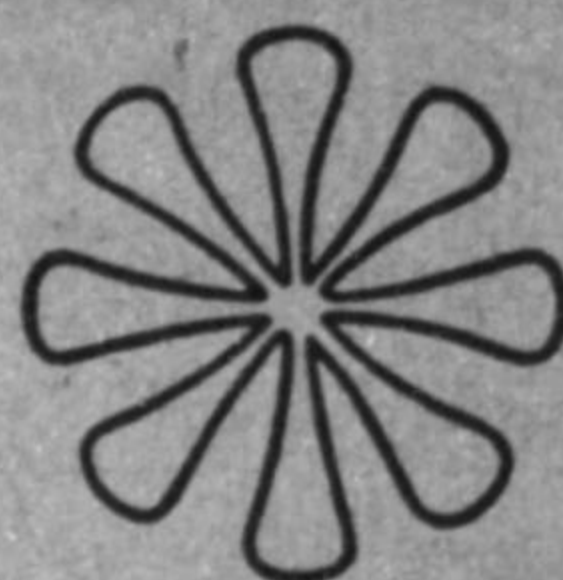


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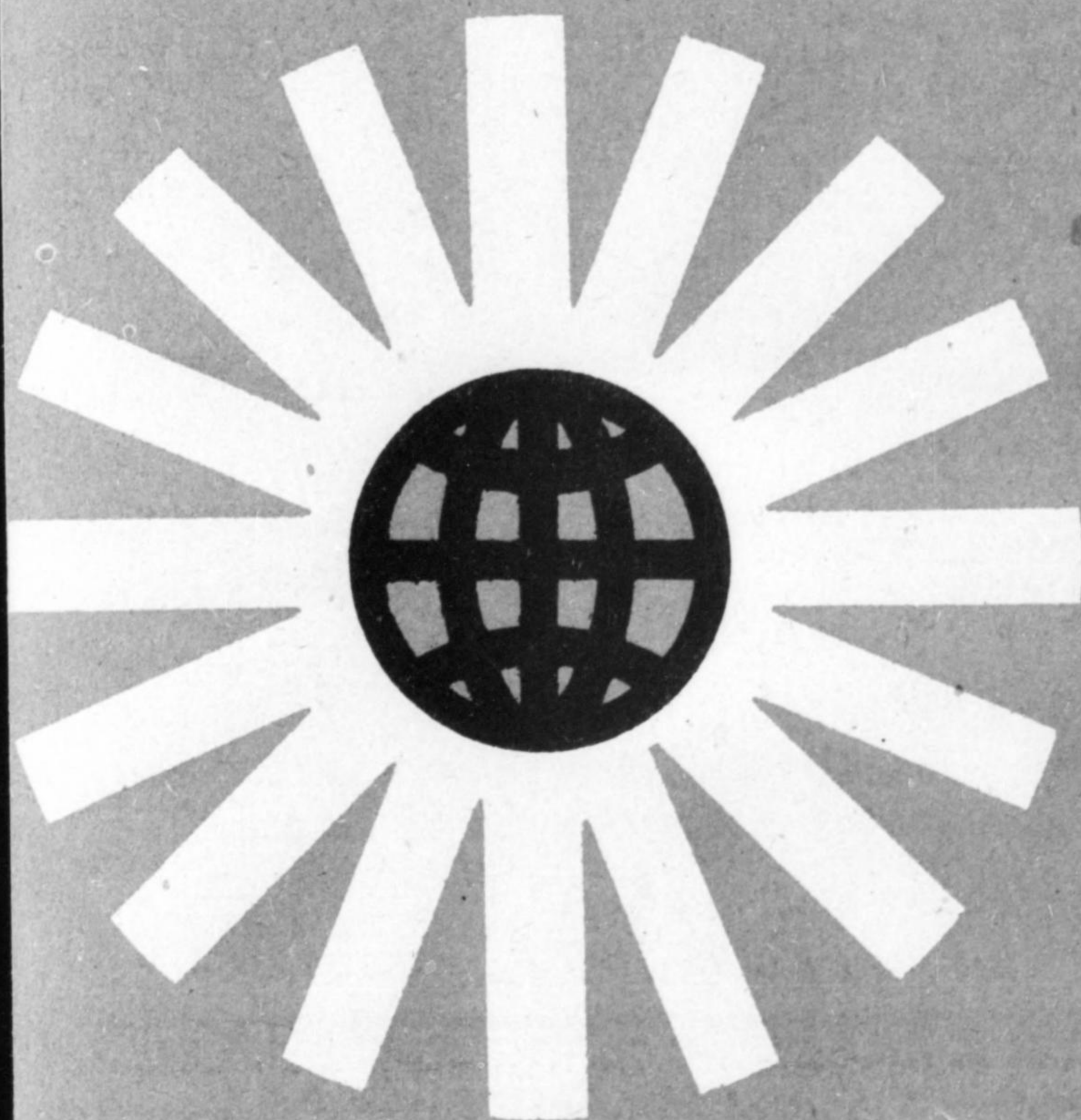


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BULLETIN

Issued by

**WORLD MARXIST
REVIEW
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MIDDLE EAST



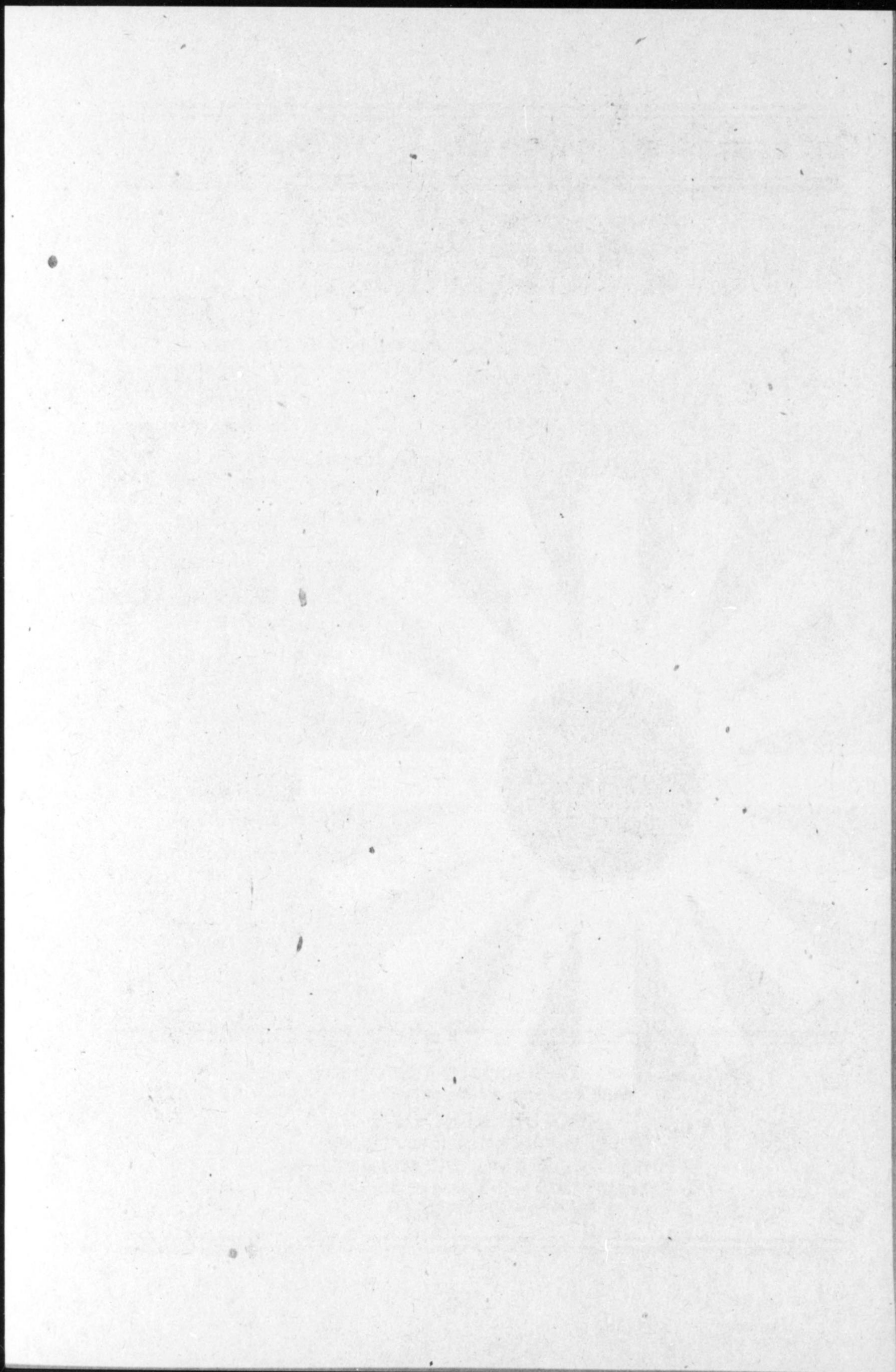
MAOIST IDEOLOGY



CMEA COUNTRIES

10

(386) • 1979



information bulletin — 10 (386) Vol. 17

*Appears twice monthly in English, Arabic
French, German, Greek and Spanish*

contents

Leonid Brezhnev: in the interest
of the peoples and world peace 5

THE SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Down with the defeatist peace
treaty between Egypt and Israel 8

For further development
of the national and
democratic revolution 12

Solidarity with the
people of Iran 21

Foil U.S. imperialist
conspiracies in the Sudan 24

Withdraw from NATO, end
dependence on imperialism 26

MAOIST IDEOLOGY: CHAUVINISM, GREAT POWER MANIA AND HEGEMONISM

Against Maoist falsification
of history 28

Continued next page

Published by PEACE AND SOCIALISM PUBLISHERS—Prague
North American edition published by

PROGRESS BOOKS

71 BATHURST ST., THIRD FLOOR,
TORONTO, ONTARIO, CANADA M5V 2P6

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Continued

Heighten vigilance to counter
the U.S.-Chinese
aggressive alliance 30

What the Maoist-imperialist
alliance can bring 33

Contrary to the principles
of socialism 37

FROM THE PRESS

CMEA countries: 1978 results
Pravda 40

State and church
Stefan Janusiewicz,
Marek Jaworski 49

Isn't it time to
"re-create" the world?
Yves Moreau 53

Erosion of the regime
Eduardo Viera 54

PRINTED IN CANADA
MAY 31, 1979

PRICE: 10 CENTS



LEONID BREZHNEV: IN THE INTEREST OF THE PEOPLES AND WORLD PEACE

Peace, Détente, and Soviet-American Relations is the title of a book by Leonid Brezhnev put out by the U.S. publishing firm of Harcourt Brace Jovanovich. It deals with the foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state, and the tireless struggle waged by the USSR to strengthen peace and the security of nations, and to deepen international détente.

In his address to American readers Leonid Brezhnev wrote:

Brought together in this book you will find articles and speeches — in full or abridged — on problems of détente and Soviet-American relations and covering the period from 1973 to June 1978.

Political speeches are sensitive to the test of time and cannot always claim rebirth in book form. The abiding urgency of our theme is due to the longing of billions of people for lasting peace and security, to their concern for the future of détente. The abiding relevance of these statements is due to the consistent and unchanging course of the Soviet Union in foreign policy, a course for the peaceful coexistence and cooperation of states, irrespective of differences between their social and political systems, a course for détente, a course that is unaffected by momentary considerations of expediency.

I do not doubt that the majority of Americans want neither a shooting war between our countries nor the nerve-racking dangerous tensions of a cold war. At the same time I can grant that some of my American readers may have been conditioned into having doubts and even apprehensions regarding the “real” intentions of the Soviet Union. These doubts and apprehensions certainly do not arise from their own personal experiences. Their only source is the biased statements of journalists, of persons reputed to be “experts” in this field, and even of particular official spokesmen, taken at face value.

Some readers have come under the influence of political forces bent on sabotaging détente. Actively using the means of manipulating public opinion, these forces present their own private interests as the

interests of the nation. They are busy creating log jams in the way of agreement between our countries on crucial questions of arms limitation and the preparation of conditions for transition to disarmament. They see danger to their plans and to themselves in any moves conducive to our peoples gaining a better knowledge of each other's life and culture and to their arriving at a greater mutual understanding. They managed to prevent the U.S. government from honoring its promise to end discrimination against the Soviet Union in the fields of trade and credit. As a result the Soviet Union turned to other markets; its trade with other Western countries grew appreciably, while U.S. foreign trade suffered damage that could easily have been avoided.

This book will give you first-hand knowledge of the views of "the other side" in the spirit of "fair play" so respected by Americans.

I hope it will help you to find the answer to the question of Soviet intentions, about which masses of misrepresentations and fantastic inventions have been raised by the opponents of détente. The intentions of the Soviet Union, of its leaders and people are precisely as set out in this book. There is no other, parallel and secret, "black paper" of our policy. To impute to the Soviet Union insidious designs in Europe, Africa and the Middle East or with regard to the United States is just a foul tactic of political struggle. It bears no resemblance to the facts.

The reader can trace, chronologically, Soviet efforts to have international relations restructured in the interests of peaceful co-existence, to the benefit of the peoples of our countries and of universal peace. Using the subject index, he will be able to gain a better knowledge of the Soviet view on particular international problems.

Détente has been and remains the subject of a great deal of debate. In this book you will find our understanding of this process of overcoming the cold war and moving on to normal, equable and mutually beneficial relations between states. The need for détente springs from the objective circumstances of the coexistence of states in conditions of a nuclear age. Unless we wish to call in question the very existence of civilization and mankind, there is truly no other way.

To the widely known imperatives of the nuclear age one may add the historical legacy which favors the development of good relations between the Soviet Union and the United States. Our countries have never waged war against each other, if we discount the brief American participation in foreign military intervention against the young Soviet Republic. We have no territorial claims on each other. The

peoples of our two countries possess a tremendous cultural heritage and potential and are keenly interested in each other's cultural life.

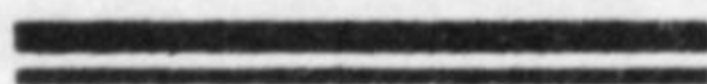
True, we are divided by differences in our social systems. The United States is the major capitalist country. (Perhaps you would prefer to say "the major Western country.") The Soviet Union is the major socialist country. There is bound to be an ideological debate between us as to whose world view is more correct and whose way of life is better. Here there is bound to be competition between the two systems. But let us agree that this historical dispute cannot be decided on the battlefield of nuclear war. History will in due course deliver its verdict. In the meantime, attending to our own business in our respective countries, we shall cooperate peaceably on the principles of propriety, mutual respect and mutual benefit. This is our view.

In his Farewell Address the founder of your nation, George Washington, advised you to observe good faith and justice toward all nations, and to cultivate peace and harmony with all.

The founder of our Soviet state, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, put forward and made a persuasive case for the principle of the peaceful co-existence of states belonging to different social and political systems — this was many decades before the word *détente* acquired its present meaning. This principle demands that states not interfere in each other's internal affairs and that they not use force to decide disputed issues, and that normal peaceful and businesslike relations be maintained between socialist and capitalist countries.

Let us follow the behests of the founders of our states.

I hope this book will convince the reader that it is precisely this road which the Soviet Union prefers.



THE SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST

DOWN WITH THE DEFEATIST PEACE TREATY BETWEEN EGYPT AND ISRAEL

*Statement by Communist and Workers' Parties
of Arab countries*

Having analyzed the situation resulting from the signing of the defeatist peace treaty between the Sadat regime and Israel under the aegis of the United States, representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties of Arab countries agreed on the following statement.

On March 26, 1979, Anwar Sadat and Begin signed a peace treaty between Egypt and Israel in the White House in the presence of President Carter and members of the U.S. Congress. This was the crowning act along the road of capitulation and betrayal started by Sadat's visit to occupied Jerusalem and continued with the signing of the Camp David 'accords. These were denounced by each of our parties individually, and by all of them in a joint statement released at the close of last December, and which called for the broadest possible mobilization of both the masses and official agencies against these accords and for foiling them.

The peace treaty is a serious violation of Egypt's independence and national sovereignty. It preserves Israel's occupation of a part of Egyptian territory, is an obstacle to Egypt's exercise of full sovereignty over the Sinai Peninsula, restricts Egypt in its relations with Arab countries and places humiliating conditions on it by stipulating that it establish diplomatic, economic and cultural relations with Israel, open an embassy in occupied Jerusalem and deliver Egyptian oil to Israel.

The treaty endangers the interests of the Arab peoples and is a violation of the Charter of the League of Arab countries and of the joint Arab defense agreement. Its aim is to weaken and undermine Arab unity in the struggle against imperialism and Zionism, split the Arab national-liberation movement and secure Egypt's final withdrawal from the Arab solidarity front against Israeli occupation and imperialism. Its aim is an alliance between Egypt, the Zionist enemy and U.S. imperialism against the Arab and African national-liberation

movements and turning Egypt into a policeman to crush the urge of Arab, African and other peoples for freedom and independence.

The treaty deals a perfidious blow at the struggle of the Arab people of Palestine. It denies this people the right to self-determination, denies the role of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, accepts Israel's permanent military control of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and formalizes Israel's annexation of the Arab part of Jerusalem. The provisions it contains for administrative autonomy are a conspiracy whose aim is to perpetuate Israeli occupation and prevent the people of Palestine from exercising their right to an independent national state.

The treaty endangers peace and security in this region and throughout the world. It envisages setting up U.S. ground, air and naval bases in Egypt and in Israel, huge U.S. arms deliveries primarily to Israel but also to Egypt, and establishing tracking and early warning systems. The military bloc to be created in line with the treaty will be spearheaded against the forces of freedom and progress the world over.

The Egyptian-Israeli treaty is fraught with grave economic dangers. It makes Egypt a go-between and a vehicle for penetration by Zionist capital, and also by the capital of U.S. monopolies and the multinationals, into various Arab countries with a view to bringing about their economic subjugation, undermining their independent modern industries, establishing control of their commerce, oil resources and transport routes, creating obstacles for the Arab oil producing states in establishing fair prices for their oil, preventing the Arab peoples from using oil as an instrument in their struggle, and solving the energy problems of U.S. imperialism.

The United States has spared no little effort to conclude this conspiratorial deal, mobilizing all its energies for the purpose, including the personal efforts of President Carter. It put pressure on Egypt to force it to retreat on all issues and secure the satisfaction of the Zionists' claims. The United States is striving to regain direct control of this region, to compensate for the enormous political, military and economic losses it sustained as a result of the victory of the Iranian revolution and the disintegration of CENTO, create a threat to the deep-going revolutionary transformations in Democratic Yemen, Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Mozambique and Angola, create a counter-weight to the Front for Steadfastness and Confrontation, the Arab Peoples' Congress and the Baghdad Summit, and also the Charter of Joint National Action and the PLO political program.

This treaty is connected with the general strategy of the United States as a whole and particularly its intention of keying up international tensions, reviving the cold war climate, building up the arms race, inflating military budgets, aiding and abetting the aggressive propensities of the Peking rulers, arming them and entering into alliances with them, obstructing any further détente, and fanning anti-communism and anti-Sovietism.

By signing this treaty Sadat betrayed the struggle of the Egyptian and other Arab peoples, trampled on all the agreements he had signed on behalf of Egypt and its people in Algiers and in Rabat, reneged on his promises to defend the right of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination and to the formation of an independent national state, and to work for the return of the Arab part of Jerusalem.

There is nothing in the treaty of what it is said to be intended for — peace. On the contrary, it contains the seeds of tensions and more aggression and is an obstacle to the efforts toward a just settlement of the Middle East problem.

The communist and workers' parties of the Arab countries condemn this perfidious "peace" treaty between Egypt and the Israeli aggressor and voice their strong indignation over Sadat's signing it on behalf of the Egyptian people. They appeal to the Arab people in all countries, to all forces of freedom and progress to launch a struggle against this treaty, to expose its dangers and work to stop it.

The communist and workers' parties of the Arab countries insist on fulfillment of the decisions of the Baghdad Summit, application of the planned political and economic sanctions against the Sadat regime and implementation of the decisions of the Arab Peoples' Congress and the conference of the Front for Steadfastness and Confrontation held in Damascus — decisions on striking at American interests, on the attitude toward the United States as an enemy, and also on strengthening cooperation with the Soviet Union.

Once again the communist and workers' parties of the Arab countries call for the broadest freedoms and democracy for the masses in order that effective mass action be taken throughout the entire Arab world and in each country against this humiliating and disgraceful treaty, for closer cooperation between all the progressive patriotic forces and regimes in the Arab countries, for uniting them in a broad militant front, strengthening our cooperation and alliance with the Soviet Union — true friend and dependable ally of the Arabs in their struggle against imperialism and Zionism, for economic and social progress, for greater mass action in conjunction with the world's

progressive democratic forces and organizations to eliminate the grave dangers with which the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty is fraught for the cause of the Arab nation and its supreme political and economic interests, the sovereignty and national independence of the Arab countries, the national-liberation movements in Africa and elsewhere, and for world peace.

The communist and workers' parties of the Arab countries maintain that at this stage, with mounting dangers to the Arab national-liberation movement and the rights of the Arab people of Palestine, there is a need for the broadest freedoms for the masses, more attention to their pressing demands, and an end to all forms of persecution, harassment and discrimination against patriots and progressives, against all opponents of imperialism and Zionism whatever trends they may belong to. It is impermissible to combine the struggle against such a treaty with reprisals against patriots and progressives, particularly against communists — heroic fighters for the interests of their peoples, against imperialism, Zionism and reaction.

We hail the struggle of the fraternal Egyptian people and their progressive patriotic forces against Sadat's treachery and against the conspiracy cloaked as "peace," forced upon them against their will. We voice our fraternal solidarity with their courageous struggle against this treaty and for Egypt to once again take its place in the Arabs' struggle against imperialism and Zionism. The Egyptian people who, thanks to their struggle, their sacrifices and unity of their patriotic forces, shook off the yoke of the treaty with Britain,* defeated the tripartite imperialist aggression in Port Said and wrested the Suez Canal from the imperialist monopolies, are today also capable of wrecking the defeatist "peace" treaty and emerging victorious in the fight against Sadat's betrayal.

We hail the struggle of the Palestinian people in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, who voice their indignation over this treaty and "autonomy," and declare our militant solidarity with them. The efforts of the Arab people against this disgraceful treaty of betrayal, for the liberation of Arab territories occupied in 1967, and to guarantee the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine to return to their homeland, to self-determination and an independent national state, will certainly defeat the imperialist and Zionist conspiracies.

Long live the common struggle of the Arabs against this disgraceful and defeatist treaty of betrayal!

March 27, 1979

*1936. — Ed.

FOR FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIONAL AND DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION

Resolution of the Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Tudeh Party of Iran

Through the overthrow of the corrupt monarchy and the seizure of power by a provisional revolutionary government, the first stage of the national and democratic revolution of our country was crowned with a tremendous historical victory. Apart from a handful of traitors to the national interests, the whole people took part, in a unitary front, in this great revolution. With its exemplary readiness to bring sacrifices, it has added splendid aspects to the history of the revolution of the oppressed peoples of the world.

The overthrow of the bloodthirsty regime, armed to the teeth and enjoying the active support of the greatest imperialist power in the world, U.S. imperialism, and smashing blows against the foundation pillars of the most criminal rule of imperialism in our country — such are the achievements of the people's revolution.

The Tudeh Party of Iran is in full agreement with Ayatollah Khomeini regarding the following problem: after a difficult and dangerous fight, the first stage of the people's revolution has been concluded. At that point begins the second stage. Under the present conditions, the main task is to stabilize and consolidate the victory that has been gained, and to begin with the reconstruction of the economy and the reorganization of the state apparatus.

The Tudeh Party of Iran maintains that the realization of these demands requires immediate, radical measures to liquidate the military strong points, to eliminate the political and economic influence of imperialism and to destroy the remnants of reaction.

The history of revolutions shows that the guarantee of political independence and the elimination of a part of the followers of the old regime are in themselves not enough to do away with the economic domination of imperialism and reaction.

The further maintenance of the economic positions of imperialism and reaction is fraught with grave dangers for the future of the revolution. Only by smashing and destroying these positions is it possible to realize the just demands of millions of working people and the poor; it is necessary to promote the industrialization of the country in accordance with national interests and, at the same time, to

extirpate imperialism; to lead agriculture out of its present catastrophic condition; to improve the living conditions of the working people speedily, and, finally, to promote national culture.

The Tudeh Party of Iran calls on all fighters on behalf of the people to unite on the basis of a common program which meets the demands of millions of working people and of the intermediate strata of society. It appeals to them to make this program the basis for common and joint actions for the elaboration of a new constitution, for the election of a constitutional assembly, for the adoption of the constitution, for the election of a national assembly and for the formation of a national government.

Therefore the Tudeh Party of Iran proposes the following program for the establishment of a United Front of the People. At any time, it is prepared to consider any other proposals on it with the utmost care.

(A) THE POLITICAL ORDER, THE INDIVIDUAL AND SOCIAL POLITICAL RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES

1. The Tudeh Party of Iran supports the initiative of His Holiness, Ayatollah Khomeini, regarding the proclamation of an Islamic Republic. It will fully side with him in its realization.

2. The Tudeh Party of Iran supports the concept that our country must have a democratic army capable of defending the independence and territorial integrity of our country. This army must stand in the service of our people. Therefore, our party is explicitly in favor of the idea of forming a National Guard for the protection of the revolution and also to frustrate any eventual conspiracy. The democratic people's army is the surest guarantee that the gains of the victorious revolution will be protected. We are firmly convinced that the National Guard must be formed with the voluntary participation of all upright national and patriotic forces, without any prejudice and without any discrimination.

3. The republic can only grow strong and make progress if all the peoples of our country take part freely and actively in political and social life, if all religions, customs and habits, the national culture and the languages of all peoples are recognized and respected.

The granting of administrative and cultural autonomy to all the peoples of the country within the framework of a united democratic republic is an essential condition for the realization of national unity, for the protection of the country's independence and territorial integrity.

4. It is essential that the right of the masses to take an active part in the administrative affairs of the country through the councils of the counties, districts, communities and villages should be safeguarded in the newly-founded republic.

The councils must act as local administrative organs within the framework of explicitly defined rights and duties.

5. The guarantee of democratic rights and liberties is only possible when all social, political and mass organizations of national and progressive character can publish and propagate their conceptions without any restriction or discrimination, and when no public authority and no person claims an exclusive right for himself to suppress and discriminate against other people.

In order to reach this aim, the following is essential:

All laws and regulations, which are at variance with the democratic rights and the sovereignty of the people, must be annulled. All corrupt and criminal leaders of the old regime must be put on trial and punished. Freedom of opinion, speech, the press and assembly must be guaranteed. The parties must be free. Defendants must have the right to defend themselves without any restrictions in the course of legal proceedings.

All citizens, regardless of nationality, sex, religion and the ability to read or write, must have the right to elect and be elected to all eligible institutions.

The right of the workers and other working people in town and country to form mass organizations must be fully acknowledged. The latter must have the right to take part in all affairs bearing on production and the working and living conditions of the working people.

All working people in town and country must have the right to strike without any restriction.

Genuine equality of men and women in society must be secured.

(B) FOREIGN POLICY

1. Defense of the territorial integrity, protection and consolidation of the political and economic independence of the country;

2. All unequal official or secret treaties regarding economic, political and military affairs, which have been forced upon our country by imperialism and by the overthrown regime of the shah, must be invalidated;

3. Immediate withdrawal from the aggressive CENTO pact and cancellation of the bilateral military agreement with the USA;

4. Offer to all neighboring countries, Iraq, Turkey, Afghanistan,

the USSR and Pakistan, to conclude treaties of friendship and non-aggression with Iran;

5. Declaration of neutrality and joining the non-aligned movement;

6. Recommendation of the signing of a collective security treaty in the Middle East and in Asia;

7. Comprehensive material and moral aid to the revolutionary and anti-imperialist liberation movements, mainly the PLO;

8. Endeavors to establish relations of friendship and cooperation with all countries of the world on the basis of equality and non-interference in internal affairs;

9. Defense of world peace and consistent application of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

(C) DEFENSE AND PROTECTION OF THE SECURITY OF THE COUNTRY

1. A thorough purge of the army from all anti-national and corrupt elements;

2. Fundamental changes in the internal order of the army with a view to turning it into a really national and democratic army, an army of the people; formation of a national committee of soldiers, NCOs and officers, as well as the guarantee of the right for every member of the armed forces to take part in the political life of the country;

3. Cut the military budget and also reduce the numerical strength of the army. The strength of the armed forces must be consistent with the real requirements of defense of the country.

(D) THE ECONOMY

1. Extirpation of imperialist domination in all fields of the national economy by means of annulment of all unequal contracts;

2. Nationalization of all industrial and agricultural enterprises, as well as of all financial institutions which are owned by the monopolies and the imperialist states; nationalization of private banks and insurance societies and of the large-scale industrial and agricultural enterprises belonging to big capitalists and persons who are considered to be accomplices of the overthrown regime and in general to be connected with imperialist capital;

3. Confiscation of the entire property of the Pahlavi family; measures to return the property which has been transferred abroad by members of the Pahlavi family; confiscation of all riches which have been plundered during the more than 50 years of terroristic dictatorship of the old regime by its leaders and by imperialist agents; con-

fiscation of all urban real estate possessed by big land speculators and stockbrokers, and return of the real estate to the councils of the counties, towns and districts, in order to build houses for the working people on it.

4. Annulment of the contract with the international oil consortium, fixation of oil production within an appropriate system, employment of appropriate technical methods for the exploitation of the oil resources with the aim to preventing exhaustion as well as despoiling of natural gas, and also measures for a rational utilization of this wealth;

5. Annulment of all costly contracts for the construction of nuclear power plants and of all agreements regarding the deposition of atomic refuse in Iran;

6. Introduction of scientific planning in all fields of the national economy.

7. Industrialization of the country, expansion of various branches of the mining and iron and steel industry, as well as of the consumer goods production on the basis of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution with due regard to the priorities, possibilities and real demands of our society;

8. Concentration of the most important branches of industry, the banking system and insurance in the state sector; democratization of the public sector which must be put in the service of the people;

9. Realization of a fundamental land reform by means of confiscation of real estate of landed proprietors; nationalization of large-scale private agricultural enterprises; cultivation of fallow land to give landless or land-hungry farmers a sufficient area of land, so that they need no longer work as farmhands; guarantee of the farmers' property; nationalization of the agrarian-industrial enterprises;

10. Comprehensive reorganization and extension of domestic trade; effective support, extension and stimulation of domestic trade; termination of the catastrophic Open Door policy; creation of appropriate conditions for safeguarding the useful activity of patriotically-minded capitalists;

11. Revision of the process of distribution of the national income by elaborating and modifying the state budget with account of the economic priorities; elimination of all unnecessary expenditures and granting of all necessary credits for a rapid and comprehensive development of the economy, culture and the educational system;

12. Radical modification of the revenue system in favor of the workers by hand and by brain in urban and rural districts.

(E) IMPROVEMENT OF THE LIVING CONDITIONS

(1) The worker

Guarantee of the workers' participation on an equal footing in the management of industrial and agricultural enterprises, in decision-making regarding the elaboration of production plans and establishment of a just relation between wage and profit.

— Elaboration of labor legislation on a democratic basis.

— Provision of jobs for all — the right to work must be regarded as an inalienable right of all citizens of the country; elimination of unemployment.

— Acknowledgement of the right to conclude collective contracts and provision of the necessary guarantees for its realization.

— Immediate increase of wages in accordance with the work done and the fundamental material and spiritual requirements of the working people and their families with due regard to the increasing cost of living (rising prices).

— Reduction of the working week in all production branches; longer yearly paid holidays, as agreed with the elected representatives of the workers.

— Elaboration of progressive social insurance legislation in the interests of all working people and their families; guarantee of free medical care, including the required medicines.

— Guarantee of decent living space for the workers.

— Modification of the classification of occupations.

— Higher old-age pensions for the workers.

(2) The farmers

Immediate granting of state credits, seed, fertilizer and technical aid to small and middle farmers;

— Comprehensive support for the establishment of agricultural cooperative associations; extension of the network of marketing cooperative societies for the farmers and wholesale purchases of agricultural produce at reasonable prices.

— Effective solution of the irrigation problem in the interest of the farmers.

— Repayment of credits which had been granted to the farmers as well as payments for the land received must be cancelled. All material measures for suppressing the farmers adopted by the old regime must be abolished.

(3) The women

Equal rights with men in all social and political fields.

- Equal wage for equal work regardless of sex.
- Granting of a long paid maternity leave.
- Establishment of a broad network of maternity hospitals, crèches and kindergartens in the interest of the working people.

(4) The employees

Rational division of work in the institutions; promotion according to the abilities, quality of work and seniority.

- Democratic revision of the Labor Code and prevention of any discrimination.
- Solving of the housing problem of the employees.
- Acknowledgment of the right to form mass organizations for all employees of public and private institutions, and acknowledgment of the right to strike.

(5) The young people

Fundamental change of the educational system.

- Free education at all levels.
- Grant of scholarships to children of workers, farmers and low-paid employees.
- Extension of the system of vocational training.
- Provision of facilities for sports and physical culture free of charge; extension of sport facilities and establishment of culture clubs in urban and rural localities.
- Provision of public state libraries all over the country, which can be used free of charge.

(6) The artisans

Granting of state credits to the artisans to support their work.

- Formation of special artisans' cooperative societies to support their demands and professional interests.
- Promotion of the national skilled craft.

(F) CULTURE

1. Elimination of all features of colonial culture from the daily life of the people.

2. Extension of the educational system in the whole country, building of new schools and universities; construction of an extensive network of vocational schools, high schools and universities.

3. Promotion of cultural development in regions which deserve special attention owing to their general backwardness.

4. Establishing of a system of national culture for all peoples and national minorities; guarantee of education in their national languages.

5. Foundation of an academy of sciences; formation of a broad network of research establishments, provision of necessary conditions for creative and productive work of the scientists.

6. Effective support for the development of the press and the issues of democratic and progressive publications.

7. Provision of necessary conditions for the development of creative art.

8. Guarantee of freedom for writers and artists on the basis of the just demands of their professional organizations.

(G) DEFENSE OF THE RIGHTS OF POLITICAL PRISONERS AND PEOPLE PERSECUTED BY THE OLD REGIME AND THEIR FAMILIES, AND VICTIMS OF COLONIALISM AND OF THE DICTATORSHIP

1. All sentences passed on the fighters against the dictatorship by martial courts must be annulled immediately; all those who have been sentenced and prosecuted must be rehabilitated.

2. A commission must be formed immediately with the participation of representatives of political prisoners, which will take the necessary measures to compensate for the damages caused through confinement. This commission must be given full powers as well as legal and material resources by the government, in order to make amendments to the respective persons.

3. Immediate aid and, if necessary, granting of a pension to the victim's dependents by a special commission, which must also have sufficient legal and material resources.

These are the main points of a program, which, we believe, can unite all forces of the revolution — from the consistent followers of Ayatollah Khomeini to members of the Tudeh Party of Iran and other forces of the revolutionary left wing, in a front which will be able to break the domination of imperialism in all areas of our life, to rescue the national riches and economic power from the hands of the big capitalists, dependent on imperialism, and return them to the people. Only such a united front and such a common program will make it

possible to protect the achievements of the people's revolution and to realize the demands of the revolutionary people.

The Tudeh Party of Iran appeals to all revolutionary forces, mainly to all fighting groups which are following the path of Ayatollah Khomeini, to the organizations of Modjahedin-e Khalgh, Tschrikha-je Fadij-e Khalgh and to all political and groups and national and democratic organizations to examine the proposals of the Tudeh Party of Iran. The Tudeh Party of Iran is, for its part, prepared to consider gratefully any other proposals.

Co-citizens! Fighters of the People!

The Iranian revolution is going along a difficult path, which is connected with many dangers, intrigues and conspiracies of the enemy. The enemies of the people still possess considerable forces and possibilities. The history of revolutions teaches us that it is easier to win victory than to consolidate it and to lead the revolution to the end.

The experience of the great social revolutions shows us that the beaten enemy is far more tenacious and resistant in the period after the revolution. The enemies of the Iranian people — reaction and imperialism — have been routed in the country. They are, however, by no means destroyed. Only by the unity of action and the alliance of all national and progressive forces of the people, only through unselfishness and revolutionary determination and through the realization of a unitary political and social program is it possible to overcome the difficulties and to frustrate the intrigues and conspiracies of the enemies of the people.

The Tudeh Party of Iran will mobilize all its forces and possibilities for the formation of a united front of the people.

Long live the great revolution of the courageous people of Iran!

Long live the united front of the people, the most important requisite for victory over the common enemy!

Glory and honor to the martyrs of the fight for freedom, independence and social progress in our homeland!

End of February 1979

SOLIDARITY WITH THE PEOPLE OF IRAN

Statement of the CC, Sudanese Communist Party

The revolution in Iran claims increasing attention in the world on the part of progressive patriotic forces as well as imperialist and reactionary forces. This is due not only to interest in the results of the revolution but to the significance it has in itself and to the lessons that can be drawn from it both in the given region and throughout the national-liberation movement, all the more so since until recently it seemed as if the shah's regime had done away with revolution in Iran for all time by erecting a solid bulwark of imperialism and counter-revolution.

After July 22, 1971, our country's reactionary regime established the closest relations with the shah's regime. Nimeiri visited the shah and they came to terms on the roles they were to play in our region. The Sudanese regime began to send groups of security men to Iran for special training. In connection with the "white revolution," government newspapers every year published photographs of the bloody dictator, the "leader of the revolution," and countless lies about Iran's "prosperity" and "progress." The Arab Socialist Union sent Ja'far Bahit to the founding congress of the party formed by the shah. On his return he wrote a series of articles on the "paradise of civilization" glorifying Iran's venal dictatorial regime and claiming that the other parties had gone out of existence, the more prominent of their leaders joining the shah's party.

Nothing is heard any more of that fictitious party, which was said to unite all Iranians (something credited now to its Sudanese variety, the Arab Socialist Union). This fiction fell to pieces under the onslaught of the insurgent people. So did the falsehoods about "prosperity" provided by oil and the "unshakable might" of the police state enjoying foreign protection. Imperialism and reaction resorted to these lies continuously, seeing them as a dependable antidote to revolution.

The rising in Iran is demonstrating in practice an objective law of the revolution which states that where a revolutionary crisis comes to a head, with the ruling classes no longer able to rule by the old methods and the masses unable and unwilling to live in the old way, real conditions are created for a revolution and it breaks out regardless of the scale of violence and terror, provided the masses are adequately organized and led . . . The rising in Iran has shown the groundlessness of the assertions by the enemies of the revolution, like

those circulated by the leaders and organs of the Sudanese regime, about their ability to maintain dictatorship by force or ruse, with the help of expected oil or foreign loans, through national reconciliation or defense by Saudi Arabia, Sadat and the United States.

The rising has also refuted the arguments of those who have lost hope, and heartens all revolutionaries and patriots who believe in the people's boundless strength, consistently uphold their just cause, feel their heartbeat and work patiently and perseveringly on the solution of the theoretical, practical, political and organizational problems encountered by the masses in resisting the violence of the authorities and their disastrous home and foreign policy.

The Iranian people have gone through hard times. A popular rising in 1951 resulted in the formation of a government under Mohammed Mossadegh, who nationalized Iran's oilfields controlled by British companies until then. However, world imperialism with U.S. imperialism in the lead hatched a conspiracy against the national government and brought it down on August 19, 1953 through a military coup engineered by the U.S. secret services. Mossadegh was arrested, thousands of communists and other patriots were executed, the revolution was put down and hundreds of thousands of Iranians had to leave the country.

For a quarter of a century Iran was ruled by a bloody dictatorship set on eradicating the revolution ideologically, organizationally and physically. In 1957 the U.S. secret service, aided by its Israeli counterpart, set up in Iran a security service known as SAVAK, which is no less brutal than its notorious teachers. Imperialism relied entirely on SAVAK's activity in Iran, among the Iranian emigrants and, to a considerable extent, all over the Middle East. In the past quarter century, the United States has sent to Iran tens of thousands of military experts and intelligence officers and supplied it with modern arms in quantities greatly exceeding defense requirements. In exchange for this patronage, the shah's government had committed itself to safeguard oil delivery routes, export counter-revolution to other countries of the region and turn Iran into a political and military base for operations against the Soviet Union and the socialist community.

Under the guise of nationalization, control of Iranian oil was assumed by a group of British, French and U.S. companies. The shah's regime received 50 per cent of the profit. On the other hand, after a period of savage terror that lasted till 1960, the shah began his "white revolution," which meant a limited agrarian reform and moderniza-

tion of the economy. Oil revenue and modernization gave rise to new bourgeois strata. The feudal lords, for their part, engaged in capitalist activity. A bureaucratic bourgeoisie came into being. The interests of this triangle interlocked with those of U.S. monopolies and transnational companies.

The agrarian reform brought but little change into the life of the overwhelming majority of peasants. As for the oil revenues, they returned to capitalist countries, particularly the USA, where they were spent on arms, or were pocketed by the shah and members of the ruling classes. The rich grew richer and the poor became poorer. In step with increasing social stratification there developed a mass opposition which began to restore its organizations or to form new ones. Armed groups sprang up. The worldwide campaign against the shah's dictatorship and the atrocities of SAVAK gained in scope. The regime was compelled to create new protective covers for itself in the form of a constitution, parliament and a single party. However, these efforts could not stop the growth of the opposition.

More than a year ago, strikes, seizures of enterprises and demonstrations developed into a steadily growing movement encompassing the whole country. The Iranian people, from liberals to extremist terrorists and from purely religious alignments to the communists' Tudeh Party, united in a powerful action to overthrow the shah, restore democracy and put an end to the counter-revolutionary role which Iran played in the region . . .

The national movement in Iran today exceeds the actions of 1949-53 in scale. It is beginning to play an important part in our region, this time in far more favorable conditions than those which were taking shape on the international scene and in our region in the past. The rising in Iran is a result and model of these conditions; the people reject capitalist modernization, neo-colonialism and the rule of the forces allied with it, the practice of denying them political rights and democratic freedoms in the name of development, and tutelage and violence in the name of socialism or stability.

The battle being fought by the Iranian people is part of the struggle of the peoples of our region against imperialism and Zionism as well as against dictatorial and reactionary regimes. Their victory in this battle is bound to thwart the calculations of the counter-revolutionary forces in our region and to bring about sweeping changes in the balance of forces in favor of national and progressive movements. This is why it is the duty of every Sudanese who wants to free his

country from dictatorship and dependence to identify himself with the rising in Iran.

We call on all communists, patriots and progressives, on various political, trade union, cultural and other organizations to back the Iranian people and condemn reactionary imperialist interference aimed at suppressing the rising. . . .

*Central Committee
Sudanese Communist Party
January 1979*

FOIL U.S. IMPERIALIST CONSPIRACIES IN THE SUDAN

Statement of the CC Secretariat, Sudanese Communist Party

During the past six months (June to November) the campaign launched to mislead Arab and world opinion has been intensified. Its nature and details suggest that the CIA has a hand in it — the crimes of that agency were exposed by witnesses from among its own men. The signal for the campaign was a statement by King Hasan II of Morocco, who alleged that the Sudan would be the next target of international communism. Thereupon Anwar Sadat, on whom the Americans now bank in our region, declared in one of his theatrical speeches that the Egyptian army would resist a communist attack on the Sudan without waiting for an invitation from Nimeiri. Last September Nimeiri said in a public appearance that he was the object of an international communist conspiracy but had no intention of sharing the fate of al Ghashimi of Salem Rubeyya Ali. *Time* magazine wrote in November that the United States supplied Egypt with modern weapons to ensure the defense of the friendly Sudanese regime.

The campaign entered a new phase when *An Nahar*, the Beirut newspaper, reported with reference to information secured from the Sudanese authorities that the Sudanese agencies concerned were tightening surveillance over communist activity in the Sudan, especially in the armed forces, because they believed there would be a communist coup supported by the landing of Cuban troops. The report was reprinted in the Sudan and the Persian Gulf emirates with the comment that U.S., Israeli and Egyptian secret services were cooperating with the Sudanese authorities to head off the threat of a communist coup and takeover. The leader of the Chinese parlia-

mentary delegation, who visited the Sudan in November, contributed to the campaign by saying that the Sudan led by Nimeiri was in the front line of the fight against "Soviet hegemonism in Africa."

This fierce campaign is designed to divert the people's attention from a very hard life sometimes verging on starvation, to foment anti-communist hysteria and, taking advantage of it, to crush the mounting struggle of the working people and the political opposition and launch a campaign of terror, persecution and preventive arrests under the state security law. Its other aims are to patch up the disintegrating alliance between the authorities and the leaders of the National Front parties, ensure that the Sudan, protected by the Egyptian army, begins performing as early as possible the role assigned to it by striking at the Ethiopian revolution, fighting the revolutionary regime of South Yemen and backing the Shah of Iran, for whom the uprising of the heroic people of Iran has a sad lot in store. This campaign, however, which makes out the political and economic decline and growing opposition to be the consequence of a communist conspiracy, cannot conceal the crisis of the Sudanese regime. If the secret services of the USA, Saudi Arabia and Egypt are searching for an excuse to intervene militarily and save the Sudanese "shah," let them find a pretext other than a communist threat.

The Communist Party makes no secret of its opposition to Nimeiri's despotic rule based on absolute personal power and a military dictatorship. Its tactics of awakening a mass movement and expanding it by organizing a political strike and actions for the liberation of our people and country from autocracy and dictatorship are likewise an open secret. The emphasis in party documents and its activity is on giving priority at this stage to the extension and consolidation of political détente so as to win ever greater democratic and trade union rights and freedoms for the masses, on unfolding economic struggles for the satisfaction of the pressing needs of the working people, whose life is exceedingly hard, and on achieving unity of the people's will to defend the sovereignty and independence of the country.

Let us counter the conspiracies of U.S. imperialism and its allies in Egypt and Saudi Arabia with greater vigilance, a broader political mass movement, by uniting all patriots into a broad front for democracy and the salvation of the country!

*CC Secretariat
Sudanese Communist Party
December 7, 1978*

WITHDRAW FROM NATO. END DEPENDENCE ON IMPERIALISM

Appeal of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Turkey

CENTO has collapsed. A further link in the chain of imperialist blocs has dropped out. The governments of Iran and Pakistan have declared in no uncertain terms that they are withdrawing from CENTO. The Turkish government could do nothing but declare that the bloc had "lost its function."

CENTO, an imperialist instrument of aggression against the socialist countries and national-liberation movements, and of domination over the peoples of the region, collapsed as a result of the advance of the world revolutionary process and the struggles of the peoples of the region. Thereby the neo-colonialist policy of U.S. imperialism and its strategy of tying the Middle East countries to military blocs were dealt a heavy blow.

Carter's trip to the Middle East, where he wants to clinch the agreement between Israel and Egypt, was aimed at shoring up the weakened positions of imperialism in our region. U.S. imperialism is rushing arms and military personnel to the region and sending its naval forces to the Persian Gulf. NATO holds maneuvers in the Mediterranean under the U.S. command. The CIA is intensifying its subversion in our country and region to an extraordinary degree.

Washington would like to station in Greece and Cyprus, as well as in Anatolia, or Asiatic Turkey, the U.S. bases abolished by the revolutionary rising of the Iranian people. It plans to form a new military bloc in collaboration with the reactionary forces of the region so as to protect U.S. interests. With this aim in view U.S. imperialism is increasing its pressure on Turkey to force it into the bloc. The visit of NATO's supreme commander to our country was linked with this plan. The anti-imperialist fight of our people and other peoples of the region against such interference is expanding.

The disintegration of CENTO makes the task of piercing the chain imposed by NATO, imperialism's chief aggressive organization, still more pressing for our people as they fight on. The opportunities of extending this struggle are steadily increasing. The crisis of the policy of the ruling circles aimed at tying the country to imperialist blocs is deepening. The facts are refuting ever more convincingly the arguments in support of this policy. Even official quarters have admitted the failure of the "Soviet danger" myth. This means refuting the chief

argument in favor of the policy of subordination to NATO. And now the argument that NATO membership is economically profitable is likewise failing more and more. It is increasingly evident that the only correct policy is to end all dependence on imperialism and achieve national independence. Yet the government clings to its policy of dependence on NATO. The policy of tightening belts and imposing martial law is an inevitable result of continued dependence on NATO.

Let us withdraw from NATO! Dependence on NATO and imperialism is the source of the deep crisis afflicting our country. The military burdens imposed by NATO and the "remedies" supplied by the International Monetary Fund have brought our country to the brink of economic ruin. Our people have paid too dearly for this policy of enslavement. Life has become an inferno. The growing cost of living and other problems of our people are a consequence of this policy.

Let us withdraw from NATO! NATO, the CIA and imperialism are the mainstay of an escalating fascism. These are the forces which are behind the gangs of fascist assassins, the counter-guerrilla organization and the advocates of a fascist military putsch.

Those who want dependence on NATO and imperialism can be defeated only by the struggle of our people, by the unity of national and democratic forces. All patriotic men, NCOs and officers should side with the people in this struggle. It is the duty of the people's sons in the army to carry high the banner of national independence against imperialism; they must not allow themselves to be made an axe poised over the people's head. The army must stop taking orders from NATO.

Never since it was founded has the Communist Party of Turkey separated the struggle for national independence from the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism. The CPT calls on all who love their country, on the socialist parties, trade unions, democratic mass organizations, progressive and revolutionary youth, Kurdish democrats, and patriotic members of the People's Republican Party to launch joint action for the withdrawal from NATO and an end to the policy of dependence on imperialism.

Let us withdraw from NATO! Let us tear up the bilateral treaties of bondage to imperialism! Let us throw U.S. and NATO bases out of our country!

*Central Committee
Communist Party of Turkey
March 15, 1979*

MAOIST IDEOLOGY: CHAUVINISM, GREAT POWER MANIA AND HEGEMONISM

AGAINST MAOIST FALSIFICATION OF HISTORY

Scientific-Practical Conference in Moscow

A scientific-practical conference held in Moscow from March 27 to 29 by the USSR Academy of Sciences and the CC CPSU Academy of Social Sciences, examined the topical problems of the struggle against Maoist falsification of history. The conference was attended by prominent Soviet and foreign scholars, party functionaries and representatives of the Moscow public.

The opening remarks were made by CC CPSU Secretary Konstantin Rusakov.

There is an unabating and sharp ideological struggle in the world today, he said, around crucial issues that have shaped our epoch. The 20th century is the century of the October Revolution, the century in which socialism has been built in many countries of the world. And today, when existing socialism is playing an ever larger role in determining the course of world developments, our class enemy is stepping up the smear campaign against it and is bending over backwards to distort the truth about the emergence of international socialist relations. Many bourgeois scholars are involved in this and of late the Peking falsifiers of history have become particularly zealous.

The Peking slanderers are dangerously cunning, for they twist history under the guise of sociological research, and their pseudo-scientific outpourings are often hidden behind a screen of Marxist-Leninist phraseology. From the chronicles of the centuries the Chinese falsifiers pick only what can somehow be adapted to the requirements of Peking's present policy. Portraying China as a country "wronged" by its neighbors, the Maoist apologists seek to justify Peking's current policy of hegemony and expansion and strive to stupefy the multimillion Chinese masses with the poison of great-power chauvinism. A particularly unseemly feature of this activity of the Maoists is the attempt to give scientific substantiation to China's territorial claims on neighboring countries.

Numerous historical precedents show that every aggressor usually started preparations for aggression with a so-called war of maps, falling back on historical, geographic and other, often veiled, excuses for his claims to foreign territories. Events show that this method has now been adopted by Peking, and its aggression against India in the late 50s and early 60s is just one example of it.

China's recent armed attack on Vietnam, with the obvious involvement of imperialist forces in this criminal act, created a situation which put the durability of world peace to a serious test. And today Peking continues building up tensions and inciting armed provocations as can be seen in its seizure of so-called "disputable" areas along the Vietnam-China border by Chinese militarists and China's continuing provocations against Laos and Kampuchea.

The aggression against Vietnam, said Konstantin Rusakov, did not attain its goals. It was the staunchness and courage of the Vietnamese people, the effective solidarity with Vietnam of the Soviet Union and the other socialist community countries and worldwide condemnation of the invaders that emerged victorious.

Bourgeois propaganda used Peking's attack against socialist Vietnam to launch a large-scale campaign in an attempt to prove that wars are caused not only by imperialism but also by socialism. This ideological subversion must be vigorously exposed. In reality socialism, both as a teaching and as a political system, does not and cannot bear any responsibility to China's aggression against Vietnam. This gangster-style attack was prepared and prompted not by socialist ideas, but by Maoism — an ideology of chauvinism, great-power mania and hegemonism.

The goals of the struggle our parties are conducting against Maoist ideology and policy are also noble with regard to the people of China. "It is our firm conviction," said Leonid Brezhnev, "that China's national rebirth and its socialist development can be achieved not along the path of struggle against the USSR and the other socialist countries, against the entire communist movement, but along the path of alliance and fraternal cooperation with them."

Pravda, March 31, 1979

HEIGHTEN VIGILANCE TO COUNTER THE U.S.-CHINESE AGGRESSIVE ALLIANCE

Printed below are excerpts from the report on the current activities of the party adopted by the plenary meeting of the National Council, Communist Party of India, which was held in Delhi from February 22 to 26, 1979.

The last meeting of the National Council of the CPI was held from October 29 to November 2, 1978. It reviewed the all-India satyagraha,* took stock of the national and international developments and charted out the future course of action. . . .

In the international arena, the National Council noted the dangerous development of open collaboration of the Chinese leadership with U.S. and other imperialists, as well as its consequences for our own country. It warned that our country should not be allowed to become involved in these conspiracies. It urged the party to mobilize the people against attempts to undermine the country's non-alignment policy by the Janata Party government. . . .

In this period of three and a half months since the last National Council meeting many important developments have taken place in the national and international scene which are in tune with the assessment of our Bhatinda Party Congress. United mass actions on various fronts, especially of the working class, have taken place in which our party and the mass organizations under our influence have played a prominent and key role. The struggle inside Janata Party has intensified and differences on various issues have come to the surface. The secular democratic forces inside the Janata Party have become alive to the danger of the RSS-Jana Sangh and have started fighting it.

In the international arena, not only are the imperialists unable to come out of the deep crisis in which they are caught, but they are also suffering big political defeats. The U.S. imperialists and their Maoist collaborators have suffered defeats in Iran and Kampuchea and it is in desperation that an aggressive war has been launched against the heroic people of Vietnam.

During the period under review, outstanding developments of great international significance have taken place on the world arena. The

*Non-violent resistance. — Ed.

glorious liberation of the Kampuchean people from the brutal and savage Peking-puppet regime of Pol Pot-Ieng Sary; the victory of the anti-Shah democratic revolution in Iran; the defeat of the U.S.-UK conspiracy to split the liberation movements of Southern Africa — these are such outstanding developments. They have dealt big blows against the Washington-Peking axis and considerably strengthened the forces of peace, national liberation and socialism.

Infuriated and rendered desperate by these developments, U.S. imperialism and the present leadership of the People's Republic of China are stepping up their global political and military collaboration directed against the Soviet Union, Vietnam and other socialist states, against the national-liberation movements, against détente and world peace.

The flagrant war of aggression, which China has treacherously launched against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, following closely on Teng Hsiao-ping's visit to the USA, shows the real face of China's present leadership and its aggressive policy of militarism and expansionism. By this action, China's leaders have served notice on the whole world and on countries of Asia in particular that they are out to impose their hegemony by force and they will not tolerate any country in this region that will not bow to its dictates.

China's aggression against Vietnam has created a serious threat to world peace. . . .

There is no doubt that U.S. imperialism and China are seeking to involve India in this global conspiracy of theirs, taking advantage of the pro-West tilt in the foreign policy of the Janata government.

Apart from nice words, facts show that neither the USA nor China have changed their hostile attitude toward India. The U.S. policy of intimidation and blatant discrimination is being continued on the question of supply of nuclear fuel to India. Every effort is being made to block strengthening of India's defences, even while directly and indirectly feeding Pakistan's war machine with sophisticated weapons and aircraft.

Right on the eve of Vajpayee's pilgrimage to Peking, two Vice-Premiers of China demonstratively visited Pakistan. One of them made open provocative statements on Kashmir, supporting Kashmir's "right of self-determination." Both of them pledged full military aid to Pakistan.

India's Defense Minister has himself recently emphasized the dangers posed to India by the Chinese-built Karakoram road, linking

China and Pakistan and other military steps being taken across India's northern and north-eastern borders.

On top of all this has come evidence that the Chinese supported insurgency in India's north-eastern region is being reactivated in order to destabilize this region.

The recent raid into Assam by armed Nagas and the resulting gruesome massacre of peaceful Assamese villagers acquires ominous significance in the light of the fact that about 1,000 of China-trained Nagas who have returned to China and are avowedly hostile to our country are camping just on the other side of the international border. A China-inspired organization calling itself "All-Naga Communist Party" has been clandestinely operating within Nagaland.

Pro-Chinese extremist groups have again become active in Manipur in the recent period. The cold-blooded murder of three young men perpetrated recently in daylight and in a fairly crowded place is suspected to be their handiwork.

All this makes it clear that India is today one of the targets of the U.S.-China conspiracies of destabilization and this conspiracy poses a serious danger to our national freedom and sovereignty and territorial integrity. The U.S. imperialists are losing in many vital sectors in our region, such as Afghanistan, Iran and Kampuchea. Hence they are determined to use the "Chinese card" to stop the advance of the forces of peace, national liberation and socialism. Washington and Peking, already well entrenched in Pakistan and Bangladesh, want to involve India also in their conspiracies.

It is no accident that following their debacle in Iran, the U.S. imperialists are activating the Diego Garcia base in the Indian Ocean and using it to buttress the reactionary role of Saudi Arabia in the region. They are also utilizing Sadat's treachery to establish a direct military presence in West Asia and build up a military bloc there based on Egypt and Israel. Meanwhile, the arms buildup is being escalated all around by the USA and other NATO powers and China is being armed simultaneously.

China's aggression against Vietnam must be viewed in the context of these developments.

WHAT THE MAOIST-IMPERIALIST ALLIANCE CAN BRING

Statement of the Central Committee, Communist Party, USA

The perfidious attack of China on Vietnam brings to a new stage the Maoist leaders' treason against the people of China, the people of the world and the world revolutionary movement, and their criminal irresponsibility on the question of war. The attack illustrates how far the Maoist leaders are willing to go in risking — further, in actually trying to provoke — a nuclear war that could destroy the human race.

It is therefore of the highest urgency to forge a worldwide movement of all progressive forces, and all men and women who love peace, to put a stop to the lunatic upward spiral of dangerous Maoist actions.

The Maoist leaders have worked for many years to sow confusion among the revolutionary and progressive forces of the world, to rupture the alliance between the socialist countries, the working class and progressive forces in the advanced capitalist countries, and the countries fighting for full freedom from exploitation by the imperialist countries.

The Maoists have advanced China as the only "true" socialist country, the one country that was not "soft" on imperialism, the one "true" friend of national liberation.

Many honest people, many serious progressive and revolutionary forces throughout the world were confused, or even taken in, by the Maoist propaganda barrage.

But now China's own actions have exposed what lies behind the Maoist propaganda: the shameless dishonesty of the Maoists, their lack of all principle.

Both the Maoist claims for the China they control and their criticisms of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, are nothing but cynical lies — lies propounded on the Hitler-principle that if they are big enough they will be believed because it will not occur to people that anyone could lie on so vast a scale.

The time has now come when everyone must agree on the necessity for a clear understanding of the full meaning of Maoism — of its origins, of what it has been doing, of what it can lead to unless it is fought against. Tens of millions of people are now rethinking their position on Maoism.

The origins of Maoism lie deep in the history of the Chinese

Communist Party and Chinese society. The working class was small and weak in pre-revolutionary China. Chinese society was heavily petty-bourgeois. Within the framework of being a colony controlled by imperialism, China was, in good part, a feudalistic warlord society.

The leaders of the Chinese Communist Party grew up in this society. And some of them reflected a petty-bourgeois and even a feudalistic warlord mentality. The problem was aggravated by the cutting down of working-class leaders and fighters in the fierce battles that took place in the cities during the early years of the Chinese Revolution.

Within the Communist Party there was a struggle as to which line would prevail — the line of not only fighting for socialism internally, but of solidarity with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the international working class and the national-liberation movements — or, the petty-bourgeois, narrow nationalist line — and the latter won out.

The treacherous attack on Vietnam, on the pretext of “punishing” her, is a clear expressing of the feudalistic, warlord mentality. That such a mentality exists among the leaders of China should come as no surprise. As Marx pointed out, in his “Critique of the Gotha Program,” the society that comes into being after a revolution is not one that has “developed on its own foundations,” but rather one which is “in every respect, economically, morally, and intellectually, still stamped with the birth marks of the old society from whose womb it emerges.”

In a Communist Party that followed a Marxist-Leninist line, these marks would by now have been transformed. But the Chinese Communist Party has not consistently followed a Marxist-Leninist line. It has succumbed to the narrow, classless, nationalist line which allowed the feudalistic, warlord mentality to remain strong.

What China, under the Maoist leaders, has been doing through the years is now absolutely clear for all to see.

China has been working against the fight of the people of Southern Africa to free themselves from apartheid rule, against the fight of colonies and neo-colonies to free themselves from imperialist exploitation and control, against the fight of the people in many countries to establish socialism. The Maoist leaders, who had the gall to present themselves as the only true revolutionaries, have been collaborating with the imperialists — ever increasingly, ever more openly — in counter-revolution.

How else can one describe its support of imperialism in South

Africa, Angola, Zaire, Ethiopia, Yemen, Afghanistan, Iran and a host of other countries? How can one describe its help — by maintaining diplomatic relations and by trade — in shoring up the fascist regime of the butcher Pinochet in Chile?

Besides all this, China, under the Maoists, has also been working against detente, against all attempts to control and reverse the arms race. China has lectured the NATO countries on the need to increase their already heavy armaments. It has advised Japan to re-arm more quickly. It has told the United States to speed up the arms race even more. Everywhere, in these efforts, it has allied itself with the most reactionary, fascist, and war-mongering forces.

Not only have the Maoist actions been unspeakably cynical and treacherous, but they have been escalating in irresponsibility and dangerousness. It is now crucial to understand the full meaning of the current policy of the Maoist Chinese leaders, and where it can lead.

The Maoist leaders are working to cement an ever closer alliance between China and the United States, NATO and Japan. The Maoists see the balance of forces in the world shifting against the imperialists. And so the Chinese leaders are saying to the imperialists: We can help you. We can redress the balance of forces in your favor. We can help you encircle the Soviet Union so the revolutionary processes in Africa, the Middle East and elsewhere can be halted. But, in return, you have to provide us with capital and technology for development and — above all — modern arms.

This is a policy of sellout to imperialism — the main force behind racism, exploitation, oppression and anti-communism, the main obstacle to human progress.

The Maoists who not long ago took an extreme position on the need for each country to rely only on its own strength — who berated Cuba for its trade and aid relations with the Soviet Union — are now willing to make the whole economic development of China dependent on capital and technology from the imperialist countries, whose interest is in stopping the building of socialism.

The Maoists have been trying to sell themselves to the imperialists for a long time. It has been their dominant policy since 1971 and the visits of Kissinger and Nixon to China. The U.S. imperialists were cautious at first about developing too close a relationship with China. The more realistic and sober among them recognize that such a relationship is dangerous, and might unleash nuclear war.

The Chinese leaders answered the U.S. imperialists' caution by saying repeatedly: We have patience. They counted on the deteriora-

tion of the imperialists' position in the world to strengthen their own usefulness and attraction.

The treacherous attack by China on Vietnam is for the first fruit of the alliance between the United States imperialists and China. The United States government allowed Teng to talk about "punishing" Vietnam while he was here. It sent Secretary of the Treasury Blumenthal on a trip to China to open up the U.S. Embassy there, while the attack was going on. This attack is itself criminal and dangerous. But it is only a first indication of what the U.S. imperialist-China alliance can bring.

The Chinese Maoist policy is inherently against the interests of the peoples of the world. It is against peaceful coexistence and détente, against allowing the oppressed peoples of the world to win their freedom and determine their own destiny, against a peaceful, progressing world. Détente and a peaceful, progressing world would mean the collapse of the current Chinese policy. The Maoists need tension, they need counter-revolution — because this is the basis of their alliance with the imperialists.

This is the meaning behind Teng's taunts about the imperialists' defeats in Cuba, Africa, Iran and other areas; behind his accusations that the imperialists are being weak and indecisive. He was working to stir up tension and counter-revolution for the purposes of Maoism in China.

What is the final logic of such actions? Where do they ultimately lead? They lead to one place — a thermonuclear war. The Maoist leaders have talked openly and glibly about the inevitability of such a war. They have said that one should not be afraid of such a war — even if hundreds of millions, even billions, of people were annihilated — humanity would still survive! Their attack on Vietnam — the risks they are willing to take — shows that they should be taken seriously when they talk this way.

Those who may feel that the Maoists cannot be serious about a thermonuclear war should consider the following: Events, especially when they have to do with war and peace, have a way of often going out of control. It is not enough not to want to go as far as a nuclear war — even if we knew for sure that the Chinese Maoists do not want to go that far. Unless countries act with prudence, restraint, responsibility, an uncontrollable chain of events could result in the ultimate catastrophe.

What is the logic of the Maoist-U.S.-Japan-NATO alliance? Where can it lead? The Maoists hope to promote their economic develop-

ment to the end of the century with capital and technology from the imperialists. They therefore hope to maintain their alliance with the imperialists all that time. How can an alliance based on increasing tension, on accelerating the arms race, on worldwide counter-revolution, be maintained for that length of time without the ultimate worldwide nuclear holocaust taking place?

The time for confusion, for vacillation, for opportunism on the question of China is past. A stand has to be taken against the adventurous, irresponsible Chinese aggressors.

Their attack on Vietnam, and the alliance from which it flows, requires that all who love peace, all progressives, all who consider themselves socialists, communists, revolutionaries, take a clear stand.

We appeal to everyone to think through again the full meaning of Maoism and its latest actions.

March 15, 1979

CONTRARY TO THE PRINCIPLES OF SOCIALISM

The media have a tendency to describe the Chinese invasion of Vietnam as "two communist states" at war with one another. U.S. President Carter was one of the first to get into this act when he was quoted in the press as stating: that the U.S. government does not want to get involved in a war between "two communist countries."

Communist Party leader William Kashtan, in an interview with the *Canadian Tribune*, March 5, said that the media raised this question "in order to denigrate socialism" and to try and show "that not only imperialism but communism too, leads to war." And, he added, "that if this were true the world would be in a sorry state."

Why would the leader of the Communist Party make such an assertion? On what grounds? He could do so because what the Maoist leaders of China are doing in their aggressive war against Vietnam is absolutely contrary to the nature and principles of socialism.

Equality of nations and working-class internationalism are principles by which Marxist parties have always been guided. These principles, in the main, regulate relations between national sections of the international working-class movement, between its political parties, trade unions and other workers' organizations.

With the victory of the socialist revolution in Russia these princi-

ples were tested in the crucible of relations between nations in a huge multinational country — relations, we may add, that had been poisoned by centuries of big nation chauvinism and expansionism practised by the former ruling classes of feudals, landlords and capitalists of the Russian empire.

It was only under socialism that it became possible to adjust relations between nations and nationalities in that country in conformity with the principles of equality, voluntary association and respect for national sovereignty. Taking into account, of course, the specifics of the particular nations and nationalities.

The victory of socialism in a number of countries brought about a new dimension in the application of the principles of working-class internationalism in respect to relations between socialist countries. It acquired a new quality. It was invested with a new content — an added content. It assumed a new side and became socialist internationalism as it pertained to relations between socialist states.

The principles of equality and sovereignty are an integral part of socialist internationalism. Only under socialism do equality, national independence and sovereignty acquire their real meaning. Under socialism, political sovereignty is backed by a society that is the owner of the main means of production. Under socialism, each country is the master of its own economy and directs its development in conformity with its national needs.

This stands in sharp contrast with relations between states based on capitalism. The more powerful capitalist states disregard international law when it suits their purpose to do so. They do not hesitate to brazenly interfere in the domestic affairs of weaker states. They ride roughshod over the weaker countries, subordinate the economies of the weaker countries to their expansionist interests and deprive them of economic independence.

Recent events show that the Chinese Maoist leadership has taken the capitalist road in respect to China's relations with the countries of southeast Asia, especially Kampuchea and Vietnam. They turned Kampuchea into a puppet state under the regime of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary fascist clique — a clique that was overthrown by the Kampuchean people under the leadership of the National United Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea. Their aggression and invasion of Vietnam has the same aim: subordinating that country to the expansionist aims of Maoist-led China.

Socialist internationalism is not limited to recognition of independence and equality. These principles are buttressed by voluntary

pooling of effort in the joint effort of building socialism and fraternal support. These are the new and specific elements that distinguish relations between socialist states. The principle of mutual assistance and solidarity is the cornerstone of political relations between socialist states.

The Maoist leadership of China has thrown overboard these principles of socialist internationalism. And, in so doing, have put the gains of the socialist revolution in China in serious jeopardy. That leadership is no longer Marxist-Leninist. It is no longer communist or revolutionary. In fact, it is counter-revolutionary. It has now become the most reliable social prop of world imperialism.

For all of the above reasons it is absolutely wrong to label the Chinese aggression against Vietnam as a "war between two communist states." It is a reactionary expansionist war against a heroic people defending their socialist motherland.

Alfred Dewhurst

Canadian Tribune, March 12, 1979

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FROM THE PRESS

CMEA COUNTRIES: 1978 RESULTS

The outstanding successes scored by the socialist-community countries in building the new society are closely connected with the activity of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA), which this year is 30 years old. Cooperation between the CMEA countries is based on the principles of socialist internationalism, respect for state sovereignty, independence and national interests, non-interference in internal affairs, complete equality, mutual advantage and comradely mutual assistance.

The CMEA emerged as a regional organization, now it has 10 members, which are socialist countries in Europe, Asia and Latin America. The Socialist Republic of Vietnam came in last year. The fraternal nations' solidarity with heroic Vietnam, outpost of socialism in Southeast Asia, was re-emphasized when the republic had to beat back the Chinese aggression.

In pace of economic growth, the CMEA countries have secured a stable superiority over the capitalist countries. Their industrial output is now double that of the EEC countries.

Last year was another milestone in the CMEA countries' creative advance. The programs adopted by the congresses of fraternal parties in these countries for the current five-year period are being successfully fulfilled.

Their socio-economic advances are closely connected with the fraternal parties' tremendous effort to improve cooperation between the countries in every sphere of social life, to study and make mutual use of the available experience, and elaborate the theoretical and organizational principles for international cooperation. Bilateral and multilateral summit meetings have an important role to play in this matter. A high assessment has been given to the friendly meetings in the Crimea in the summer of 1978 between the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, President of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Leonid Brezhnev and leaders of the fraternal parties and states of the socialist community.

The past year opened a new chapter in the history of the CMEA

countries' cooperation. The Council's 32nd session approved three long-term goal-oriented programs for cooperation covering a number of key sectors of the economy.

The CMEA is celebrating its 30th anniversary in a business-like manner. A number of new joint economic projects are being prepared for signature. Two more long-term goal-oriented programs for cooperation — in manufactured consumer goods and transport — are being worked out. Socialist emulation to mark the CMEA's anniversary, started by the Volga Association for the Manufacture of Passenger Cars (Volga Motor Works) under the slogan "Fulfill Friends' Orders Punctually and to a High Standard," has been gaining in scope in the CMEA countries.

At the same time, the CMEA countries are aware that not all the forms of cooperation have yet been tested, and that there is a need for creative quest.

The CMEA countries' experience in cooperation, and the CMEA's activity, have been growing in importance from year to year, exerting an every more positive influence on the restructuring of the system of international economic relations. The CMEA's prestige has been steadily rising. Its members now cooperate with 78 developing countries. The CMEA has established ties with 60 international bodies.

The CMEA countries have been steadily working to consolidate the material basis for the international détente, and for implementing the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act. The past year was marked by fresh initiatives on their part to develop economic, scientific and cultural cooperation between states with different social systems.

A meeting of the Warsaw Treaty's Political Consultative Committee in November 1978 reaffirmed the socialist countries' resolve to go on strengthening their unity and cohesion and to continue their persistent struggle for world peace, the freedom and independence of nations, for an end to the arms race and for disarmament, and for international détente.

EFFICIENCY AND HIGH STANDARDS

In 1978, the working people of the CMEA countries scored tangible successes in fulfilling their economic and social tasks. The national income, the synthetic indicator summing up the results in all the sectors of the economy, has increased.

National Income Growth

	1950	1978
CMEA countries	1	7.6 times
EEC countries	1	3.1 times
<i>Industrial Growth</i>		
CMEA countries	1	12.0 times
EEC countries	1	3.6 times

Their industry has developed at a steady pace. In 1978, they turned out more than 370,000 metal-cutting machine tools, 750,000 tractors, over 1,600 billion kwh of electric power, 211 million tons of steel, 200 million tons of cement, 36.6 million tons of mineral fertilizers (in terms of nutrients), more than 590 million tons of oil, 408 billion cu. m. of natural gas, and roughly 1.4 billion tons of hard and brown coal.

Higher efficiency and productivity are a crucial condition for boosting industry, like the whole of the economy of the CMEA countries. This can be done through the application in practice of scientific achievements and advanced experience, new hardware and technology, installation of modern capacities, and rational use of available reserves.

The fraternal countries are assured of a rising labor productivity, which accounts for 80 per cent of industrial growth.

Labor productivity in industry in 1978

	(per cent of 1977)
Bulgaria	106.4
Cuba	106.4
Czechoslovakia	104.2
GDR	105.0
Hungary	105.3
Mongolia	104.6
Poland	105.8
Rumania	107.1
USSR	103.6

From 1951 to 1978, labor productivity in industry for the community as a whole increased more than fivefold.

Despite the unfavorable weather, workers in agriculture completed their season successfully. Thanks to the efforts of many years to improve land, apply chemicals, mechanize farming and introduce

industrial methods there has been a 4 per cent increase in agricultural output in the community as a whole. The 1978 cereal and leguminous crop — over 330 million tons — was the highest ever; meat output came to 25 million tons, milk to 134 million tons, and eggs to 96 billion.

The CMEA countries' investments in the economy have grown at a high rate.

Investments in 1978 (per cent of 1977 and 1970)

	1977 = 100	1970 = 100
Bulgaria	102.1	177.0
Czechoslovakia	106.6	174.0
GDR	102.3	146.0
Hungary	104.0	164.0
Mongolia	119.2	338.0
Poland	103.0	255.0
Rumania	116.2	242.0
USSR	105.0	160.0

The steady extension of external economic ties was of growing importance in the development of the CMEA countries' economies. In 1978, their foreign trade was worth 174 billion rubles, or 9.6 per cent up on 1977. Their trade with each other was worth 103 billion rubles, or 12.6 per cent up on 1977. Over 40 per cent of this trade now consists of equipment, machinery and means of transport.

PERIOD OF BOLD PROGRAMS

The CMEA countries' socialist economic integration has been gaining momentum. The CMEA's 23rd Special Session, which was held in Moscow in April 1969, and was attended by fraternal party and government leaders, set the fundamental long-term goals as the basis of the 1971 Comprehensive Program for Further Deepening and Improving Cooperation and Developing Socialist Economic Integration of the CMEA Countries.

As the Comprehensive Program is implemented, the fraternal countries' cooperation acquires qualitatively new features.

International specialization has taken shape in some sectors of engineering, whose products are earmarked not only for the needs of the producing countries, but also of other CMEA members. They

have arranged large-scale manufacture of battery-driven cars and trolleys in Bulgaria, buses and coaches in Hungary, plants for the chemical industry and ships in the GDR and Poland, oil-extracting equipment in Rumania, and heavy-duty trucks in the USSR and Czechoslovakia.

The Soviet Union specializes in making many types of heavy-engineering products. On the basis of deliveries from the USSR, the CMEA countries have built, are building or will build more than 2,200 projects, over one-half of them in the heavy industry.

For its part, in the current five-year period alone, the USSR is to receive from the other CMEA countries more than 1,000 sets of equipment for industrial projects.

The CMEA countries now have nearly 1,000 bilateral and 112 multilateral agreements on specialization and cooperation of production, including 84 in engineering, which cover about 10,000 items. In 1978, specialized products accounted for over 40 per cent of the engineering exports among CMEA countries, as compared with 22 per cent in 1975.

The coordinated plan for multilateral integration measures for the 1976-1980 period includes 28 large-scale projects. The value of new projects to be constructed in accordance with the plan comes to roughly 9 billion transfer rubles, including about 8 billion for the development of fuel and raw materials sectors. This coordinated plan is being successfully fulfilled.

The Soyuz gas pipeline (running from Orenburg to the USSR's western border), the largest integration project, was completed in 1978, and the supply of gas was started to Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Poland, Rumania and Czechoslovakia. To mark the 30th anniversary, the builders and operators of the Soyuz project undertook to bring the pipeline to its design capacity, so ensuring deliveries of 15.5 billion cu.m. of natural gas a year to the fraternal countries in Europe.

The 750-kV Vinnitsa (USSR) — Albertirsza (Hungary) power transmission line has been built with the participation of Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Poland, the USSR and Czechoslovakia, and this has markedly increased the capacity of the CMEA countries' joint power grid, known as Mir (Peace).

The CMEA countries' International Investment Bank has been extending its operations. From 1971 to 1978, it undertook to provide credits for 61 projects and made available more than 3 billion transfer rubles in credits. Over 40 projects have already become operational.

Large-scale industrial and transport enterprises are being built not only on a multilateral but also on a bilateral basis. A ferry-service between Ilyichovsk (USSR) and Varna (Bulgaria) was started in late 1978. In terms of freight turnover, it is among the largest in the world.

The first section of Asia's biggest copper and molybdenum concentration plant, Erdenet, which is being built jointly by Mongolia and the USSR in Mongolia, has been commissioned.

The socialist community has all it needs to tackle the most complicated scientific and technical problems.

The cooperation between scientists and specialists from the fraternal countries, envisaged in the Comprehensive Program, is being extended, and now involves over 3,000 research and other collectives, which is double the figure for the preceding five-year period. The CMEA countries have 56 coordination centers in the main fields of science and technology.

The coordinated plan for multilateral integration measures for the 1976-1980 period, which includes 17 key projects in science and technology, which are now of special importance for the economy, is in full operation, with almost 600 million transfer rubles being appropriated for financing the R and D work it provides for.

Last year marked the start of a qualitatively new stage in the socialist countries' cooperation in the exploration and use of outer space. International crews of cosmonauts, from the USSR, Czechoslovakia, Poland and the GDR, worked successfully together on board the orbital Salut-6 — Soyuz research complex. Joint research was carried out by means of satellites of the Intercosmos series, which now number 19, and also by means of seven geophysical Vertikal rockets.

Within a short period, the CMEA countries have produced a coherent system of third-generation computers. They have started to manufacture 15 computer models, 248 terminal devices, including 50 for the long-distance processing of information; 142 sets of applied programs have been put through international tests. At the same time, a family of minicomputers is being developed, and four models are being manufactured.

Work is under way to set up an international system of scientific and technical information of the CMEA countries, which now have 19 sectoral and 7 specialized international information subsystems.

The CMEA countries are working to fulfill a full-scale program for protection and improvement of the environment. More than 1,200 projects have been completed, and 400 of them are already in use in

the economy. More than 540 R and D collectives in the socialist countries are involved in solving these important problems.

International economic organizations are an instrument of the CMEA countries' integration. These now number about 30. Intervodoochistka, an international economic association, began operations last year in arranging cooperation for the development, installation and operation of equipment for the purification of drainage waters, and for water treatment. Another economic association, Internefteprodukt, started last year, tackles important tasks in providing the fraternal countries with low-tonnage oil products (special oils, lubricants, catalysts, etc.). Interlikhter, an international economic enterprise, has been started for the purpose of making effective use of tugs and lighters for carrying freight between river and sea ports of the countries concerned.

Work is going on to implement long-term goal-oriented programs for cooperation in energy, fuel and raw materials; agriculture and the food industry, and engineering. These programs are designed for the period until 1990, and will provide the basis for fulfilling major social economic tasks.

The program in energy, fuel and raw materials.

Its realization will help to increase the consumption of electric power in the CMEA countries in Europe by roughly 50 per cent. The main line of cooperation here is construction in these countries and in Cuba of atomic electric-power plants with a total capacity of nearly 37 million kw, and also of two plants of 4 million kw each, on the territory of the USSR, whose power will be supplied to other CMEA countries in Europe.

New 750 kV electric transmission lines to link up power grids, enterprises in ferrous metallurgy, etc., are to be built.

The program in agriculture and the food industry.

This is designed to promote intensive development of the production of cereals and other staple farm products. The task is to raise the output of cereals per head to one ton a year. The introduction of highly efficient machines, which are being jointly developed, will help to boost labor productivity in farming, notably in harvesting by 50-100 per cent.

Program in engineering.

This sets the task of markedly increasing the output of modern equipment for the key sectors of the economy of the CMEA countries, to introduce progressive technological processes, to raise the level of mechanization and automation, including the use of the latest

computers. Of primary importance are the measures to build up the manufacture of equipment for atomic power plants, the extraction and fundamental refining of oil, exploration for, extraction and concentration of hard fuel and mineral raw materials.

The programs provide a powerful impetus for developing engineering, require a deepening of the international specialization and co-operation of production, and a close tying in of the goal-oriented programs with national plans and bilateral integration measures.

FOR THE BENEFIT OF MAN

The CMEA countries' successes in developing their economies have enabled them further to raise the people's living standards. Roughly 75 per cent of their national income goes into social and individual consumption.

In 1978, real incomes of the population, wages, pensions and various other aids in these countries went up. In Hungary, real income per head went up by 3.0 per cent, in Rumania by 8.0 per cent, in the USSR by 3.0 per cent; the population's cash income increased in the GDR by 3.5 per cent, in Cuba by 5.9 per cent, in Mongolia by 6.0 per cent, and in Czechoslovakia by roughly 3.0 per cent.

Last year, in accordance with the social programs adopted, payments and benefits from social consumption funds went up by 5.0 per cent in Bulgaria, 8.0 per cent in Hungary, 5.7 per cent in the USSR, and 4.1 per cent in Czechoslovakia.

Measures have been put through to improve the provision of pensions. In Bulgaria, average pension reached 660 leva a year. In Hungary, pension outlays have gone up by 10 per cent and in Poland by 14.7 per cent. In the USSR, additional pension benefits have been introduced for collective farmers.

Special care is displayed for mother and child. Crèches and nursery schools are being built. In Bulgaria, 18,200 places were added in nursery schools, and in the GDR, 26,300 in pre-school establishments. In Cuba, the number of places in nursery schools increased by 33 per cent. Pre-school establishments built in the USSR add nearly 600,000 places.

The task of meeting more fully the people's demand for consumer goods, of improving their quality and extending their range was being tackled.

The growth of the working people's cash incomes and also of the commodity mass, the extension of the services sphere enabled the

population to consume more goods, and this was expressed in the further growth of retail trade.

Retail trade in 1978 (per cent of 1977 and 1970)

	1977 = 100	1970 = 100
Bulgaria	104.7	168.0
Cuba	108.0	113.0*
Czechoslovakia	106.2	143.0
GDR	103.4	145.0
Hungary	104.0	151.0
Mongolia	105.0	159.0
Poland	107.6	200
Rumania	111.8	192.0
USSR	103.9	154.0

*1975 = 100

The high purchasing power of the population was maintained with stable retail prices of the basic foodstuffs and consumer goods.

Large-scale housing construction was carried on. In 1978, Bulgaria's citizens received 66,500 new flats and individual homes, and Hungary's 88,000 flats. The GDR built and modernized 167,800 flats. Working people in Cuba moved into 16,800 new flats. In Mongolia, nearly 170,000 sq.m. of housing was commissioned, and in Poland, 13.3 per cent more than in 1977. In the USSR, 2.1 million well-appointed flats and individual homes, and in Czechoslovakia 128,000 were built.

Education and public health were further developed. The number of hospital beds in Bulgaria increased by 2,000 over 1977, to a total of 96,000. In Hungary, 14 billion forints went into public health, or 1 billion more than in 1977. In the GDR, the number of doctors went up by 729, and in Mongolia by 5 per cent, while the number of hospital beds increased by 4.1 per cent. In Poland, the number of doctors per 10,000 of the population went up from 17.7 to 18.3, and the number of places at health centers, holiday hotels, holiday homes and recreation camps by 63,000.

In the CMEA countries, jobs were available to the whole able-bodied population. The number of industrial and office workers employed in the economy went up to 153 million, an increase of 2.8 million over 1977.

The further alignment of living standards in the community countries was accelerated. This is expressed in the alignment of the volume and structure of consumption, the provision of facilities in education and public health, and in the consolidation and perfection of the socialist way of life.

The achievements of the third year of the current five-year period in the CMEA countries show very well that the main purpose of the ruling Marxist-Leninist parties is to promote the people's well-being.

Abridged from *Pravda*, March 30, 1979

STATE AND CHURCH

The report that Pope John Paul II is to visit our country this June was received in Poland with interest and satisfaction. This mirrors not only respect for the first-ever Pole to become Pope, but also that this visit is bound to give an impetus to the further development of our socialist state's relations with the Catholic Church and the Holy See.

In the person of John Paul II we shall in early June be hosts to the head of the Church and the Vatican, whose policy of defending world peace in the days of such outstanding statesmen as Pope John XXIII and Paul VI won worldwide recognition and moral prestige.

The policy formulated by the predecessors of John Paul II, contained in the bulls of the Vatican Council, and the mode of implementing these bulls have furthered the spirit of international cooperation, tolerance of other doctrines and religions, and a useful dialogue between believers and atheists on the world's present and future.

Poland's history has magnificent chapters concerning its attitude to religion. There were periods, particularly in the 16th and 17th centuries, when Poland was a haven for foreigners unable to live in their own countries on account of wars or religious fanaticism. French Protestants, Swiss and Italian anti-Trinitarians, German Lutherans, Dutch Anabaptists, Spanish and Portuguese Jews, and British Quakers, in fact people who in their own countries were denied freedom of religion, flocked to Poland with its climate of tolerance of faith.

The policy of the Polish state has always been guided by the principle of religious tolerance. This policy rested on an understanding of state interests as standing above those of creed, on the surmounting of doctrinal distinctions, and on accord and cooperation

among all Poles for the welfare of the motherland regardless of their attitude to religion. People's Poland has not only included these traditions in its ideological heritage with due respect but also substantiated and developed them in its social practice, creating the conditions precluding the influence of doctrinal distinctions on the shaping of social relations and on unity of effort in the struggle for common aims.

As had occurred earlier in most European countries, the separation of the Church from the state was accompanied by the establishment of constitutional guarantees of freedom of conscience and religion. This is seen in the entire practice of state policy toward religion, believers, and the social and spiritual activity of the Catholic and other religions.

Here are some relevant facts in support of the aforesaid. In Poland today we have nearly 19,000 catechism training centers, where children and young people acquire a knowledge of religion. There is a religious press. Annually, the religious publishing houses bring out over 200 titles of new books with an aggregate printing of several million copies. There are three establishments of higher religious learning: Lubel University run by the Catholic Church, and the state-run Academy of Catholic Theology and Academy of Christian Theology (Protestant, Orthodox and other denominations). More than 5,000 aspirants to priesthood are undergoing training at the many Catholic seminaries. There are functioning religious public groups such the PAX Society, the Christian Public Society, the Polish Club of Catholic Intellectuals and the Caritas Association of Catholics.

Moreover, the government allocates large funds for the restoration and maintenance of cult memorials. Cult memorials in the western and northern provinces used by the Church and owned by the state were turned over to the Church in 1971. Since 1970 permission has been granted for the building of hundreds of new shrines and so on.

The state appreciates the role played by the Church in areas such as moral education, the strengthening of family ties, and the shaping of a conscientious attitude to work and a sense of responsibility for the nation's development.

The consolidation of the secular character of the modern socialist state and the dissemination of a scientific world outlook, which are an essential hallmark of the party's activities, do not spell out a war against religion or a political confrontation with the Church. The Polish Marxists, who have always been faithful to their ideological and philosophical principles, do not impose these principles on people

who find the inducement for active and constructive work for the good of our motherland in the values offered by religion. History shows that the basic motivation uniting working people is not the character of a world view but the community of class interests. Lastly, our national interests, which demand unity, are the common platform for understanding between believers and non-believers.

In the nation's interests we have put into effect progressive social and economic reforms that ensured Poland's development and strengthened its sovereignty. By concluding a firm alliance with the USSR and other socialist countries, we have ensured the inviolability of our frontiers and our security. People's Poland has become a strong link in the system of socialist states. On the international scene it champions political détente and peaceful cooperation. All this has won the support of the entire nation, for it is the common cause of all Poles.

As Comrade Edward Gierek said: "The building of our socialist motherland, which is headed by our party, is the common cause of all working people, of the members of our party and allied organizations, of non-party people, of believers and non-believers. In this key issue there is no division except the division into proponents and opponents, into friends and enemies of Poland."

We have never evaluated services to the motherland from the ideological orientation in terms of who are believers or non-believers, and have never linked the question of religion with the socio-political status of people. On the contrary, on the basis of the practice established in our country, we have applied the principles of cooperation with believers, relying on the sense of civic unity and the unity of our social and national interests.

Pope John Paul II will come to Poland, where for the past 35 years socialist principles have underlaid the nation's development, the life of the state, and the personal aspirations of its citizens. Through the efforts and will of the working people — factory workers, peasants and intellectuals — we have built the foundations of socialism, having accomplished irreversible social transformations and turned all social wealth into the property of the people, and fairly distributing among all citizens the fruit of their labor. Having abolished exploitation and unemployment and by creating the conditions of a dignified life for all citizens we are carrying out the behests of the generations of Poles who have long seen the well-being of the motherland, state, and citizens in equal opportunities for a start in life for all and in equal rights for all.

As our postwar experience has shown, only the party of the working class acting in alliance with all other progressive forces of the nation is and can be the effective guiding political force of this development. As is to be observed in other socialist countries, our party is working consistently to achieve the ideals of socialism, its point of departure being that every citizen can and should devote and contribute to the strengthening of the lofty principles of social justice.

John Paul II's coming visit to Poland is being widely commented on in the world press. Serious commentaries note the positive results that the Pope's visit may have in the country, in the relations between the state and the Church, between People's Poland and the Holy See. Regrettably, the understandable interest shown in the planned visit is accompanied also by frivolous and even provocative speculations by a section of the Western press, expressed, among other things, in attempts to portray this visit in the context of an alleged conflict between the state and the Church.

Speculations of this sort, which misrepresent reality, have nothing in common with the Pope's forthcoming visit. The experience accumulated in the process of normalizing relations between the socialist state and the Church in Poland is of great significance for broadening the platform of cooperation between believers and non-believers in their striving for common humane aims, the consolidation of world peace, and the curbing of the forces of aggression and the war.

During the few months since his accession to the pontificate, Pope John Paul II has on many occasions intimated that he takes questions of peace close to heart.

In his person we shall welcome an outstanding son of the nation, who is proud of his motherland. Our distinguished guest, as Henry Jablonski, Chairman of the State Council, declared, will be received cordially by the government and by the people.

*Stefan Janusiewicz,
Marek Jaworski*

Trybuna Ludu, March 10-11, 1979

ISN'T IT TIME TO "RE-CREATE" THE WORLD?

"L'Humanité" on human rights

Dr. Robert Irwin, secretary of the Forensic Medical Officers' Association of Northern Ireland, examined over 150 political prisoners and found injuries on them that are evidently "not self-inflicted."

A committee of inquiry under Judge Harry Bennett visited the place. Britain's Northern Ireland Minister Roy Mason said in the Commons yesterday that the government did not dispute the conclusion of the committee, which after nine months' inquiry had established that the "injuries" had been inflicted during police "interrogations."

Admirable respect for human rights! Europe's oldest bourgeois democracy has been worried for a long time, trying to find out whether anyone was tortured in its name and under the aegis of a social-democratic government. Its scrupulous experts' answer is yes. This has now been made public.

And what is the result? Has the practice been condemned? Not at all.

The Bennett report confines itself to an astounding recommendation: install closed TV circuit in places of detention enabling police officers to supervise the course of interrogations conducted by their subordinates.

Progress is not being held up and thanks to up-to-date techniques, the executioner will no longer have to so much as cover his face with a hood. The Middle Ages have gone by. Nowadays torturers do not put on gloves.

An amazing free world!

Mr. Carter backed the shah of Iran until the 11th hour. Prime Minister Callaghan resorts to repression in Ulster that has brought death or injury to thousands.

But why get excited?

Hasn't Mr. Carter just concluded in Egypt and Israel agreements that are certain to keep the Palestinian people under the yoke but that are called "peace?"

And if James Callaghan is about to institutionalize torture it will be televised from now on.

As for human rights which are never spoken of in the West but are essential nonetheless, they are still passed over in silence.

National rights? They are no more a problem in Ireland than on the West Bank of the Jordan.

The right to work? Ulster has a record number of unemployed people and emigrants.

The right of opinion and speech? Its mere exercise in the most elementary forms is subject to *Berufsverbot* in the FRG, that "model" of little Europe.

This Western world is still painfully imprisoned in the terrible "nut shell" which James Joyce couldn't put up with ("all space in a nut shell"). Isn't it high time to "re-create" it, which he said was his aspiration?

Yves Moreau
L'Humanité, March 17, 1979

EROSION OF THE REGIME

Facts of recent months have borne out the conclusion drawn by the latest CC CPU meeting held abroad. The meeting stated that popular resistance, international solidarity and the failure of the dictatorship to alleviate the country's sharp economic and social contradictions were eroding the dictatorial regime and creating conditions for a new stage in the struggle against fascism. However, they should not give rise to the illusion that changes will be easy, or to a wait-and-see attitude.

Although repressions continue, working-class and popular resistance does not stop. The struggle for higher wages and other demands is intensifying in many enterprises. In Punta del Este, construction workers have carried out 19 15-minute stoppages. In the banks and state enterprises there is a growing struggle against dismissals and the enforcement of Act 7.¹ The employees of ANCAP² and the National Meatpacking plant are stepping up their fight against the return of the former to private owners and the virtual liquidation of the latter. Published along with *Carta*³ are newspapers of the NCW,⁴ several trade unions, the FUS⁵ (*Jornada*) and Communist Youth.

The Broad Front⁶ has resorted to important publicity actions, demanding, first of all, the release of General Seregni. In Montevideo, many slogans against the dictatorship are painted on house walls. Plans for "institutionalization under tutelage,"⁷ with only one candidate for the 1981 elections, have been rejected by the traditional

parties, in particular by the real leaders of the National Party. There is no doubt that the draft regulations on political parties, which confirm, among other things, the abolition of political rights for thousands of citizens, will meet with strong resistance.

The economic situation of a large part of the population is unbearable. Real wages are steadily declining. The dictatorship has promised on countless occasions to curb inflation, but last year it registered a 46 per cent rise. Unemployment still exceeds 12 per cent. . . . Job holders are made to work overtime, receiving very low pay, and in some cases a mere pittance. The middle strata, many of whose members have steady incomes, are hard hit by the economic situation.

Indeed, the immense majority of the population, except the owners of big banks and big enterprises (especially those financed by foreign capital), big intermediaries and powerful landowners, is dissatisfied and expresses its protest in one way or another.

All hopes raised by the government have failed to materialize. First, the undertaking to curb inflation was not fulfilled. Second, the euphoric increase in so-called non-traditional exports was largely due to meagre allowances and wages. Subsequently export earnings began to diminish due to financial causes and to big capital's bid to strangle small and medium enterprises. Worse still, the United States imposes high tariffs on the import of leather articles, footwear and some textiles, which has led to the closing of many enterprises in Uruguay.

Moreover, export, whose indices seem high owing to the decline of the dollar, has never been able to restore the balance of trade, which has shown an enormous deficit throughout these years. . . .

Many agricultural producers are in straits. At the end of last year, the regime tried to raise new hopes through "liberalization" in the countryside, which implied the free marketing of farm products and freedom to slaughter livestock and sell meat, and was intended to greatly benefit meatpacking plants, the big intermediaries and at least some of the landowners. But it is hard to raise hopes in the countryside, where agricultural production dropped sharply last year and the fertilized and improved land area shrank considerably.

Besides, tariffs on imported manufactured goods were reduced in 1978, and this naturally alarmed manufacturers who produce for the home market, and who were already incurring losses through a drop in consumption.

Another hope that was dashed was the hope for greater reserves of foreign exchange. . . . What causes concern to the regime in addition

to the effects of inflation is the declining rate of the dollar. This discourages exporters. So now the dictatorship tries planned, and even daily, devaluations, which reveal the weakness of the economy and will sooner or later breed new difficulties. The fact is that fascism cannot solve the problems arising from the country's structural crisis.

The political and military crisis, highlighted by Gen. Frantl's resignation, is not over. . . . The latest appointments are indicative of a hardening of the dictatorship's position in regard to democratization processes. However, permanent factors causing deterioration will continue to operate, making for a differentiation among the armed forces.

The issue of democratization has become part of national life and it has gone beyond the opposition in some fascist quarters and the plans of those who seek institutionalization of a strictly limited and discriminatory democracy. It is necessary to join in struggle so as to defeat fascism and counter formulas of change that may be used as a means of frustrating the genuine aspiration of the immense majority of the population for democracy.

As regards the international image of the regime, far from improving, it has worsened while international solidarity with the Uruguayan people, an important factor for struggle, is growing. A campaign for amnesty is under way in many countries. . . .

We know that freedoms can only be regained through powerful solidarity and, above all, through hard struggles in Uruguay itself. These struggles would gain still greater momentum if all opposition forces rallied together in seeking change. The recent CC meeting held abroad noted that conditions for a vast national movement, including the adoption of higher forms of mass struggle, would be provided if the parties reach agreement and took the initiative of raising it to the level of a great national alignment so as to shape further development in Uruguay.

Eduardo Viera

Abridged from *PCU, Boletín Exterior*, 3/1979

¹Repressive law similar to the West German law on *Berufsverbot*. — *Ed.*

²State-owned oil refinery. — *Ed.*

³*Carta del Partido Comunista*, a communist weekly published illegally. — *Ed.*

⁴National Convention of Workers. — *Ed.*

⁵Federation of University Students. — *Ed.*

⁶Alignment of anti-imperialist democratic forces formed in 1971 and including the Communist Party. — *Ed.*

⁷Industrialization under government control. — *Ed.*

