting the attempts of the so-called “mediation commission” — orchestrated by the U.S. government — to impose on the country a dictatorship without Somoza. The SNLF position is clear: the struggle will go on till the realization of the legitimate aspirations of the Nicaraguan people.

Q. How would you assess the present situation in Nicaragua?

A. Taking the situation of the Nicaraguan people as a whole, it can be called a situation of war, though there is talk in Managua about a “referendum,” observance of constitutional guarantees and many other things; there is talk, too, of an amnesty for all political prisoners, members of the Sandinist Front.

In our opinion this is merely a hoax, like the one Somoza resorted to in 1932 to murder Sandino . . .

Q. Hence, what is the immediate, medium- and long-term role of the revolutionary forces united in the Sandinist National Liberation Front?

A. We realize that the twaddle of the Managua politicians as well as the Yankee interference through the notorious high level “mediation commission” are designed to emasculate the Nicaraguan people’s struggle at a time when victory over the tyranny is in sight, to minimize the people’s triumph through a false mediation.

But no matter what, we will not change our plans of struggle. It should be understood that we are involved in a very peculiar “arms race”: the dictatorship is acquiring ever more sophisticated weapons, while we get ours wherever possible to hand them over to our people, to the hundreds of fighters both abroad and in the country, hiding in the vicinity of Esteli, Chinandega, Masaya, in Managua itself and in Leon. That is where the people’s fighters are now.

We consider that even if our next offensive does not result in the overthrow of the dictatorship, the latter will at least be weakened. We do not know when the war will end, but we know that it has not ended yet. Our comrades are engaged in actions every day in Chinandega, Leon and Masaya. We are resolved to go on fighting against the tyranny whatever the results of the talks.

Q. What are the political results of the September 1978 uprising and the earlier seizure of the National Palace by the Sandinist guerrillas? How did it influence the people’s movement in Nicaragua?

A. The plan to seize the palace to put forward certain demands to the tyranny had been made much earlier. But we timed it to pre-empt the coup that was being prepared against the tyranny. The coup was intended to overthrow the family of the tyrant and to leave only the "good" military in power. In reality, however, the hands of all of these colonels are blood-stained. They plotted the coup together with the U.S. Embassy, the bankers and big industrialists.

We realized that they were calling for a strike in order to carry out the coup under its cover, thereby nullifying the joint struggle of the people and the Sandinist Front. That is why we hastened to seize the palace. And when the strike began, we, as before, were in the van of the people, pointing out the way.

We published our document, for it was essential to explain to the people the SNLF's goals and what it stands for. We saw the positive impact of this document, for the small owners immediately called for a strike to overthrow Somoza. They called for the strike, but they no longer led it, it was the people who carried it out. And then, at the height of the strike we carried out our operation. We saw that the document had a positive impact; the entire people joined the Sandinist fighters for the overthrow of the tyranny . . .

The importance of the September insurrection lies in the fact that the entire working class, the peasantry, the whole people decided to fight together against the dictatorship. And we can say that our people are fully aware that theirs is a class struggle. This was evident to us even earlier; ever since October 1977 we have been aware of the worth of our people and of their political training over the many years of struggle of the Sandinist Front. Only such a struggle could change the economic situation of the worker and peasant. And when the time came to act, the popular masses answered us: "We are ready!"

Q. How does the opposition of the Broad Opposition Front differ from that of the SNLF?

A. The Broad Opposition Front and the Sandinist National Liberation Front adhere to different positions. The BOF only wants a change of the power structure while maintaining the existing economic and political structure. That was the purpose of its emergence. Whereas we want more than a change of facade. We and the entire working people of Nicaragua want to change the system of government. And this change can be ensured only by the Sandinist Front together with a popular revolutionary government.

This is the idea that our revolutionary fighters must be guided by. They must see clearly where they are going, what they are fighting

for, why they took up arms. They took up arms to defend the interests of the people and not the interests of the politicians.

The mediation can neither confuse nor deceive us. On the contrary, our policy was defined in October 1977, when we aggravated the contradictions in the economy and government policy. The people were aware of these contradictions which had appeared earlier, but they had to be prodded to bring them out into the open. This we did in October 1977. Since then the Nicaraguan people are aware that they have a strong, armed vanguard whose ideological stand is clear to everyone.

Q. The mediators proposed setting up a provisional government, holding a referendum and adopting other measures to create the impression that changes were under way in Nicaragua. As the saying goes: "You have to change something if you don't really want to change anything." You said that the Sandinist Front is following its own policy. Could you explain what kind of government the Front intends to set up, and its policy?

A. Yes, I will do so. For instance, the mediators speak of democratizing the country. But what they want is a bourgeois democracy. Now our aim is a popular democracy, a popular-democratic revolutionary government. This government has its own minimum program: expropriation of the Somoza property so as to use it for the good of the entire population. The mediators might propose the same thing, that is, expropriation of the Somoza property, but they would use it in the interests of the same ruling clique. In such a case, as you have already noted, nothing would change.

The only thing that will change if Washington imposes its plan with the aid of its pseudo-leaders is the facade, but the content of the system will remain the same.

We say that the system must be changed. It must be eradicated, and Somozism, which brought tragedy to the Nicaraguan people, must be liquidated.

Q. Ignoring the international solidarity displayed toward the Nicaraguan people by the peoples of Venezuela, Mexico, Costa Rica, Panama, Peru and other countries, Israel is supplying the Somoza guards with weapons. What do you think of Israel's support of the Somoza government?

A. Owing to world opinion, the whole world's sympathies with the Nicaraguan people's struggle, the weapons received by Somoza, especially in the recent period (he is supplied, for instance, with the most up-to-date Israeli submachine guns) are not coming to

Nicaragua from the USA, for the United States does not want its sophisticated weapons to appear in Nicaragua. It resorts to the aid of its imperialist toadies, the Zionist government for one.

But we are convinced that despite the weapons Somoza receives from the imperialist states the Nicaraguan people have the strength and the will to defeat the dictatorship.

Q. The conditions of struggle in Nicaragua have convinced the Sandinist Front of the need to build their own army. Can you tell us about the Front's work in that direction?

A. We have sought literally from the outset to organize a Sandinist army. We have sought to create it in action, in struggle, and at present we have drafted its combat regulations. On joining the SNLF ranks a person already knows what regulations he must observe. If he ascribed to them, he enters the struggle together with the SNLF, together with the Sandinist army, which is setting up units in cities, settlements, the forests and the hills.

We can say that we are not a professional army. We are an army of the people, for the people as a whole are fighting against the tyranny; they expect to be led in battle by the most conscious and best trained comrades. Over the years of struggle we have accumulated fighting experience, and we are passing it on to the young people fighting along with the Sandinist Front.

Abridged from *Bohemia*, February 9, 1979

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