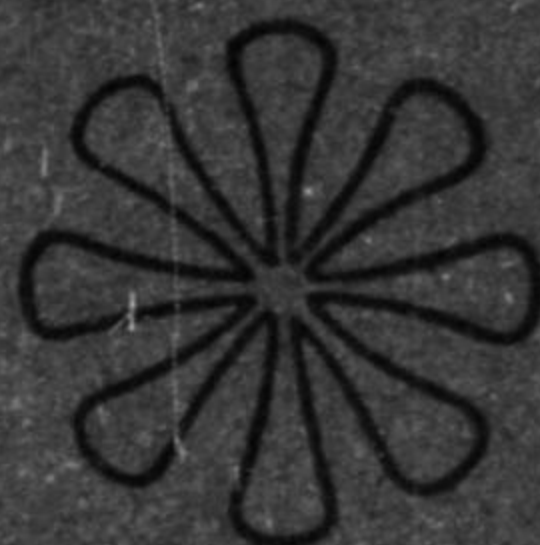


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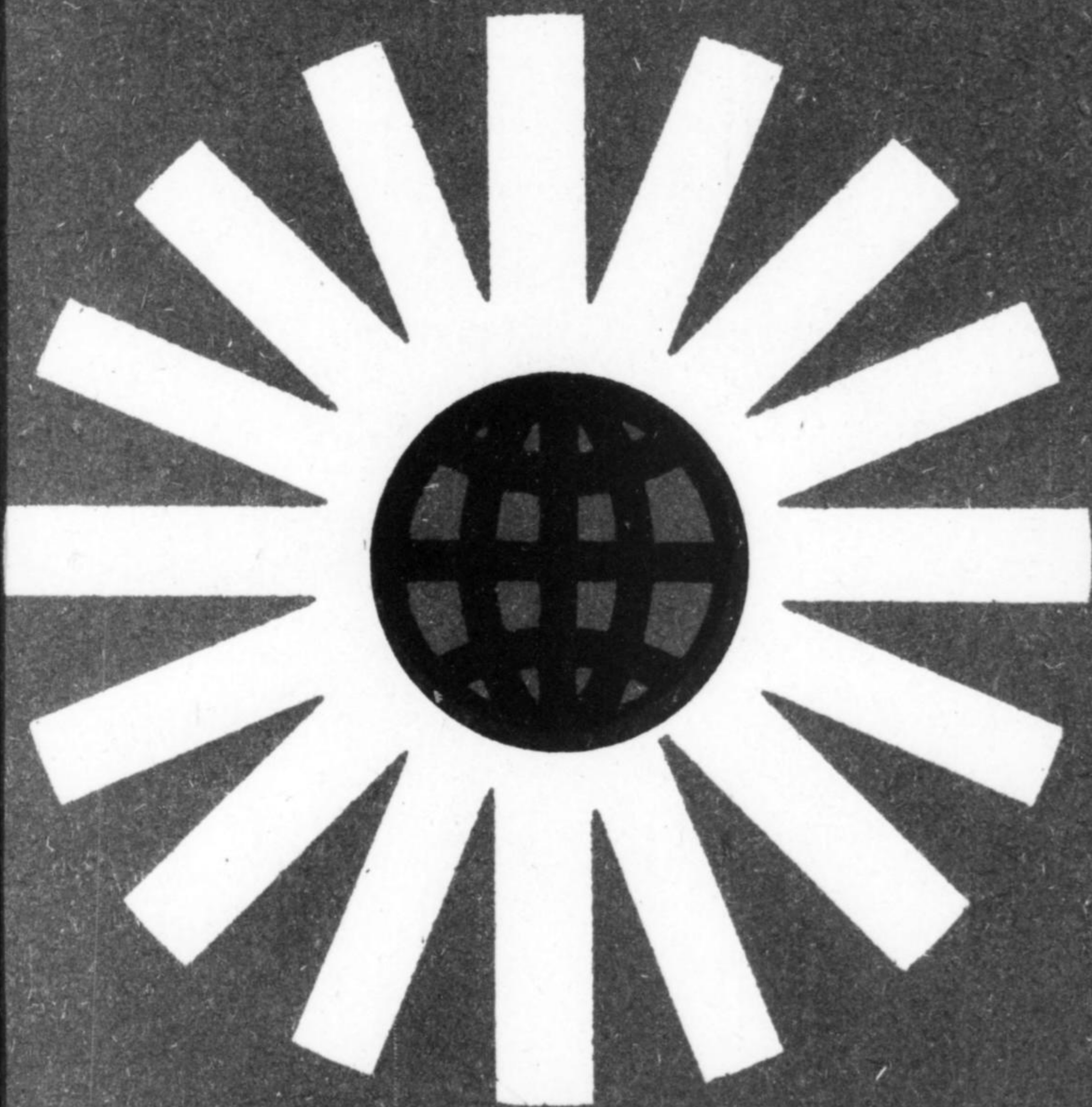


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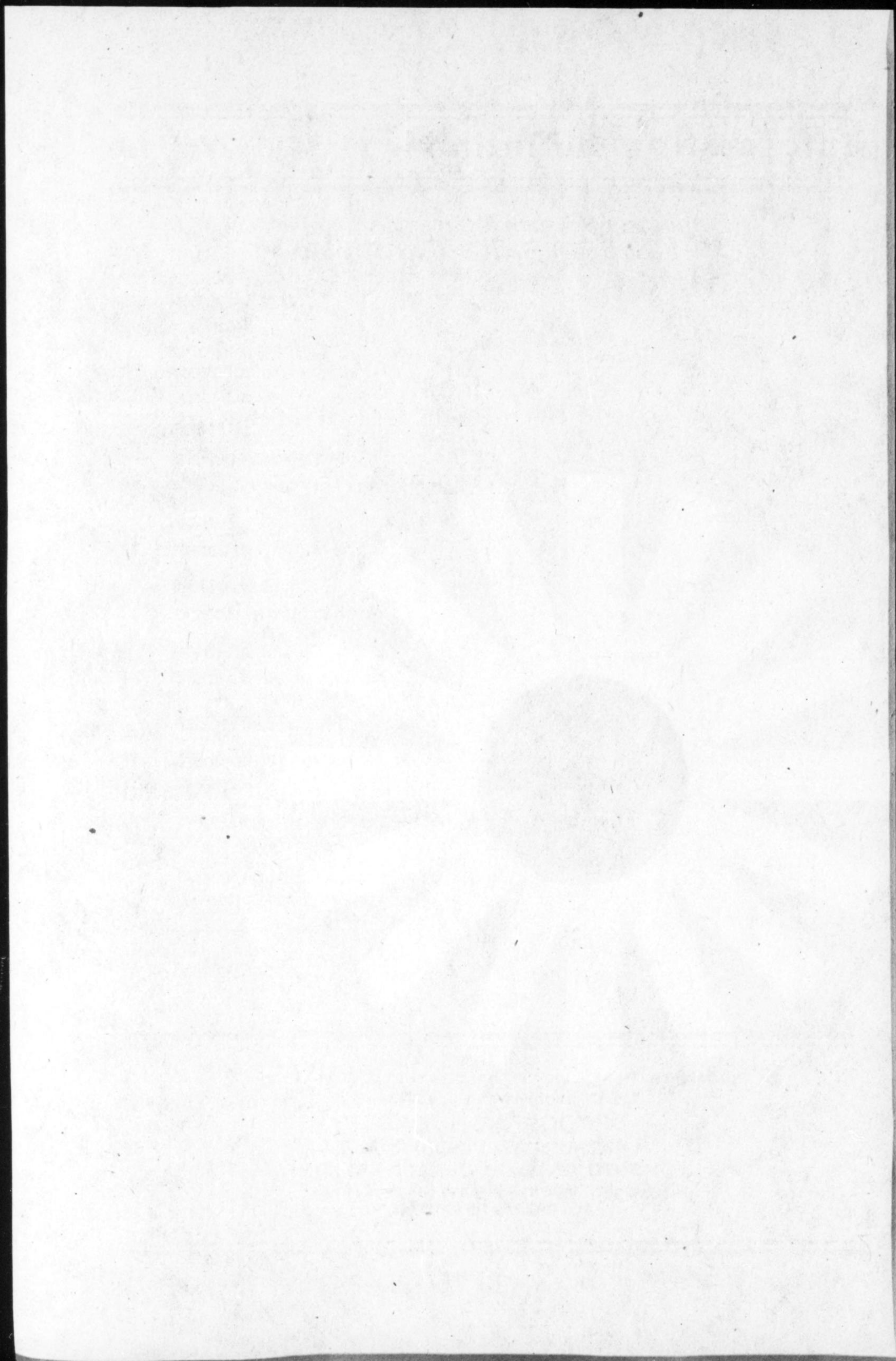
**CZECHOSLOVAKIA'S
FOREIGN POLICY**

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LENINISM

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GUATEMALA

11

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THE GREAT LIFE-GIVING STRENGTH OF LENINISM

Report by Boris Ponomarev at a Commemoration Meeting in Moscow, Dedicated to the 110th Anniversary of V.I. Lenin's Birth.

Comrades, our party, the Soviet people, the communist and liberation movement observe the 110th anniversary of V.I. Lenin's birth.

These days, words of profound respect and love for V.I. Lenin are spoken in every part of the world. This anniversary is particularly widely observed in the countries of the socialist community, which are building a new life on the basis of Leninism and have been and are successfully putting Lenin's ideas into practice in social and interstate relations.

Communists and the working people of all countries are, again and again, turning their eyes and thoughts to Lenin, to his theory and practice, to the magnificent creations of his genius as a revolutionary fighter, thinker and statesman.

No human being has ever done as much for the people, for the working people, as Lenin did. Marx and Engels transformed socialism from a utopia into a science. Lenin translated the theory of socialism into life. Marx and Engels provided the theoretical substantiation of the worldwide and history-making role of the working class. Lenin brought the working class to power and founded the state of workers and peasants, and willed to the working people the country of socialism and the science for its construction. New international experience enabled Lenin to enrich Marxism with great ideas and generalizations, and give the only victorious, theoretical guidance for the revolutionary struggle of the working class.

The Communist Party created by Lenin became a powerful revolutionary transforming force, and headed the Great Socialist Revolution which opened up, firstly for the peoples of Russia and then for the whole of mankind, the road to freedom, peace and socialism.

Leninism has so strongly influenced the course of history that any attempts to ignore Leninism, to localize its role or to confine it to the past epoch are theoretically pitiful, while politically, they are reactionary and doomed to defeat.

At every new stage of history the teaching of Lenin unfolds its richness with greater fullness, demonstrates its correctness and depth, stimulates creativity and action, instills faith in the inevitable victory of socialism. This is a vital, steadily developing and effective teaching. The entire work of the CPSU in establishing real socialism is a vivid expression of our party's creative development of Leninism.

"Mankind's present and future is unthinkable without Lenin and Leninism," Comrade L.I. Brezhnev said. "The radiance of Lenin's ideas illuminates for mankind the road forward, the road to new victories, to new history-making achievements, to the complete destruction of exploitation and oppression, to the worldwide victory of the cause of socialism."

Leninism *yesterday* is the victory of the October Revolution and the building of the first socialist society, it is a powerful call for freedom and social justice which has roused hundreds of millions of people to the struggle.

Leninism *today* is real socialism, which is personified by the community of socialist states, it is a powerful communist and liberation movement, the abolition of colonial domination and the creation of new, sovereign and independent states, it is a cardinal alteration of the alignment of forces in favor of socialism and peace and the possibility of excluding war from the life of mankind.

Leninism *tomorrow* is a communist society in our country, the triumph of socialism in many other countries, new victory of social and national emancipation, important successes in the struggle for a lasting and fair peace, and friendship between all nations.

Our party and people have covered a long road implementing Lenin's behests. Great historical victories of socialism have been achieved. Lenin's ideas on the industrialization of the country and the collectivization of the countryside, on the solution of the national question and the cultural revolution have long since become a reality. We can state, with full justification, that what Lenin dreamed of and what he planned the party and the people have courageously put into effect. A developed socialist society has been built. An unprecedented new historical community of people — a multinational Soviet people — has been formed.

But the entire work of the genius of revolutionary thought and revolutionary practice continues to serve us now, to serve socialism and will continue to do so tomorrow both in the field of the basis — the economy, and of the superstructure — politics and ideology.

The tremendous constructive work of our party is directed by the

Central Committee headed by Comrade L.I. Brezhnev, an outstanding leader of the Leninist type, a staunch champion of the prosperity of our socialist homeland and of communism. In the comprehensive progress of our society the party and its central committee are consistently settling problems posed by life itself.

A splendid indication of this can be seen in the historical resolutions of the Central Committee adopted last year, and the November Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee of 1979. The Resolution of the CPSU Central Committee "On the Further Improvement of the Economic Mechanism and the Tasks of Party and State Organs", the Resolution of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers "On the Improvement of Planning and Intensification of the Influence of the Economic Mechanism upon the Increase in the Effectiveness of Production and Quality of Work" — are a major step in the implementation of the party's economic strategy worked out by the 24th and 25th Congresses.

1. DEVELOPED SOCIALISM — THE TRIUMPH OF LENIN'S IDEAS

Comrades, observing the 110th anniversary of Lenin's birth, we honor him as the great architect of a new social system. He delineated and substantiated the constructive tasks of the revolution in spectacular detail, he worked out a plan of genius for the socialist transformation of our country and directly guided the construction of the first socialist state on earth. His ideas and his practical work encompassed all aspects of the construction of a new world — economy and politics, the role of the party as the leading force in society, legislation and state machinery, questions of administration and defense, science and culture and art, the functioning of mass organizations, norms of morals and ethics.

They are permeated with a true spirit of innovation, which is, in a Leninist manner, a daring and broad, and yet scientifically founded, approach to the settlement of pressing problems.

They provide for the improvement in planning and in methods of economic management, and an intensification of the role of the state plan coupled with a concurrent broadening of democratic principles and the rights of working collectives.

The policy of developing the industrial base of agriculture which, to

use Lenin's words, is the main condition of a tremendous increase "in productivity of agricultural and of farm labor in general" is pursued resolutely. Lenin's agrarian policy of the party, in the present stage, found a brilliant expression in the resolutions of the July 1978 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee.

The Resolution of the CPSU Central Committee "On Further Improvement of the Ideological, Political and Educational Work" is a vivid proof of the party's work in the sphere of ideology. It is a long-term program for educating the Soviet people in the spirit of lofty ideological partisanship, loyalty to the Motherland and to the ideals of communism. The Resolution of the Central Committee and the subsequent nationwide conference conducted around it became a major event in the entire ideological and political life of the country, and are called upon to perfect the ideological activity of the party in accordance with the present stage of the development of the Soviet society, the gradual transition to communism, and the opposition of the two world systems.

An embodiment of Lenin's traditions in the ideological and political work is L.I. Brezhnev's trilogy. *Little Land, Rebirth, The Virgin Lands* and other works by Leonid Ilyich are published in many countries. Expressing the fondness and appreciation of the mass of the people, the Committee for Lenin and State Prizes of the USSR has awarded the well-deserved prize to Comrade L.I. Brezhnev.

Drawing support from Lenin's behests, the party is settling the key problems of contemporary development. Let us take the main directions of its work in the current stage.

Firstly, in identifying the creative program of the revolution, Lenin had set in its entirety a new task for the working class — that of governing the state and managing material production, continually improving the standard of management with the growth of economy.

Economic management has been, and remains the main orientation of the CPSU transforming activity. Lenin considered this to be our central, most interesting policy, and, as has been shown by experience, it is a rather complex policy.

A socialist economy should develop on the basis of a single, scientifically substantiated state plan. The first embodiment of this idea was the famous GOELRO Plan, which, every time one remembers it, astounds one by its great scope and foresight.

The successes in Soviet economic development, while creating the conditions for the improvement in the living standard of the people, are called upon to settle another historical task, too — that of ensuring

victory in the peaceful economic competition with the capitalist system, taking into consideration that this competition will be a reality for a rather long term of time. The 25th CPSU Congress has put forth the slogan of bringing economic management into line with the requirements of a developed socialist society. The resolution of the CPSU Central Committee regarding the improvement of the economic mechanism outlines a whole system of specific measures whose implementation will signify a tremendous stride forward.

The necessity of learning rational, effective management is an unceasing, constant requirement. It emerges again and again, at ever higher levels, on the long ascent of the steps of economic and social progress.

Secondly, Lenin substantiated the principle of combining the power of the working people with the most perfect technical basis. He explained the necessity of applying the achievements of science and engineering to increase labor productivity, and for the victory of the new social system, the necessity of taking advantage of everything of value which had been accumulated by human civilization. "We must take all its science, technology, knowledge and art," Lenin said. "Without these we shall be unable to build communist society."

Socialist society has proved its superiority over capitalism by the mere fact that it is devoid of the ulcers and vileness that are the inevitable satellites of the bourgeois system founded as it is on private ownership and exploitation of man by man, and by the fact that it has eliminated from the life of society crises and unemployment. Socialism has proved its superiority in the rate of economic growth and in the level of output of many major industrial commodities. It is a fact that the socialist economy has, for tens of years, been developing in an ascending line. The Soviet Union now holds first place in the world for the output of steel, oil, coal and coke, iron ore, pig iron, mineral fertilizers, diesel and electric locomotives, cement, sawn timber, woollens, leather footwear, refrigerators, and a number of other commodities. The socialist system commands everything necessary to settle the task set by Lenin — to outstrip capitalism also by qualitative indicators, including the level of public labor productivity.

The 24th CPSU Congress put forth the objective of organically combining the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution with the advantages of the socialist system of economy. Last year's resolution of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers gives a special place to the integrated program of Soviet

scientific and technical progress calculated for the next twenty years. Its consistent implementation will ensure a steady growth of the people's well-being and a fuller satisfaction of their growing material and intellectual requirements.

The scientific and technical revolution is a global international process. While drawing from this full-flowing stream whatever is best, whatever is created by scientific thought and experience in organizing production, we should, first of all, do everything necessary to ensure our own scientific and technical progress, and to improve the forms and methods of organizing production developed by socialism.

Thirdly, Lenin included among the main constructive tasks of the revolution the evolvment of a conscious labor discipline, the development of a communist attitude to work. The development of this discipline, he warned, "is a very protracted process", associated with the surmounting of the gravest aftermaths of centuries of forced labor, of work under coercion.

The central role in uncovering the potentialities of willing work (*working for oneself*, to use Lenin's expression), in stimulating labor enthusiasm and the initiative of masses, he gave to socialist emulation. Lenin's idea is still alive in the Movement for Communist Labor, a movement which engages millions of working people who set models of a high standard of work and effectiveness of production. The experience of foremost workers proves the tremendous potentialities and the available reserves.

Communist Subbotniks held on the occasion of Lenin's birthday have become a wonderful tradition. The funds raised by this undertaking are used for health protection projects. This year they are more than a thousand million roubles.

Fourthly, Lenin associated the settlement of the creative tasks of the revolution with the development of socialist democracy. He perceived the highest, Soviet type of democracy to be an inexhaustible source of the strength of the new system. The party regularly draws support from this. Showing care for the consolidation of the centralized element, it proceeds from the understanding that it is democratic centralism that is needed in politics and in the economy as it is this that opens up the broadest vistas for initiative from below.

The new Constitution of the USSR was a large stride forward in the development of the Soviet state. Besides ensuring the achieved level of democracy, it provides for the further unfolding of socialist democracy — ever broader participation of citizens in managing the affairs of the state and society; the improvement of the state apparatus; a

great role for the Soviets of People's Deputies; greater activity of the public organizations; the strengthening of people's control; the consolidation of the legal foundations of state and public life; regular consideration of public opinion.

During the recent elections to the Supreme Soviets of Union and Autonomous Republics 2,275,000 people's deputies were elected to local Soviets — 57 per cent of the elected deputies are non-party people, 43 per cent are communists. As for the social composition — 43 per cent are workers and 25 per cent are collective farmers. This is a splendid illustration of the substance of our democracy.

An impressive picture of the history-making successes of our country was unfolded in the course of elections. These achievements, especially those of recent decades, have been shown in the speeches of leaders, of local workers, and of ordinary Soviet electors. Soviet people declared, with legitimate pride, that our socialist Motherland was growing more and more beautiful and more powerful every year. Alongside this, they exposed shortcomings, spoke openly about outstanding questions and planned our further movement forward.

Fifthly, Lenin perceived that the main point of socialist and communist construction lay in subordinating public production to the task of improving the well-being of the people, and of ever fully satisfying the material and intellectual requirements of the working people.

Today we can say that our country has long since by far surpassed capitalism in providing its citizens real guarantees for the fundamental rights and freedoms — the right to work, to education, leisure, health protection, mother and child care, and security in old age. We have the right to housing which is unmatched in the capitalist world. The Soviet Union is building more flats than any other country in the world. 5.5 thousand flats are made available, free of charge, to Soviet citizens every day. Approximately 22 million new flats have been built, and 109 million people have moved into better accommodation — these are the results of the past decade.

The social program of the party is permeated with the Leninist care for man, and is being consistently realized. In the last two five-year periods alone, real per capita incomes will have grown almost by 1.5-fold, the payments and benefits from the social consumption funds — 1.8-fold.

Lenin stood at the source of the cultural revolution which has effected a real change in the intellectual life of the country and enabled the Soviet state to become one of the foremost in its standard of public education. The assimilation by our people of the summits of

worldwide culture is another achievement of socialism, another sphere in which socialism has by far and forever outstripped capitalism.

The alliance of culture and labor has become entrenched in socialist society and is deeply manifest in the popular character of our culture, in the creative contribution of the workers in literature and art to the construction of communist society, to the education of a person whose aim in life is to follow Lenin's example and to learn from Lenin.

Comrades, the guarantee of all our successes has been and continues to be the leading activity of the Communist Party which, courageously, in a Leninist way, sets the task of communist construction and rallies the people to their fulfilment.

The Communist Party demonstrates a model of the Leninist attitude in its duty to the people and in serving the people; all its work is permeated by a Leninist style which presupposes a scientific approach to social processes, a high degree of exactingness of oneself and of others, and intolerance of red tape and formalistic attitudes.

Open discussion of pressing issues and difficulties and the uncovering of their causes is also a component of the Leninist style of leadership. An illustration of this was seen at the November (1979) Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, in the profound and candid speech of Comrade Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, a speech which is of durable and fundamental importance.

The party regularly engages in criticism and self-criticism. The proper response to criticism is an indicator of the political maturity of cadres and organizations. Any attempts to suppress criticism are regarded by the party as totally impermissible.

Lenin's instruction concerning work with letters from the working people is steadily carried out. The Central Committee of the CPSU emphasizes that this is an important means of strengthening relations with the population, a source of information.

In the political and educational work regular attention is given to the study of Lenin's works in close connection with the practice of communist construction. The resolution of the CPSU Central Committee on the 110th anniversary of Lenin's birth has given a broad program for the further study of Leninism and for its implementation. An important new form of mastering Lenin's legacy were the open party meetings held at party organizations with the agenda: "To live,

work and struggle in a Leninist, communist fashion." These meetings were an aid in consolidating the combination of ideological work and life, they have strengthened the efficiency of the primary organizations of the party, and have rallied the working people closer around the CPSU.

The Communist Party has come to the 110th anniversary of Lenin's birth enriched with new experience, full of strength and vigor. It unites more than 17 million communists. In guiding the entire revolutionary transforming work of the Soviet people and confidently laying our country's course in the most complex international conditions, the CPSU is wholeheartedly following the fundamental behest of Lenin — to treasure and strengthen the unity of its ranks, the cohesion of the party and the people, the unbreakable alliance of the working class, peasantry and intellectuals, the fraternal friendship of all nations and nationalities in our country. L.I. Brezhnev put it in a memorable way: "Cohesion and unity of society is a unique asset of socialism, our priceless and invincible force . . . , and let our adversaries remember the lessons of history. Let them know that the unity of Soviet people manifests itself with special force precisely at a time when attempts are made to talk to us in the language of threats." The lessons of the more than 60-year-long history of our society should have, long ago, taught its adversaries that there is no force on earth capable of destroying the great gains of the people who have learned what socialism is!

We still have a great deal of work to do to achieve all the goals in the program of the CPSU. Having entered the 80s, the Soviet people are confidently looking into the future. Our ideology, our socialist mode of life are permeated with the spirit of historic optimism. Time is working for communism!

II. LENINISM AND WORLD DEVELOPMENT

Comrades,

V.I. Lenin's greatest merit lies in his having discovered the basic trends and the machinery of world development in the new historical epoch, and in having ascertained the fundamental laws behind it. Lenin's work *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* and some other writings analyzing world processes rank alongside Karl Marx's outstanding work *Capital* in importance.

Lenin put forward and substantiated the major idea for mankind's

destiny that imperialism breeds world wars, and that socialism brings peace to the nations. The achievements and the force of socialism create the conditions which make it possible — with all anti-war forces rallying together — for world war to be ruled out of the life of society.

The teaching of socialist revolution, the possibility of the victory of socialism, first in one country, of peaceful coexistence between the two systems, of the role of the national liberation movement in modern times, and of the forms of the revolutionary struggle of the working class under conditions of contemporary capitalism — all this is inseparably connected with Lenin's assessment of imperialism. Lenin worked out these problems and gave the working people a dependable scientific method to evaluate the alignment of class forces and the ways of revolutionary change.

The first socialist state created by Lenin and the Bolsheviks found itself, even at that time, being encircled by imperialist powers, in the midst of international relations and world progress. Today, advancing side by side with it, are the other states which make up the socialist community, which, as Lenin predicted, has a tremendous impact on world politics. And wherever the fundamental principles of Leninism are observed, the success, the strengthening of the positions of socialism, and the constant rise of people's material and cultural standards are evident. Wherever, on the other hand, these principles are violated and Leninism abandoned, as, for example, in China, there is a stagnation, a reversal, and a danger of losing what was gained earlier.

The historic victory of socialism in the Soviet Union and subsequently in the socialist community, and the coming into play of the creative potential of the socialist system have been the key factors behind the remaking of the entire world and the driving force behind all social progress in modern times.

Socialism's ability to stand up for itself and to defend its gains against the encroachments of imperialism has been yet another decisive factor. In a few days the masses and, above all, the Soviet people, will be celebrating the 35th anniversary of the great victory over fascism. Not only did the Soviet Union and its glorious Armed Forces uphold this country's freedom and independence in what was the bloodiest of all wars, but they brought liberation to other nations and saved mankind from the threat of fascist enslavement.

All peoples admired the exploits of the Land of Soviets and have expressed their great love and gratitude. Many Western heads of state and government have stated this openly.

One after another, U.S. presidents have expressed their gratitude to the Soviet Armed Forces. President Roosevelt said, "the Russian Army and the Russian people in their continuing struggle against Nazi conquest today bear the brunt of the massed weight of the Nazi might and displayed incomparable heroism". Eisenhower said that the Red Army's great exploits during the war in Europe earned the admiration of the whole world. Even so anti-Soviet a leader as President Truman wrote that the Soviet Union had "made a magnificent contribution to the cause of civilization and liberty" and had "demonstrated the ability of a freedom-loving and supremely courageous people to crush the evil forces of barbarism, however powerful".

The British Premier of that time declared that "future generations will acknowledge their debt to the Red Army as unreservedly as we do ..."

Today it is well worth reminding everyone of those pronouncements. The present leaders of the United States and Great Britain have consigned to oblivion the debt of which their forerunners spoke. They are now fulminating against us, using every sort of blasphemous demagoguery. But the truth of the matter is that the nature of the Soviet Union, the character of the Soviet people, and the sum and substance of our party have not changed since then. Today, as at that time, the Soviet Union is opposing the forces of aggression and defending the cause of civilization and freedom. And the world's peoples are entitled to ask the rulers of the U.S. and Britain why they are trying to mislead everyone; on what grounds are they stepping up an anti-Soviet campaign and working to raise international tensions and exacerbate the danger of war? It is in the people's interest to cut short this kind of policy, to reaffirm détente and to put an end to the arms race.

The seventies have seen a further, notable advance in the anti-imperialist movement in many areas of the world. This has been seen in the victory of the Vietnamese people and the unification of Vietnam, the consolidation of the people's rule in Laos, and the elimination of the Pol Pot regime in Kampuchea. Ethiopia, Angola and Mozambique have freed themselves from the shackles of imperialism, and their peoples have carried out major social changes and are now active as outposts of socialist orientation in Africa. South Yemen is playing an important role along these lines. The dictatorial regime in Nicaragua has been overthrown. The revolution in Afghanistan, the liquidation of the shah's regime in Iran, and the victory of the Zimbabwean patriots have been a blow to imperialism.

It is not the notorious "hand of Moscow", but the inexorable objective laws behind social development that are driving the world revolutionary process forward.

The communist movement has appreciably expanded and increased its influence in recent years. The ruling parties of the socialist community are its most powerful and most numerous contingent. They have assumed full responsibility for the destinies of their states, operating as the leading and organizing force, confidently leading their countries forward.

The influence of communist parties in the non-socialist area of the world has strengthened. Their membership has increased by nearly one and a quarter million in the past ten years, making a total of close to 4.5 million today. There are 90 communist and workers' parties operating in the world at present. More than 800,000 new members have joined the communist parties of Western Europe during this period. Party membership in North and South America and in Africa has more than doubled. The communist parties in a number of Asian countries are strengthening their positions. The communists of non-socialist countries presently poll close to 40 million votes at parliamentary and municipal elections.

The influence of communist parties is, as always, rising appreciably faster than their membership. Today, not a single serious international problem, or a single crucial contemporary issue is settled and, indeed, can be settled without the communist movement.

In recent times, imperialist quarters have launched a massive anti-communist campaign. They are resorting to slander and intimidation and to attempts at defaming communist leaders, discrediting the policies of communist parties and setting terrorists against their organizations. But, just as in the past, it is doomed to failure.

What, indeed, are communists fighting for?

Communists are the most consistent and determined champions of peace and fighters against the aggressive policies of imperialism. They are constantly showing people where the war danger comes from, who is to blame for the ruinous and dangerous arms race, and who provokes and stirs up armed conflicts. In this way, communists, while rousing the masses of people to battle, are working to save all humanity from the danger of a nuclear-missile disaster.

It is the communists who forewarned mankind about the dangers of World War II and called on the nations to unite against its carriers — the fascists. It was anti-Sovietism that blinded those who failed to heed that warning and that appeal.

Nowadays, communists are again speaking up against imperialism's plans and actions which intensify the threat of war. In a week, representatives of European communist parties will meet in Paris to join in a common appeal to all peoples to oppose the threat of war. All those who really want peace must listen to the voices of the communists.

Communists are uncompromising and consistent fighters against the domination of monopoly capital, and for liberation of people from all forms of exploitation, and for a genuine democracy that would give working people real rights and freedoms, and for the victory of socialism.

Communists speak out for the complete eradication of colonialism, for the national independence and equality of all peoples. They are consistent patriots and internationalists, who support a fraternal alliance between the working people of all countries, against national strife and racial oppression.

The upsurge of the world revolutionary forces in every shape or form is taking place against the background of the mounting crisis of the imperialist system. As Lenin foresaw, imperialism tends to increase the monopolistic concentration of capital and to promote the merger of monopolies with the state and their amalgamation in one vast exploiting system.

Lenin stressed more than once that these novel features, far from removing the antagonisms of capitalism, deepen and exacerbate them. Capitalism's "last word" is the national state monopoly systems which have presently been established, on the one hand, and the "multinational" monopoly "empires" and giant octopuses, on the other, which exploit not only the workers of their own countries but the working people of other countries as well.

What has this led to? Has a "new" crisis-free capitalism and the welfare state heralded by the bourgeoisie and the reformists appeared? On the contrary, the exploitative foundations of the bourgeois system, along with oppression and the arbitrary practices of big business, monopolistic rapacity and corruption, have attained the highest level to date.

Herein lie the deep roots of the sweeping crisis which has hit capitalism in the seventies. There is a far-reaching crisis of the economic base of state monopoly capitalism, of its economic policies, and of the entire strategy it uses of adapting imperialism to the scientific and technological revolution and to the contest between the two systems. The unprecedented rise in the cost of living, inflation,

mounting unemployment and rampant terrorism have been some of the most striking features of this crisis.

There is growing evidence that the capitalist system is obstructing the resolution of mankind's most pressing problems.

As the scientific and technological revolution advances, there is a growing contradiction between the material potentialities of modern productive forces and the intensification of the exploitation of the working people on the one hand, and the actual conditions of hunger and poverty as a way of life for many nations as a result of the way the imperialists are using modern science and technology on the other. That is why the class struggle in the imperialist camp and the liberation movement of the people are intensified.

The ruinous arms race and the gigantic misappropriation of public assets by the military-industrial complex are glaring manifestations of the degradation of imperialism. Lenin called attention more than once to the dangerous consequences of militarization. "... States," he wrote, "which possess a military apparatus expanded as a consequence of imperialist rivalry, have become military monsters. ...". Today, the militarism of the United States is playing the most sinister role. Its military budget, having reached an astronomical sum of over 160,000 million dollars a year, is expected to rise to 253,000 million within the next five years. Military spending is growing on a vast scale in other NATO countries as well.

Imperialism's aggressive nature shows itself at the present time in:
— the growing influence of the military-industrial complex, the forces of militarism, extreme reaction and anti-communism on foreign policy;

— the unlimited NATO military buildup and attempts at putting together further military-political alliances spearheaded against the USSR and the socialist community, and against all freedom-loving nations; gross interference in liberation struggles and attempts at suppressing progressive movements in the non-socialist world;

— the urge to obtain military superiority over the socialist countries, displaying further rounds of the arms race, holding up and breaking off disarmament talks, and attempts at converting Western Europe into a launching pad for U.S. nuclear weapons and missiles of a basically new sort;

— the expansionism and hegemonism of U.S. imperialism and its ambition to achieve world supremacy and, to this end, to install more and more military facilities and bases outside the United States, which already number more than two and a half thousand;

— the preparation of mobile armed forces which would function as a world policeman and for the invasion of other nations' territory;

— a course of action which will wreck international détente and dissipate the "spirit of Helsinki";

— the switchover from individual acts of ideological subversion to large-scale "psychological warfare" aimed at instigating hostility toward the Soviet people and toward the ideas of socialism and the national liberation movement.

U.S. imperialism has come to express all these elements to the fullest degree ever. And it is very important for the masses of people to know the true nature of imperialism and the aggressive NATO military bloc. This knowledge is necessary so that this imperialism can be exposed and effectively fought against.

The consolidation of the position of socialism, the rising tide of the people's liberation struggles, and the mounting general crisis of the capitalist system are the major causes of the current abrupt and hazardous turn in the foreign policies of imperialism and its crusade against détente; these are the true sources of the present anti-Soviet hysteria in the West which Lenin very aptly described as the "ravings of the bourgeoisie" under rather similar circumstances.

All of this had begun long before the events in Afghanistan, which proved to be no more than a pretext for an offensive against détente and for a relapse of the cold war which had been launched much earlier. The Soviet Union's stand was spelled out quite distinctly and unequivocally in Leonid Brezhnev's statements of October 6, 1979, and on January 13, 1980.

As we commemorate the anniversary of Lenin's birth, we should recall what he said that in 1921: "... Russia will always remain the first friend of the high Afghan state to the benefit of both peoples." The Soviet people are confident that the proud and freedom-loving Afghan people will defend their national interests against both outside aggression and domestic reaction and that they will follow the road of independence and prosperity, which they themselves have chosen, in the context of friendship and peace with their neighbors and with all other peoples.

Afghanistan clearly exemplifies the strategy of American imperialism. This strategy provides for interference, including armed intervention, wherever people become the masters of their own destinies and wherever foreign oppression and diktat are stamped out. The "right" to intervention and to the export of counter revolution is now openly justified by claims of "U.S. vital interests" or, to put it

simply, by the colonialist desire to grab something which doesn't belong to the imperialists. When the people repulse such encroachments, the imperialists begin threatening "global confrontation" and brandishing nuclear weapons.

L.I. Brezhnev recently pointed out: "... The narrower become imperialism's possibilities of dominating other countries and peoples, the fiercer its most aggressive and myopic representatives react to this. This aggressiveness can be restrained only by the might and reasonable policy of the peace-loving states and resolve of the peoples to frustrate the dangerous plans of the claimants to world domination."

Today hardly anyone would dispute the threat to humanity posed by imperialism, above all by U.S. imperialism, which has again laid claim to "leadership", i.e., to world domination.

At the close of World War I, turning his indignation against the bloodbath instigated by the imperialists, Lenin warned that such wars "... would undermine the very foundations of human society". At the time, he told the whole world that the proletariat alone could save world culture and humanity from this madness.

Nowadays the possibilities of the working class to accomplish this human mission have grown immeasurably. They have grown, above all, because Leninism has been translated into great accomplishments, because it is represented by the great material and ideological might of the countries of the socialist community and by the organized force of the international working class and communist movement, and also because its inspiring and just ideas have taken root in the minds of hundreds of millions of people in all countries.

So we have every reason to say, comrades, that the salvation of humanity and its future consist of the strengthening and development of the social and public forces that rely on Leninism and take guidance from it.

To fulfill Lenin's behest and carry out socialism's historic mission of safeguarding peace to the end means:

- to strengthen in every way the economic and defensive might of the Soviet state and the ideological and political unity of the great multinational Soviet people;

- to strengthen in every way the fraternal union of the socialist states, their cooperation and all-round mutual assistance;

- to consolidate on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism the international communist movement, the best organized and ideological force of our day;

— to work for the fullest possible utilization of the vast potential of today's working class and national liberation movement to promote the interests of peace and progress;

— to cooperate with those who genuinely wish to avoid world war, who are inclined to reckon with the realities of our time and who are prepared to respect the legitimate interests, independence and freedom of every nation.

Our party and the Soviet Union as a whole are waging a historic battle for peace on earth, for a lasting and just peace for all nations. The Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee led by L.I. Brezhnev devotes all its forces, experience and talents to this great cause, thus fulfilling Lenin's behest.

The Soviet Union, the Soviet people have to divert considerable efforts and resources to strengthen the country's defences so as to rid humanity of another military catastrophe. The fact that for 35 years now the peoples of the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community have enjoyed the benefits of peace can be attributed, above all, to the Soviet Union's having everything necessary jointly with its allies to give a resolute and strong rebuff to any encroachment on our country and on our allies. We have something to defend, we have something to defend it with, and we have those who will defend all this!

The Warsaw Treaty Organization, the 25th anniversary of which will soon be celebrated, is a reliable shield of socialist gains.

The economic might, the political prestige, the firm and principled implementation of the Peace Program of the 24th and 25th Congresses of the CPSU, and the active and concerted peace policy of the socialist community have created a very strong potential of détente that is far from easy to destroy. One of the main elements here is the idea, which is deeply rooted in the minds of the people and even of the ruling circles of a number of countries, that Soviet policy is a policy of peace, that we do not want war, that we do not seek it. As a result, it has become possible to resolve many major problems left over after World War II in the past decade and some of those that were accumulated during the 20-odd years of the cold war. The Helsinki Conference formalized the principles of peaceful coexistence as a commonly recognized international norm.

This means that the aggressive encroachments of imperialism and its henchmen can be limited and bridled.

Our party and the Soviet Union have set the Leninist foreign policy course in opposition to the strategy of imperialism. This policy was

reiterated in the remarkable speech of L.I. Brezhnev on February 22, 1980. It contains a clear-cut program for the struggle for peace and security in the existing situation, and constructive proposals for preserving and furthering détente and curbing the arms race.

Comrades,

Our party proceeds from the assumption that there is an organic link between the constructive work within the country and the foreign policy of our state, and the entire cause of peace and social progress on an international scale. We remember Lenin's famous words said in 1921: "We are now exercising our main influence on the international revolution through our economic policy . . . The struggle in this field has now become global. Once we solve this problem, we shall have certainly and finally won on an international scale."

The profundity and meaningfulness of this idea are enormous. Our economic effort has always had, and continues to have, enormous international significance in general political, military and ideological respects alike. Both state-to-state relations and varied contacts with public forces abroad depend on the results of this effort.

Therefore, whatever section of great communist construction a body of Soviet people or any Soviet citizen works at, he or she is called upon to and can make a contribution by his or her labor toward ensuring a lasting peace on earth and toward securing universal social progress.

Comrades,

Whatever anti-Soviet and anti-communist campaigns imperialist reaction might launch against the Soviet Union, they will never cast a shadow on the magnificent accomplishments of socialism and the clear, noble objectives and principles constituting the foundations of Leninism and the policy of our party.

Lenin's followers are building a new civilization on earth, a civilization meeting the interests of all people. We warmly and wholeheartedly wish peace and happiness to the working people throughout the world and are doing a great deal for the benefit of other nations.

Lenin's entire life and work are a model of faithfulness to the working class and to the cause of the working people, sympathy for the exploited and oppressed, irreconcilability toward the oppressors, honesty, integrity and staunchness in the struggle for communist ideals.

To be faithful to Leninism means to consistently uphold the principles of Lenin's teaching, to creatively develop it, always to remain in

touch with practice and the masses, to learn from their experience and to translate Lenin's ideas into practice.

Leninism is needed by all people, by the whole of humanity. It is our conviction that the farther we go, the more the awareness of the unbreakability of Leninism and the vital interests of human society will spread throughout the world.

Long live Leninism, the banner of revolutionary struggle, construction and peace!

Glory to the great Soviet people, the builders of communism!

Long live the Leninist Communist Party of the Soviet Union!

Abridged from *Pravda*, April 22, 1980

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DOCUMENTS

CORNERSTONE OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY

The CPCz Central Committee held a plenary meeting under the chairmanship of Gustav Husak, CPCz CC General Secretary and President of the CSSR, in Prague on March 25 and 26. The report "For the further improvement of politico-educational work, its close links with practice, and consistent implementation of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism" made by Vasil Bilak, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCz Central Committee.

Below we print an extract from the report.

The cornerstone of our foreign policy is and always will be our friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. It is an inalienable part of our life, our present and future. We form a strong and active link of a community which is a vital and most dynamic organism of the contemporary world, a community based on identity of goals, ideals and interests in building a happy life for all working people.

Though the history of socialism is still at its initial stage, it is fair to say that the world of socialism is free of poverty, unemployment, crises, fear for the morrow, national hostility, racial and religious discrimination, exploitation and oppression. It has established new morals, new principles in relations between people and nations — principles of equality, mutual respect, comradely assistance and cooperation. The close ties between the fraternal socialist countries are being further cemented, which, along with the development of all-round cooperation tends to accelerate the economic and social development of each country and the community as a whole.

In the present-day class-divided world, when the reactionary forces of imperialism are out to destabilize and drive a wedge between the socialist countries, coordination of the Warsaw Treaty states' foreign policy actions is an important factor in strengthening the community and enhancing its impact on world development. This year we will mark the 25th anniversary of its existence. This period goes to show that cardinal importance in defending socialism is attached to the

formation and existence of the Warsaw Treaty, and that thanks to its peace initiatives it is playing an historic role in the restructuring of international relations.

In consolidating the community's cohesion and coordinating its peace initiatives great importance is attached to the regular meetings of leaders of the communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries, particularly the Crimea meetings of general and first secretaries of central committees. The meetings of central committee secretaries dealing with international and ideological questions are a useful form of ideological cooperation by the socialist countries. The exchanges of experience and views, the quest for ways of expanding cooperation and raising the effectiveness of joint actions, including in political propaganda oriented abroad, have also proved their worth. We especially value the CPSU's deep-going analysis and experience in communist construction, which help to expand our knowledge and enrich our practical work.

The constant growth and scientific and technical development of the CMEA states promotes the consolidation of the socialist world system and enhances its influence in the international arena. The past decade has witnessed further progress in the international socialist division of labor, which has been implemented and deepened on the basis of the Comprehensive Program of socialist economic integration. It is intended to coordinate and develop the national economies and the economy of the community as a whole on the basis of planned interaction, pooling of resources and means for the construction of new capacities and broadly developed international specialization and cooperation of production. In the framework of scientific and technological cooperation alone several hundred new types of machines and equipment as well as whole new systems have been created in common. A vivid example is the Intercosmos program, in which our country also takes part.

The long-term goal-oriented cooperation programs up to 1990 are designed to ensure the CMEA countries' requirements in fuel, energy, raw materials, machines and equipment, agricultural implements and products, consumer goods and transport vehicles. The implementation of these programs will further the solution of the fundamental economic problems of individual countries while providing opportunities for a fuller use of the advantages of socialism.

We are well aware, however, that the introduction of new, progressive methods is, as a rule, far from easy, nor is it free of problems. It often has to contend with conservative ideas, inertness and biased

views. Especially deep-rooted is the tendency toward technical and economic autarky, to confining economic and scientific and technical development within national boundaries. The tendency toward national isolation, nurtured throughout the centuries, must be vigorously combated. We value the skills and talents of our people, and rightly so, but quite often behind the various slogans about our "technical traditions and skills" there is a tendency toward complacency, conceit and an underestimation of others. That is the road to lagging behind, which is something we cannot afford.

The entire party, all the working people and economic executives, in particular, should fully realize the historic need of Czechoslovakia's speedy and extensive inclusion in the international socialist division of labor. Only by pooling our creative effort and the skills of our working class, scientific and technical intelligentsia and all the other working people, combined with the potentialities ensuing from cooperation with the socialist countries, the Soviet Union first of all, in production, science and technology will be able to solve the tasks posed by present-day world development and the requirements of socialist and communist construction. The long-term (up to 1990) program for the development of specialization and cooperation between the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Soviet Union which was recently signed in Prague provides a reliable basis for the solution of the tasks facing us.

We are for development of economic, scientific and technical cooperation also with the capitalist states. However, we must beware of concluding agreements that could result in a dangerous dependence on these countries. What we want is mutually beneficial economic cooperation, without discrimination or interference in internal affairs.

IMPERIALISM'S INTRIGUES ARE DOOMED TO FAILURE

The developed capitalist states, particularly the United States of America, have recently placed an embargo on the export of so-called strategic technology and equipment, in an attempt to intimidate and bring pressure to bear on the socialist countries. But if they were unable to halt socialism's successful advance in the past, they will certainly fail to do so today when socialism's material, scientific and technical base is much more powerful.

In its attempt to erode socialism, imperialism is today increasingly having recourse to a differentiated approach to individual socialist countries. It is exaggerating the natural differences between individual socialist countries, seeking to set them against each other. To

this end it is dangling the bait of most-favored nation treatment, settlement of property issues, credits policy, etc.

The United States has counterposed the so-called "defense of human rights" platform to the growing attraction of real socialism and Marxism-Leninism. The incredible thing is that U.S. imperialism, which by its very nature has from the outset been geared to suppressing elementary human rights, to violence, oppression of the peoples, racial discrimination and to combating everything progressive should lay claim to this role.

This campaign is designed above all to improve its image, restore its hegemony and outlaw anyone who refuses to recognize the institution of private property, which forms the basis of bourgeois law, to justify counter-revolution, any form of violence against the revolutionary and liberation movements, against anyone who might pose a threat to the power of capital.

The other side of the coin is the drive to organize anti-socialist elements into a kind of political opposition under the "human rights" slogan, interfering thereby in the internal affairs of the socialist countries. Anyone who is ready to sell their honor and motherland for a brass farthing suits them perfectly. It is on such demoralized and bankrupt elements that they would rely in Czechoslovakia.

Bourgeois propaganda is out to befuddle the ordinary people in the West by giving a distorted picture of the situation in Czechoslovakia with the aid of the so-called dissidents and emigrés of various hues, by insinuating that the justified, legal actions against anti-social and criminal elements is political repression, and with respect to some even revenge for the 1968 counter-revolution. This is contrary to the facts: no one has been convicted or imprisoned in our country even for counter-revolutionary activity. Our people have shown exemplary magnanimity. Everyone who committed offences during the crisis period was given the opportunity to rectify his mistakes by working for the benefit of socialism. Now only isolated groups and individuals remain who are trying to continue their subversive anti-socialist activity. In safeguarding our socialist system and our laws, our state is acting in accordance with the people's will. We will not permit anyone to undermine socialism. Our duty and historical experience requires this of us.

In combating socialism, détente and the revolutionary and national liberation movement imperialism has found a welcome ally in the present Chinese leadership. Imperialism supports China's hegemonistic plans and its militarization in an attempt to involve this gigantic

country in its aggressive plans aimed against the Soviet Union and the other socialist community countries, the national liberation movement, progress and peace. The United States is willing to expand the sale to China of various strategic items. All this, coupled with a whole series of political and diplomatic contacts show that Washington and Peking are engaged in a sinister coordination of their policies. Playing the "Chinese card" is directly expressed in the Maoists' brutal aggression against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and in China's active participation in international reaction's plotting against the Afghan revolution.

The results of the genocidal pro-China Pol Pot clique's domination in Kampuchea bears tragic witness to the appalling nature of Maoist ideology and practice.

The task before our ideological front remains: to expose the great-power, aggressive plans of the Chinese leadership, Maoism's deal with the most reactionary regimes, and to lay bare the harm it is inflicting on the world revolutionary process and the peoples' struggle for freedom and peace.

Our theory and propaganda must closely follow the developments in the PRC. We should not be misled by the CPC leadership's maneuvering, by such actions as criticism of the cultural revolution and the "big leap", rehabilitation of some veteran CPC members, etc. What is actually amounts to is expurgating Maoism of the worst extremism and primitivism. The real nature of their policy and ideology is revealed, as before, by their attitude to the Soviet Union, to real socialism and to the world revolutionary process.

WE SIDE WITH THE FREEDOM-LOVING PEOPLES

The visit of our party and government delegation led by Gustav Husak to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Laotian People's Democratic Republic, and the important agreements on friendship and cooperation concluded there were a manifestation of our full support for the heroic struggle of these peoples, who are consistently defending the position of socialism, progress and peace in Southeast Asia.

Far-reaching social changes are taking place in other Asian, African and Latin American countries as well. The present balance of world forces has ensured these continents a real opportunity to successfully conclude their struggle for national liberation and social emancipation.

These are very complex, stormy and at times even contradictory processes, which are affected not only by the fundamental contradiction between imperialism and the national liberation movement, but also by their legacy of national, racial, religious, tribal and caste problems. A big obstacle to progressive development in Asia and Africa remains the extreme poverty and illiteracy inherited from capitalism. In most of these countries there is only an incipient working class and Marxist-Leninist parties are either non-existent or are only at the formative stage. The intricacy of this development should be explained in detail to the people to make it clear that despite the complexities and possible setbacks, the process of the peoples' emancipation cannot be turned back and that as a whole it is developing in a progressive, revolutionary direction. Its anti-imperialist character is becoming ever more obvious. Many developing countries see their future in socialism and are oriented on socialist development.

The imperialist countries, the USA in particular, are out to roll back or at least to halt the revolutionary process, whatever the cost. They are fortifying their economic positions and stepping up the activities of their agents in these countries, resorting to the traditional methods of winning over people, fanning distrust and disputes, inciting open clashes between countries, movements, tribes, religions and leading functionaries. Latterly they are again relying on the "classical" imperialist method of coercion — the threat and direct use of forces. The formation of the U.S. rapid deployment forces, construction of new military bases and setting up of new aggressive groups and pacts — all this pursues the sole aim of once again subjugating the peoples, seizing their territory and natural resources.

And if a revolution defends itself and requests the assistance of socialist countries in the face of foreign intervention, a strident propaganda clamor is let loose against them. That was the case in Angola, Ethiopia and Kampuchea, and more recently, in connection with the events in Afghanistan. They totally ignore the historical fact that revolutions are not exportable. They spring from national soil and are rooted in the deep-felt requirements of the masses. Imperialism, on the contrary, encourages, supports and exports counter-revolution.

We communists have never denied that the peoples' struggle for freedom, independence and progress is close to our hearts, that we are in solidarity with it and support it. We consider it our internationalist duty to render all-round assistance to these peoples in their struggle against imperialism, in their endeavor to build a new society. We fully support the non-aligned countries, which have an important

role to play in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, racism, and the establishment of a just world economic order.

Rude Pravo, March 27, 1980

THE STRATEGY OF DEFEAT

Statement of the French CP Political Bureau

The FCP Political Bureau issued a statement in connection with the speech by Francois Mitterand, First Secretary of the Socialist Party, at the regional conference of the Socialist International in Santo Domingo. Below we print the statement.

Francois Mitterand's speech at the Santo Domingo conference of the Socialist International on socialist parties' role in France and the world, is very revealing. He was very serious in his statements.

His definition of the strategy of the socialist parties and the Socialist International is essentially set forth in the following phrase: "Halt world communism". "It is necessary," he goes on to explain, "to take radical measures to stop the development of communism, the breeding ground of which is capitalism." And adds: "We must reject the calls of world communism, because it in its own manner destroys the basic human freedoms."

To justify this goal, Francois Mitterrand — who makes it quite clear that he himself "is not a Marxist" — lumps together without hesitation the socialist societies and the most brutal dictatorships. He equates Pinochet (Chile), Videla (Argentina) and Fidel Castro (Cuba). Criticizing capitalism only in very general, euphemistic terms, he attacks head-on what he calls Soviet "imperialism".

At the same time, to fortify his chief orientation against "world communism" — that is, against the socialist countries and against the communist parties — Francois Mitterrand uses the most shopworn reactionary "arguments" and, particularly, this slander: the communist parties are "Moscow's vassals".

He has recourse to the thesis of Leon Blum, who at the 1920 Tours Congress said that "the main distinction between socialism and communism is that the policy of the French socialists is not dictated

by Moscow". He applies this thesis to the conditions prevailing in 1980.

The strategy propounded by the First Secretary of the Socialist Party is identical to that which another leader of the Socialist International — Austrian Chancellor Kreisky — recently applied to social democracy in general, saying: "Social democracy is the only means of eliminating the communist danger."

However, it is not surprising that Francois Mitterrand stressed in his Santo Domingo speech that he and "his friend Willy Brandt" fully understood each other. Nor is it surprising that not once did he refer to the left alliance in France. This throws light on the objectives he assigns to the so-called "Euro-left".

What he said is the exact opposite of his speeches and political gestures when addressed to the French public and designed to deceive the working people and left functionaries. But far away from Paris, at the conference of the Socialist International, he decided clearly to set forth his political orientation.

This same strategy induced Francois Mitterrand to declare at the same type of Socialist International conference in Vienna in 1972: "Our main goal is to build a large Socialist Party on the territory occupied by the Communist Party to prove that of the five million electors who vote for the communists, three million will vote for the socialists." "Therein lies," he added, referring to the left program, "the reason for this accord."

At the time Francois Mitterrand counted on using the common program to achieve his strategic goal: to weaken the French Communist Party and to bolster up his own position so as either to take the place of the right forces or to support them in order to save capitalism.

This goal was not achieved, and, consequently, it became possible to form a government which the communists could enter. That is why in 1977 Francois Mitterrand — in pursuance of his strategy — took upon himself the responsibility of rejecting the common program and splitting the left alliance, which led to a defeat.

Since then he has continued along this course. The 23rd Congress of the French Communist Party described its significance in this way: "The forces of capital are seeking to 'contain' the democratic aspirations and democratic struggle within the framework of the capitalist system, to see to it that they just adapt to the system, enabling it to implement its policy. To this end they are deliberately and ever more systematically having recourse to social democracy."

This policy, naturally, has led the Socialist Party into a dead end. Seeking a way out at any price, Francois Mitterrand was forced to show his hand. First he said that the Socialist Party should be prepared to rule France independently, which runs counter to the idea of alliance and amounts to an attempt to prepare the ground for an alliance with the right forces.

And now he is once again forced to show his hand, describing the Socialist Party as the leader in the struggle against "world communism", declaring against communist participation in government and against the successes of socialism.

However, in vieing with the right-wingers in anti-communism and deepening the split of the left, Francois Mitterrand merely serves the interests of the Giscardian government, its austerity policy, the policy of subordination to the Federal Republic of Germany and orientation on the United States.

His statements are revealing. They will inevitably compel not only those supporting the French Communist Party but also, on a more general plane, all women and men who adhere to left convictions and seek alliance and change to stop and think and react.

Implementation of the strategy approved by the Socialist Party leadership would result in a temporary setback of the democratic movement. It would put off the possibility of change. This is a defeatist strategy. To foil it is the duty of all the working people, of all democrats.

We urge the people to join in this struggle with confidence in victory.

The policy of capital leads to disaster. Discontent and the striving for change are very strong. Nothing will ever distract us from the struggle for an alliance of the people's forces, from the struggle to defeat the rightist forces and to promote democratic changes.

To achieve this, one condition is essential. Since the French Communist Party still lacks the strength, influence and means to exert a decisive pressure in the right direction, it must be strengthened. Francois Mitterrand's statement has made it amply clear that to bring about changes today we need a stronger French Communist Party.

FCP Political Bureau
L'Humanité, April 2, 1980

WE SHALL FIGHT TO THE END

Statement by the Communist Party of El Salvador

1. The Communist Party of El Salvador, appealing to public opinion in Central America and the whole world, states that the U.S. government is preparing a military intervention against our country. It is out to suppress the popular movement, which as a result of the recent unification now represents the majority of the population and is gaining the upper hand. The people's vigorous actions have shaken the brutal terroristic and repressive regime that is supported by the oligarchy and imperialism.

2. The information at the party's disposal fully warrants this statement. We repeat that the U.S. government intends to intervene in El Salvador, and without consulting the OAS. Along with U.S. troops, the military and paramilitary forces of the puppet regimes of Guatemala and Honduras and Somoza's former national guards are also to take part in it, thus creating a threat to Nicaragua as well.

3. The Communist Party calls on all patriotic forces of the Central American countries urgently to rally their ranks in face of the U.S. intervention, and urges all progressives the world over to condemn Washington's aggressive plan and to block its implementation.

4. The aggressive plans of the United States against El Salvador is part of the Carter administration's plan to revive the cold war climate through the policy of intimidation. Realization of these plans would signify a step backwards for the Central and Latin American countries. It would lead to the revival of the old "big stick" policy that is aimed against the peoples and governments of the continent who have fought against it for a whole century. This would deal a severe blow to the Third World peoples' aspiration for independence.

5. Washington's aggressive plans were already manifested in its offer of political, economic and military aid to the military-demochristian junta, though, as everyone knows, it lacks the necessary support among the people to extricate the country from the deep crisis, and is brutally and flagrantly violating human rights.

Stubbornly driving towards its goal, the U.S. government is equating in its propaganda the repressive and criminal violence on the one hand, and the necessary, just armed resistance of our people. It is attempting to present the situation in El Salvador as a "chaos created as a result of the terroristic actions of the right and left extremists".

The Carter administration is out to create the impression that its

intervention is a kind of defense against the terrorism accompanying the process of democratic changes. The U.S. imperialists are aware that a military intervention in support of a fascist government similar to the overthrown Romero government would undoubtedly be denounced by world opinion. At the same time an intervention in favor of the same traditional reactionary power of murderers, disguised as a military-demochristian junta might find support on the part of many governments which opposed the U.S. intention to intervene in Nicaragua in the OAS last year.

6. The events in El Salvador after the October 15, 1979 coup show that the changes needed to extricate the country from its political and structural crisis cannot be carried out so long as the reactionary military dictatorship holds the reins of power. December 1980 will mark the half-century existence of this bloody dictatorship, which is now acquiring clearly fascist features, and to open the way to democracy and social progress can only be achieved by the Salvadoran people themselves and the heroic mass revolutionary movement at its head, which U.S. imperialism is out to destroy through its military intervention.

Our people oppose the intervention. But if foreign troops do invade our land, we will fight as long as is necessary.

Let the Carter administration not count on bringing us to our knees.

San Salvador, February 12, 1980

Political Commission of the Central Committee,

Communist Party of El Salvador

Schafik Handal

General Secretary

WE APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE

*Statement of the Political Commission, CC,
Guatemalan Party of Labor*

The Political Commission of the Central Committee, Guatemalan Party of Labor, issued a statement on the events of January 31, 1980. As everyone knows, on that day the government security forces brutally murdered a group of peasants and students who had occupied the Spanish Embassy in Guatemala in protest. The statement says in part:

A large number of peasants from various parts of El Quiche department, who suffer from the persecution, repression and arbitrary actions of the army and police, staged a protest against the oppression and injustice, against the violation of their rights by the security forces on orders from the government, which stands in defense of the big landowners' interests. The authorities refused even to listen to the peasants' demands. Moreover, they immediately stepped up their criminal repressions: killing peasants, driving them from their land, making arrests, threatening, torturing and plundering, that is, using all the forms of the reactionary military junta's fascist policy.

In sending their representatives to the capital, the El Quiche peasants hoped to use the mediation of a diplomatic representation to ensure that their demands would be heard by the authorities. That is why they peacefully occupied the Spanish Embassy, together with a few students.

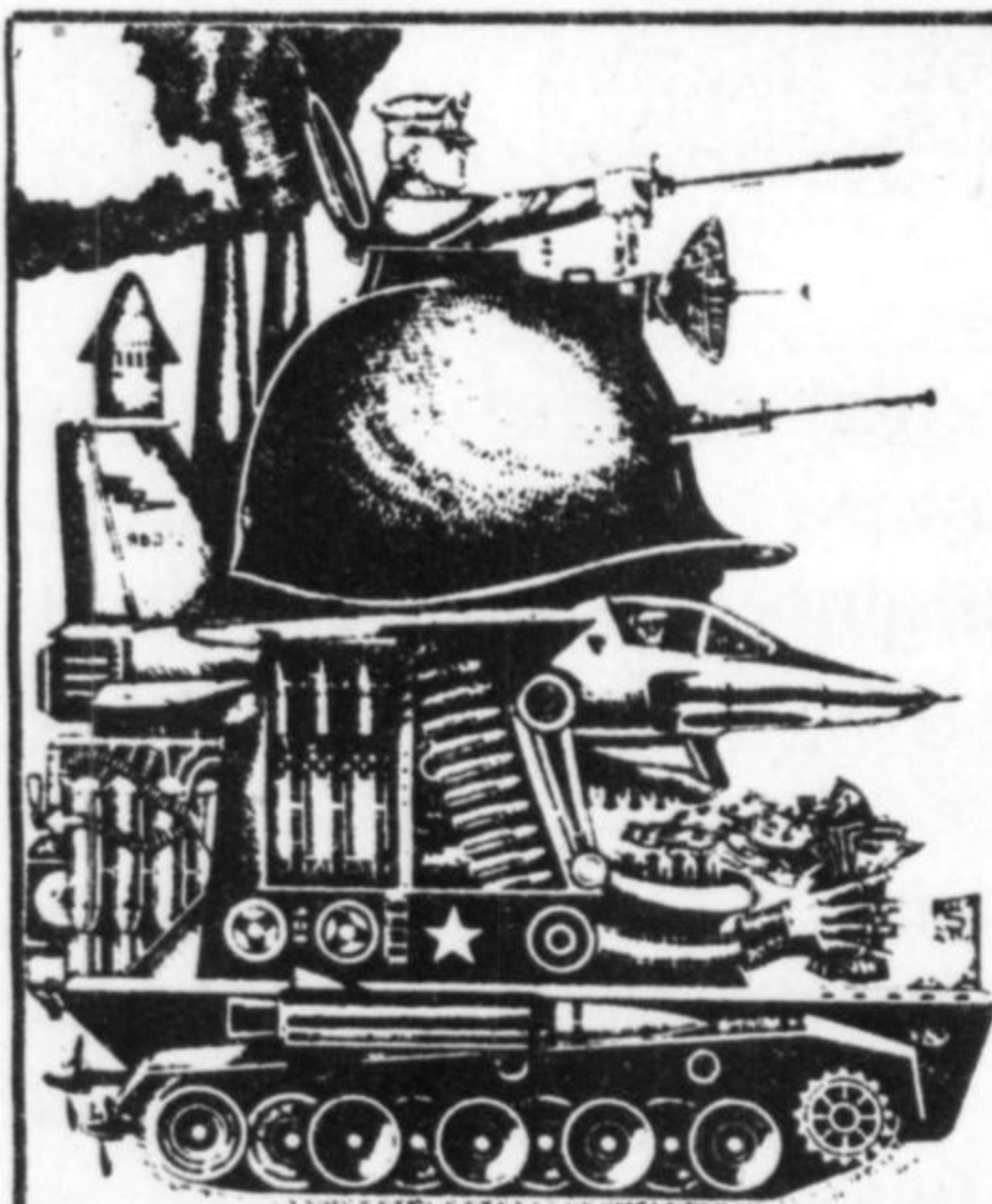
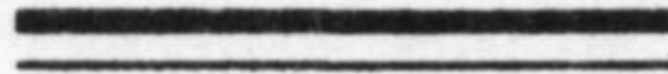
The January 31 crime, the statement further notes, is yet another proof that the Lucas Garcia fascist dictatorship will go to any length to cover up its crimes, obstruct the implementation of the rights demanded by the popular masses, flagrantly violate human rights in Guatemala, and to intimidate the people to enable the oligarchy to continue with impunity piling up wealth through the exploitation and oppression of the workers, peasants and all working people of the country. It is also designed to enable U.S. imperialism to continue exploiting our country and to interfere in our internal affairs. U.S. imperialism also bears the responsibility for the crime committed at the Spanish Embassy.

The mass murder has aroused the indignation of the entire Guatemalan people and world opinion. However, it should help to bring it home to the people that what is required is an ever more powerful and broader organization and coordinated actions by the democratic, progressive, revolutionary forces united in a common front. It should help to strengthen the democratic and revolutionary awareness of the entire people, enhance its militant unitary spirit so as to move ahead, in a tireless struggle for democracy, the people's well-being and national independence. Only in this way can an end be put to the regime and the reactionary dictatorship which is exploiting and oppressing the Guatemalan people. The entire struggle of the workers, peasants, students, the working people as a whole, all democratic and revolutionary circles of our country should be geared to achieving this goal. They should mobilize all their forces and be

prepared to combat the criminal onslaught of the reactionary classes and fascist military dictatorship by every possible means.

Condemning the perfidious and horrendous crime committed by the Lucas Garcia government at the Spanish Embassy, we appeal to the people to step up their struggle for broader organization and unity. We call on all democratic progressive and revolutionary forces the world over to intensify their solidarity with the struggle of our people and to expose the atrocities of the reactionary, pro-fascist dictatorship in Guatemala, led by the gallooned criminal, Army General Lucas Garcia.

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FROM THE PRESS

A ROAD TO NOWHERE

Recent developments have revealed a renewed crisis of Maoism and related processes within the Communist Party of China. This has been clearly reflected by the Fifth Plenary Meeting of the 11th CPC Central Committee which met late in February. This latest round of the fierce tug-of-war between Mao's rival heirs in their scramble for political power has brought about yet another realignment of forces inside the Peking top leadership. Another four Political Bureau members, once promoted by the "cultural revolution", have been removed from it. Liu Shao-qi has been rehabilitated. The Central Committee Secretariat has been reinstituted with Hu Yao-bang placed in charge of it. The Plenary Meeting discussed a revised draft of the CPC Rules and decided to call the 12th all-China CPC Congress ahead of schedule, probably, at the end of this year.

In the opinion of some observers, the resolutions of the Plenary Meeting on matters of organization, said to be aimed at "putting an end to lack of organization and indiscipline, as well as to still observable factionalism and self-will", served to strengthen the position of Deng Xiao-ping, Vice-Chairman of the CPC Central Committee and Vice-Premier of China's State Council. On the other hand, they indicated a weakening of the influence of CPC Central Committee Chairman and China's Premier Hua Guo-feng, who had been appointed to these offices on Mao's direct instructions, after having risen upon the crest of the "cultural revolution". Whatever views may have been expressed on this subject, everybody agreed that the struggle among the Chinese leaders is not over and that the position of anyone of them may yet change.

The Plenary Meeting had been preceded by a shake-up and purge of the lower echelons of the party and administration machinery as well as of the military. Dozens of secretaries of provincial party committees and military district commanders had been dismissed or transferred to other jobs. This has been the biggest staff reshuffle since the "overthrow" of the "Gang of Four" in 1976.

Rivalry within the CPC leadership is continuing against the back-

ground of serious crisis developments in economic, ideological, political and social life. At the start of the eighties, the material condition of China's population remains practically as low as it was in the fifties. The number of unemployed is close to 20 million and may well rise still higher before long since ten million people join the able-bodied population every year. Industrial disorder, with a quarter of state-run enterprises operating at a loss, slow growth of agricultural production falling behind the population growth, extraordinary difficulties in all the sectors of the fuel and power industries and in transport services, and a clear conflict between glowing official statistics and actual realities combine to draw a general picture of life in China today. The announced correction of the "four-modernizations" program by a "readjustment course" projected for 1979-1981 amounts to a direct admission of the continuing troubles and setbacks in the economy in consequence of the far-fetched decisions divorced from reality.

The ten-year national economic development plan (for 1976-1985), adopted by the National People's Congress of China in 1978 and advertised as the "key stage" in solving the problem of bringing China among the world's advanced nations by the year 2000, particularly in the development of its military-industrial potential — the major instrument of Peking's hegemonistic policy — has proved to have no sound basis. The Chinese leadership dodges discussing the true reasons behind its failure, as the latest CPC Central Committee Plenary Meeting illustrated.

The policy of the present Peking leadership has, to all intents and purposes, deprived the Chinese working people of all hope for any improvement of their condition as time goes on. They are still being urged "to bear all privation" and "to make no excessive demands". The repressive machinery is applying a wide range of tactics to check resentment and suppress the rights and freedoms of Chinese citizens. The army is once more being moved into the position of the major force in keeping "public order". The Fifth Plenary Meeting called for the passage of Article 45 of the PRC Constitution, granting the citizens the right to "extensive expression of opinion, full exposition of views, wide discussions and putting up wall-posters", to be deleted. The "easing" of restrictions, referred to it 1978 and 1979, has been consigned to oblivion. The Confucian rule of feudal imperial China: "The leaders are born to rule, and the masses to obey unconditionally" still stands.

At the same time — and the disagreements on organizational matters at the Fifth Plenum of the CPC Central Committee have amply

shown this — the Chinese leadership has no clearly defined long-term program of action; there is no consensus on questions of economic and social policy, education, state building and many others. The decisions of the Fifth Plenum on future economic development contain only general phrases: "The entire party, the entire army and the entire people shall work in the name of the great cause of four modernizations, for the implementation of the line of readjustment, consolidation and raising the level of the national economy."

Misleading the party and the broad masses of working people ideologically and politically, the Peking leadership intends to closely link China's way of development with a vigorous expansion of economic relations with the advanced capitalist states, and above all the USA, the intensification of ties with them, including even the creation of the most favorable conditions for the activity of foreign capital in the Chinese economy. The Standing Committee of the National People's Congress has already approved a draft law on establishing mixed enterprises with the participation of such capital in the PRC.

A special position among the documents of the plenum is held by a decision on the rehabilitation of former Chairman of the PRC and Vice-Chairman of the CPC Central Committee Liu Shao-qi. The "traitor, provocateur and strike-breaker" of the period just before the "cultural revolution" is posthumously reinstated in the party, from which in October 1968 on Mao's instructions he was "expelled forever" as the "ringleader of the bourgeois headquarters" within the leadership of the country and the party.

In explaining the reasons for the rehabilitation of Liu Shao-qi everything is deliberately omitted that concerns the foreign-policy platform of the Eighth Congress of the CPC (Liu delivered a political report at it), which had a clear-cut anti-imperialist internationalist direction, and the line of promoting friendship and cooperation with the USSR and other socialist states.

Liu Shao-qi said then: "... The great alliance of China and the Soviet Union is an important bulwark of peace in the Far East and throughout the world. The Soviet Union has rendered enormous assistance to the cause of socialist construction in our country." He also declared: "China's unity and friendship with the great Soviet Union and other socialist countries, based on common goals and mutual assistance, are eternal and indestructible. The further strengthening and growth of this unity and friendship is for us the highest internationalist duty and the basis of the foreign policy of our country."

However, the statement of rehabilitation notes only the fact that Liu Shao-qi became the victim of the designs of Lin Biao, the "Four and its company".

The ten-year nightmare of the "great proletarian cultural revolution" and the failures in political and economic life as a whole during the past twenty years means the complete bankruptcy of Maoism as a theory and practice of the guidance of society. Actually, the present leaders of China are forced to admit this in giving up some of the postulates of Mao, say, his "Great Leap Forward" conception, and adapting others to the new course for "modernization". But in this they are heaping one lie upon another and doing all they can to whitewash Mao and to preserve the nationalistic and hegemony-seeking tenets of Maoism. And this hypocrisy is being passed off as a "restoration of the genuine image of the ideas of Mao Ze-dong"!

The faction which opposed the modification of Maoism and thus objectively interfered with the strengthening and stabilization of the present regime lost some of its positions in the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. But Maoism as a theory and practice of great-power ambitions, hegemonism and anti-Sovietism, remains the basis of the domestic and foreign policies of China.

There was a time when, on orders from Mao Ze-dong and by way of struggle between the "two lines", the "proletarian headquarters" opened "fire" on the "bourgeois headquarters" of Liu Shao-qi, in which Deng Ziao-ping and many of his supporters were included. Today they are having their revenge under the pretext of "strengthening and improving party leadership" in order to "stimulate", as they say, "the development and consolidation of the political atmosphere of stability and cohesion, vitality and vigor". The Fifth Plenary Meeting stressed the need to carry on a large-scale campaign "to consolidate the unity of the party", which today numbers 38 million, half of them having joined the CPC during the "cultural revolution". The party is again faced with the prospect of a large-scale purge for the sake of expediting at all costs the restructuring of the country, above all, the buildup of its military potential, under the pretext of the "aggravation of the international situation".

International tensions have indeed been exacerbated owing to the stepped-up aggressive activities of the USA in various parts of the world, in particular, its military and political pressure on Iran, intervention in Afghanistan's internal affairs, support for Israeli expansion in the Middle East, plans for missile rearmament in Europe and

another round of the arms race, and attempts to turn the clock back to the cold war. The foreign policy activities of the Chinese leaders have also added to the exacerbation of tensions.

During the Fifth Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China *Renmin ribao* wrote: "The question of a return from détente to the cold war is nonexistent because today not only the cold, but also a hot war is going on." This is why, the newspaper says, "the USA should be prepared to wage several wars in various regions". Peking teaches Western governments how to better discern the "harmfulness" of Soviet proposals and initiatives aimed at furthering international détente. The Chinese leaders are brazenly imposing on their capitalist partners the Maoist tenet of a struggle of "spearhead against spearhead". Maoists of various denominations replace one another at the helm of power in Peking, new leaders emerge and new methods are evolved, but the essence of Mao's foreign policy remains unchanged: aggressive great-power chauvinism, striving for hegemony, gambling on world contradictions and incitement of war.

The policy of hegemonism pursued by Peking in the international arena is particularly manifest in China's anti-Sovietism because it is the USSR and world socialism that constitute the main obstacle to China's hegemonistic ambitions. The anti-Sovietism of the Chinese leaders makes itself felt not only in propaganda, but also in numerous political actions carried out by the Chinese leaders jointly with the imperialist forces. The Chinese leaders openly aim at "interfering with, subverting and frustrating everything that it (the Soviet Union) is trying to do in any part of the world," wrote *Renmin ribao*. In having shamelessly attacked Vietnam and threatening to repeat this venture, Peking has taken up the cause of imperialism. It has deliberately escalated its confrontation with socialist countries to the point of a direct military conflict in an attempt to "remove" Vietnam as a barrier to its expansion in Asia and to gravely undermine the policy of détente.

The anti-Soviet policy of Peking is instigatory and provocative. It is not a secret to anyone that Peking's strategic plans include the outspoken intention to provoke a thermonuclear war between the Soviet Union and the USA. By pushing the USSR and the USA toward a military conflict, Peking probably intends to keep outside the limits of a nuclear catastrophe, to "warm its hands" on it, watching events and channelling them in a direction suitable to it. These, however, are only plans. The USA is, in fact, ever more actively pulling the

Chinese leadership off the temporizing position of an "observer from the hilltop", trying to involve Peking in its own military gambles which can only bring new calamities and suffering to the Chinese people.

The role of imperialism's accomplice and junior partner — this is the price Peking has to pay for the course it has taken for aligning and teaming up with the imperialists, with their policy of aggression and war, and also for the lopsided orientation towards economic and military aid from capitalist states. And this new role of Peking causes concern and anxiety in the developing countries, leadership among which it has recently claimed and still continues to claim.

In connection with the Afghan events, Hua Guo-feng, Deng Xiaoping and other Chinese leaders, in their public statements, the number of which has noticeably increased, began urging imperialism and reaction to take "joint", "practical" and "effective" actions against the USSR. They are inciting the USA and other Western countries to aggravate relations with the Soviet Union, appealing to them to toughen "sanctions" against the USSR and to whip up the arms buildup. With its actions and words, Peking is trying to encourage the imperialist powers, in the first place the USA, to expand cooperation with China in the military field.

Such a policy is basically at variance with the interests of peace and socialism and, primarily, the interests of the Chinese people. It is perfectly obvious that the PRC needs peace and good relations with neighboring countries, if it really wants to develop the national economy, to improve the working people's living standards and to develop science, culture and education. It was pointed out at the Fifth Plenum of the CPC Central Committee that there existed a number of major economic and political problems in China that had to be "urgently tackled and resolved as early as possible". It is obvious that these problems cannot be successfully solved in conditions of instability both in the domestic and international situation.

As for the Soviet Union, it has always opposed the policy of increasing international tensions, and defended the interests of peace, good-neighborliness and cooperation between states. The Soviet Union invariably applies this policy, determined by the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, to China as well. It confirms its principled statements by concrete constructive proposals. It is common knowledge that it was precisely the USSR which proposed to China to conclude a treaty on the non-use of force, a treaty of nonaggression and to sign a document on the principles of relations between the two

states on the basis of peaceful coexistence. China rejected these Soviet proposals, although it failed to formulate more or less grounded objections to them.

It can be confidently said that both the Soviet and Chinese peoples need peace and good-neighborly relations. For this, it is necessary to use all possibilities and practical channels which could be employed for a constructive dialogue to normalize Soviet-Chinese relations. In the autumn of 1979 Moscow saw the first round of talks between the government delegations of the USSR and the PRC. After that round the sides agreed that the talks would be resumed in Peking at a time to be coordinated through diplomatic channels. In this way, the prospects of these talks now depend on the Chinese leadership.

The Soviet-Chinese talks on the settlement of border issues is another unused channel of contacts. If both sides display a mutual interest, this channel can also be used for the constructive solution of a number of questions pertaining to the relations between the USSR and China as states.

The position of the Soviet Union is well known. The USSR invariably stands for the peaceful solution of all disputes between states through talks.

The Peking leaders conduct a policy of provocations, incitement, blackmail and threats in respect of the USSR. However, such a policy has never brought success to anyone. It is not unsupported statements about its readiness to maintain normal relations with the USSR as a state, but real efforts of the Chinese leadership to solve questions peacefully, through talks, backed by practical deeds, that would meet the vital interests of the Soviet and Chinese peoples.

The road which the Peking leadership has chosen for the Chinese people is a road without a future. The future of the Chinese people lies in socialism and in friendship and cooperation with all countries which confidently proceed along the socialist road tested and endorsed by experience and history.

I. Alexandrov
Pravda, April 7, 1980

AFGHANISTAN AND HUMAN RIGHTS

A new item has latterly appeared on the imperialist policy market — the so-called Carter doctrine. Actually, it is far from new. Its “advertisers” have attempted once again to turn a shabby political concept into a marketable item by attaching a new label to it. More than three years ago the mass media of the West also lauded as the Carter doctrine the principles proclaimed by the U.S. President in his inaugural address and in a special message to foreign countries.

Hence for clarity's sake they ought to be called Carter's first and second doctrine.

In view of the “new” creation it would be highly instructive to recall its first edition and to link it up with the present events. In its time the program formulated by the head of the White House was loudly proclaimed in the West as the “Magna Charta of the struggle for human rights”. No one could accuse it of lacking humanistic verbiage. The political leader of the biggest imperialist power, for instance, declared that the USA's might would hence not be based primarily on the might of its military arsenal, but on noble ideas. Carter said in January 1977 that U.S. support for human rights should be absolute. Moreover, according to him it was important above all to ensure equal opportunities. Poverty and ignorance, hunger and diseases — these are the enemies that must be combated. And in this context Carter expressed sympathy with all the peoples who long for and demand their place under the sun.

Since then there has been no lack of pretexts for the herald of these noble intentions to prove how seriously he takes them.

As for Afghanistan, less than a year had passed since Carter had proclaimed his program when in 1978 the people of the Central Asian country carried out an anti-feudal, national democratic revolution. They began liberating themselves from the age-long social and economic yoke which kept the country in a backward state, owing to which it ranked among the world's 25 poorest countries, with an annual average per capita income of \$100.

The April revolution in Afghanistan was directed against poverty and hunger: thanks to the land reform, land was given free to land-hungry peasants and small holders. As a result, for the first time ever they were provided with an adequate basis for existence. It annulled the shackling debts, which permitted the big landowners and usurers to enslave the overwhelming majority of the population. It began

implementing a program of economic development to eliminate unemployment. Wages were increased.

The April revolution at the same time began a struggle against ignorance: it launched a broad campaign for overcoming the blight of illiteracy: 90 per cent of Afghans cannot read or write (among the women, 99 per cent). The first steps were taken towards implementing universal education, up to four classes at first; more than 800 new elementary schools were opened and the training of teachers and publication of textbooks were stepped up.

The April revolution in Afghanistan also set the stage for energetic work to improve medical service. With a population of 20 million, the country earlier had only 800 doctors and 75 hospitals, the average life expectancy being 40 years.

The Afghan revolution decreed the equality of women with men, forbade the purchase of brides, as if they were slaves, and gave women equal opportunities to acquire education and a profession.

Each of these measures should undoubtedly be seen as the implementation of elementary human rights. Hence, the Afghan people were able to translate into life Mr. Carter's proclaimed ideal for the whole world. To take the U.S. president's words at their face value one would expect him, as the highest authority of the richest capitalist country, at least to sympathize with, if not actively assist in these efforts. But that was not the case. The mass media, particularly in the FRG, apparently saw Carter's proclaimed "absolute support for human rights" as an appropriate instrument for an unbridled escalation of ideological subversion against the socialist community states.

After the victory of the April revolution, the USA together with China adopted a hostile attitude to the people's power in Afghanistan. Agents were given the task of rounding up the counter-revolutionary gangs who had fled abroad from Afghanistan, and to provide them with weapons and instructors. A general staff helped in planning and conducting the criminal terroristic actions against Afghanistan from foreign territory. This attempt at exporting counter-revolution was accompanied by a virulent campaign of provocation against the Afghan people's power, although at the time when Amin attempted to use the revolution for winning unrestricted personal power and openly demonstrated his treachery to the imperialist states, they showed some restraint. But they raised a hue and cry when the Afghan Revolutionary Council led by Babrak Karmal began to rectify this dangerous situation and to consistently continue along the course of the April revolution while ensuring Soviet assistance in defending

the country against the aggressive actions directed from abroad.

But the "human rights apostles" in the USA, and their accomplices in other countries did not, as everyone knows, express satisfaction over the release by the genuine representatives of people's power in Afghanistan of 15,000 political prisoners arrested during the Amin government, and the restoration of civil rights, including the freedom of religion. On the contrary, this was used as a false justification of the political program which is now known as the new Carter doctrine.

The January 19 issue of the West German newspaper *Suddeutsche Zeitung* noted in its comments on the events in Afghanistan: "Carter's grand human rights campaign has come to an end". This is where a correction should be introduced in view of the USA's attitude to the events in Afghanistan since April 1978: Carter never conducted such a campaign. Even the Hamburg daily *Die Zeit*, which no one would accuse of communist sympathies, admitted that in its January 25 issue, noting: "The human rights campaign (Carter's — *Horizont*) was hypocritical and geared to the elections from the outset, denouncing only those who were unimportant, or posed no threat, or who one way or another belonged to the opposite camp."

The USA's going over from humanistic phraseology to aggressive threats, from the role of a moralist to the role of a world gendarme, substitution of Carter's first doctrine by the second merely shows that U.S. foreign policy has not changed its goals, but only the means and methods of achieving them. Afghanistan was not the cause, but merely a lame pretext. Essentially, Carter's second doctrine shows that the demagogic "defense of a human rights program" was unsuitable for the realization of U.S. imperialist plans of world domination. So, the USA is openly reverting to the "big stick" policy practised by Carter's predecessors and in which they suffered a total failure.

"After the Afghanistan events, Carter is once again in quest of allies, however brutal, oppressive and obnoxious they may be," the weekly *Die Zeit* writes in the above-mentioned article. That is, of course, not the whole truth. The USA has never rejected such allies, as *Die Zeit* itself knows. It reports: "When the shah of Iran ruled the country, he could rest assured of Carter's good will. At the end of 1977 Carter even raised a toast in honor of the shah in Tehran, saying that to no other ruler in the world is he more grateful and for no other does he feel such friendly feelings. It should be noted that this occurred at a time when Mr. Carter was still waging his 'human rights' campaign."

The present U.S. government has always been guided by the same

principles in its search for allies. As everyone knows, it supported the genocidal Pol Pot clique. It encouraged the Peking hegemonists, assuring them that China's incursion into Vietnam would not jeopardize Chinese-U.S. rapprochement. It not only condones the Israeli aggressors, who continue to occupy the territory belonging to three Arab countries and continuously commit acts of aggression against Lebanon, a sovereign state and UN member, but supplies them with credits and weapons. In its fierce attacks against the Moscow Olympics it fraternizes with such political gangsters as Pinochet of Chile and Duvalier of Haiti.

Over the decades and irrespective of the doctrine it may espouse U.S. imperialism has constantly participated in suppressing national liberation movements and progressive tendencies, seeking to retain in power murderer-dictators, as in Guatemala, Iran, South Vietnam, South Korea, Chile, Nicaragua, etc. And despite this, the FRG mass media is zealously assisting it. There is not a single instance when the FRG instigators have not given unconditional support to the U.S. government's provocations. In this anti-communist provocation campaign one seldom hears a sober thought like the one expressed by *Suddeutsche Zeitung*: "The world should not expect much of the Carter doctrine, which is being lauded prematurely." One might add that nothing positive in general can be expected of it for the peoples, for human rights and for the most important of them — the right to a peaceful life.

Wolfgang Clausner
Horizont, No. 7, 1980

"NO ONE WILL DECIDE FOR US"

*"L'Humanité" Correspondent's Talk with Babrak Karmal,
Chairman of the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic
Republic of Afghanistan*

I met with Babrak Karmal at the Revolutionary Council offices in the People's Palace, in front of which is exhibited the tank from which Lieutenant-Colonel Watanjar fired the first shot that touched off the April 1978 revolution, the revolution whose principles and goals Hafizullah Amin betrayed on coming to power, and which was able to revert to its original principles only after his fall last December.

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In dealing with the situation in the country, Babrak Karmal enlarged upon the problem, analyzing it in the international context.

"The undeclared war being imposed on our people, the plotting against our national independence and territorial integrity — all this stems from the global policy of imperialism, implemented primarily by the United States. This policy of provocation against the forces of peace, justice and progress has already found expression in the Camp David accords, which sacrificed the Palestinian people, and in the deployment of new missiles in Europe and support for the most corrupt and most reactionary regimes.

"Now that the party and government are gradually regaining the people's confidence, which was eroded during Amin's time, Afghanistan is becoming the main target. Imperialism is expanding its material, technical and ideological offensive against Afghanistan precisely because our country has shaken off its shackles. With the support of Pakistan and the active participation of China, terrorist groups are being formed, financed, armed and staffed with officers to sow death and destruction in our country.

"Our priority task is to restore security throughout the country. The second task, a complementary one, is to put a stop to all interference and to safeguard our independence."

Proof of the flagrant interference by foreign forces that are hostile to the democratic republic was provided by the rout this week by army units of a big groups of rebels who were sowing death and destruction in the Ghazni Province, between Kabul and the Pakistan border. They seized U.S. and Chinese arms caches, particularly rifles and machine guns, Pakistani and Chinese hand grenades, crates of explosives, munitions and various types of U.S. communications equipment. It is these incursions, supplies of arms and equipment that Babrak Karmal has in mind when determining the conditions for a peaceful solution of what he calls the "invented Afghan problem".

"This problem was created by imperialism in an attempt to ensure its strategic positions in the region. After the loss of its bases in Iran, the U.S. saw Afghanistan as a lucrative catch. Taking every advantage of Amin's crimes and the disarray this caused among the population — the overwhelming majority of whom had welcomed the April revolution — Washington and its accomplices supplied the counter-revolutionaries with the means to organize themselves. Moreover, they used the mass media to unleash an ideological offensive against us. But, with the assistance of our true ally, the Soviet Union, we

were able to foil their attempts at establishing domination over our country.

"Such was the situation when the USSR came to our assistance in conformity with the UN Charter and the treaties concluded between the two countries. And that is the point today, when Afghanistan's sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity is at stake.

"And let it be made clear that that is something we will never renounce.

"Only the people and government of Afghanistan have the right to make decisions concerning their future. We reject any attempts to make decisions for us, including decisions on the so-called "neutralization", which is merely a form of neo-colonialism.

"Hence the date of the withdrawal of the limited Soviet troop contingent now stationed here will depend above all on the attitude of those who are interfering in our internal affairs. Only if we are guaranteed that all forms of foreign intervention and particularly armed aggression on our soil is immediately, completely and unconditionally stopped can a reliable solution be found to the present tense situation."

When asked about Afghanistan's future, Babrak Karmal said that he believes time is working for the progressive forces. "But we have been operating for only three months now. That is a very short period. It should be borne in mind that the task facing us will require some time."

The celebration of the second anniversary of the April 27 revolution will be marked with appropriate enthusiasm. In this connection I brought up the question of the flag. Amin had substituted a red flag for the national black-red-green one. This hurt the feelings of many. Particularly among the Muslim faithful. The regime that came to power on December 27 is planning to introduce a change, and I asked what this change will be.

"We have given it much thought," Babrak Karmal replied. "On asking the people we have come to the conclusion that both flags symbolize Afghanistan: the national flag, which marked the birth of our independence and expresses our national traditions, and the red flag — the symbol of revolution. We have decided that they are inseparable from each other and will be flown together as the common emblem of our country."

Martine Monod
L'Humanité, April 5, 1980

MASS STRUGGLE IS THE ONLY WAY TO OVERTHROW THE DICTATORSHIP

Interview with Gladys Marin, CC Political Commission member, Communist Party of Chile, By "El Día"

Q. Many people feel that Pinochet is going to impose his constitution as early as possible by holding a plebiscite. What does the Communist Party think of that?

A. We think Pinochet is set on imposing his constitution and is, moreover, inclined to hold unexpectedly a so-called plebiscite because he cannot allow a real debate.

It's important to stress that all democratic forces insist there can be no true plebiscite unless freedom is established first. They believe that to hold a plebiscite on a constitution that has not been drafted democratically is an arbitrary thing to do, an abuse of power, and that the result of such a "poll" would be null and void legally as well as morally.

When a country needs a new constitution democratic procedure requires the convocation of a constituent assembly. In this case, however, there is nothing of the kind. A group of avowed backers of the regime has simply prepared a draft behind closed doors and withheld it for six years.

We communists are at one with all other democratic forces in demanding registration during elections, public freedoms and a convocation of a constituent assembly. Otherwise it would be a repetition of the "poll" held in January 1978, when there were no voters' lists. Pinochet decided arbitrarily on polling stations which counted the votes as they saw fit, and lastly, Pinochet himself announced the figures he found suitable, ignoring polling and electoral committees. It was all a farce.

Pinochet could impose himself only through the travesty of a poll. He could never win an election or plebiscite, if the people were given an opportunity to decide freely. He would never bring himself to grant freedom and allow the people an alternative between his draft and some other draft that could be prepared by, say, the Commission of 24.

Our party has proposed to all opposition parties to proceed in common. We favor active abstention, that is, are for mobilizing the

country against the planned farce and for staying away from the polls. The whole of Chile should be aroused against the plebiscite, which should be rejected by every possible means and through struggle in every possible form.

Q. You propose things that are unacceptable to Pinochet. He cannot grant freedom because freedom would mean the downfall of his regime. Besides, he has said he will permit no political parties.

A. Yes. That's why a real poll is out of the question. And it means that the democratic forces' only choice is to turn the plebiscite into a factor for mobilization, agitation and struggle.

As regards political parties, it's only Pinochet who thinks there are none. Even *El Mercurio* has admitted their existence.

Experience has shown that fascism can outlaw parties but cannot suppress them.

The Franco regime in Spain banned parties, trade unions, students' organizations, and so on. The ban lasted 40 years and yet when Franco's rule ended there came a real explosion, an "uncorking", in every sphere of socio-political life. The parties re-emerged in force. That was also the case in Portugal.

Political parties are exponents of ideological trends and spokesmen of the interests of classes and social strata. Therefore they cannot be abolished.

The same is going to happen in Chile. The parties opposed to the dictatorship are going to emerge stronger than before. As for the communists, we have never stopped operating, have never gone out of existence.

Q. If the majority is against Pinochet, how is it that he has held power for over six years now?

A. The pillars of his rule are violence, repression, terror and lack of freedom. He gets much financial aid from imperialism, and the oligarchy, which dominates the mass media, the banks and large-scale industry, plays its part. But what is needed in the final analysis to bring him down is unity, effective agreement among the democratic forces.

It's true that in the past six years we have made much headway towards solidarity and joint action at grass roots. But this isn't enough, as the fact you've pointed out shows. Indeed, the dictatorship is still there, has imposed an ultra-reactionary economic structure and is laying plans to keep itself in power. Along with the fighting masses — as the decisive factor — there is a need for the broadest possible unity encompassing all who are opposed to the dictatorship.

Q. If the need for unity is so obvious, why is it still lacking?

A. There are several reasons. Some people delude themselves into expecting changes to be brought about by the external factors while others are still influenced by anti-communist prejudice. Besides, there are people who still don't believe in the possibility of change in a reasonably short time, that is, there is still no widespread awareness of the fact that those who want to end the regime are strong enough to create this possibility and carry it out.

There is also concern in various opposition parties about who is going to rule the country: will the president represent the left forces or Christian Democrats and how progressive will the government be? But this isn't a problem that should claim our chief attention today or prevent unity. It will be settled as soon as we have removed Pinochet.

Q. Don't you think a situation may develop as in El Salvador, where the Christian Democrats are members of a junta along with the military while the left is against it?

A. Yes, I do. A similar situation could develop in our country. In El Salvador the political crisis of the fascist regime became general after the victory of the Nicaraguan revolution, and the Romero dictatorship could no longer hold out. A group of enlightened young military men carried out a coup and removed him. But afterwards they lost the initiative and were supplanted by colonels who compromised with the Americans, stopped purging the army and police and refused to destroy the regime's terroristic machinery. But while the fall of the Salvadoran dictator was an important development the facts show that it wasn't enough. There now exists a military Christian Democratic junta which lacks popular support and is following a policy of containing the people and suppressing their struggles. Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero of El Salvador described the junta as a façade covering the real rule of the most reactionary forces. These forces, seeing that the façade is cracking as the people step up their fight, are preparing with open military support from the Carter government to resume full authority so as to put down the people in a still more brutal and bloody manner than the military-CD junta has used so far.

We consider that it is urgent to identify ourselves actively with the Salvadoran people, who seek a really progressive way out and are threatened with still greater imperialist intervention.

It is to be hoped that the democratic forces of Chile, primarily the Christian Democratic Party, will draw a proper lesson from the events in El Salvador.

Q. What about the exclusion of the Communist Party of Chile from an agreement?*

A. The Communist Party would never accept that, just as it does not call for the exclusion of any other democratic force. On the contrary, we are working for a broad-based agreement, for the formation of a government in which all these forces would be represented.

This is the main point. In this sphere as in all others, there must be no return to any situation lived through by the country in the past. Something new is needed — the leadership of the state should pass into the hands of a national majority coalition that would unite and not divide the people and lead the country to deep-going democratic changes. We will do all in our power to create conditions in which this need can be met. However, an examination of all the factors involved suggests that it's impossible as yet to reach an agreement on forming a broad-based coalition government.

Even so, we must not mark time, must not be inactive politically. In other words, we believe that the issue of forming a government should not be regarded as a precondition for agreement among the anti-dictatorial forces.

The important thing right now is to come to terms on a democratic program of eliminating facism, meeting the more pressing needs of the people and bringing about changes in the anti-national economic structure imposed by the tyranny. This would mean agreeing on a minimum program under which we would all make certain commitments without detriment to anyone's ultimate objectives.

Q. With regard to the events in Afghanistan, a young Christian Democrat has expressed in the journal *Hoy* the opinion that the attitude of the Communist Party of Chile "is putting it outside the scope of agreement".

A. I don't think there can be any agreement without the Communist Party or, for that matter, without the Christian Democratic Party and other parties. As regards the international situation, in particular the Afghanistan issue, our party has spoken clearly. It's important for all of us to bear in mind that Afghanistan is only part of the picture and that the main thing is the danger posed to détente and peace by the volte-face in evidence in U.S. policy. After all, this policy tends to increase support for repressive regimes. The U.S. administration's attempts to impose a return to the cold war policy benefit Pinochet, who is trying to exploit a worsening of the international situation to

* Meaning an alliance of democratic forces. — Ed.

divide the democratic forces and step up repression with impunity. His statement that we are entering World War III is folly but that isn't the point. The point is that he wants to justify new expenditures on arms purchases and to deliver new blows to the opposition in an atmosphere of anti-communist hysteria.

Q. How would you assess the prospects of struggle in Chile this year?

A. I think this year mass struggles are going to rise to a higher level. The fact that the year began with, among other things, a strike at the El Teniente mine that involved 10,600 miners and lasted 18 days is an indication of great opportunities for struggle. The demonstration held by Chile's courageous women on March 8 last was another forceful expression of our people's fighting morale.

The actions launched in 1979 were characterized by a high degree of militancy, initial forms of confrontation with the dictatorship's repressive forces on the part of the workers and the people in general and regained confidence in their strength. There can be no doubt that all this will go on developing this year. All signs are that mass struggle is the decisive thing and the only way to overthrow the dictatorship. This year the struggle of the working class and the protests of various contingents of the working people go hand in hand with a growing student movement, which shows that this year will see the struggle gain in strength and scope.

Abridged from *El Día*, March 23, 1980

APARTHEID'S NIGHTMARE

To the racists of southern Africa, the victory of the Patriotic Front forces in Zimbabwe has come as a terrible shock — the latest in a series of setbacks to their cause.

In the short period since 1974 the buffer states to the north of South Africa have been removed, one by one, in the inexorable process of African liberation. The border of South African influence has had to be redrawn, 1,500 miles to the south, as black majority governments were installed in Luanda, Maputo and Salisbury.

When the Portuguese empire collapsed, South Africa, aided and abetted by the United States, attempted to rescue Angola by military force, but suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the liberation

forces and their Cuban allies. A reverse for which the present South African Premier P.W. Botha, then (and still) Minister of Defense, was held responsible and is still suffering humiliation.

INVOLVEMENT

But South African involvement in Rhodesia was still greater. Though the Verwoerd government (and Vorster after him) opposed UDI believing the white population, out-numbered 20 to 1 by the oppressed Africans, was too small to succeed, South Africa nevertheless stood by their "kith and kin" and almost single-handedly smashed the international boycott, enabling the illegal Smith regime to survive.

South Africa had a lot to lose. Not only was the myth of white supremacy at stake, but also many of the commanding heights of the Rhodesian economy were (and still are) owned by South African companies.

South Africa backed the Smith-Muzorewa internal settlement, and when it failed was ready to invade Zimbabwe in a bid to prevent a "Marxist" government from coming into office. That it refrained from doing so is entirely attributable to the sweeping scale of the Mugabe-Nkomo victory at the polls and the impressive discipline and control maintained by the Patriotic Front forces which gave the racists no excuse to cry "chaos".

While still dazed by shock, Premier Botha managed only a surly acknowledgement that "the election result was a decision of the people of Rhodesia and they would have to work it out for themselves and live with it". He also warned that "any neighbor which allows its territory to be used for attack on, or the undermining of, South Africa and its security will have to face the full force of the Republic's strength."

His Foreign Minister Pik Botha, interviewed by the BBC, declared blandly that he was not aware of any particular lessons South Africa needed to learn from Mr. Mugabe's election victory in Rhodesia.

Privately, however, the ruling Nationalist Party reacted differently. The tensions between its "verligte" and "verkrampste" wings were brought to a frenetic pitch, and in an editorial headed: "On the Brink", the pro-government Afrikaans newspaper *Beeld* confessed that Afrikanerdom was going through its greatest crisis since the Second World War.

Mugabe's election victory was "a catalyst" which brought these tensions to a head and the Nationalist Party to the edge of the precipice, the paper said.

In brief, the conflict inside the Nationalist Party is between, on the one hand, those who believe that if South Africa is to avoid the fate of Rhodesia it must compromise and reach some accommodation with Black nationalism, and on the other hand, those who believe that the white man was betrayed in Rhodesia and must now dig in and defend himself to the death in South Africa.

Naturally enough, these differences coincide with those between the so-called "verligtes" (liberals) and "verkrampes" (conservatives) in the ranks of Afrikanerdom. The ascendant bourgeoisie's spokesmen are Premier Botha and his namesake Foreign Minister, while the leaders of the petty-bourgeois farmers, workers, civil servants and clerics, Vorster and Mulder, were disgraced and driven from office by the Muldergate scandal, leaving junior minister Dr. Andries Treurnicht as their trojan horse in the cabinet.

The class differences underlying the quarrel between the "verligtes" and "verkrampes" is an important pointer to future developments within the white camp, but its significance should not be overemphasized.

Premier Botha's promises of reform on the labor front (in the wake of the Wiehahan and Riekert reports) turn out, on closer examination, to be mechanisms for tighter control of the African working class and their trade unions and stricter application of the pass laws.

The talk of abolishing the Immorality and Mixed Marriages Acts has not been followed up by action. Sport is still 99 per cent segregated. The government is still committed to the implementation of the Bantustan program which aims at the withdrawal of South African citizenship from the entire African population.

In the "white" 87 per cent of the country outside the Bantustans, Premier Botha, just as much as Treurnicht, Vorster, Mulder and the rest of the gang, is pledged to maintain White domination. His "liberalism" is strictly limited.

Brian Bunting

Abridged from Morning Star April 2, 1980.

