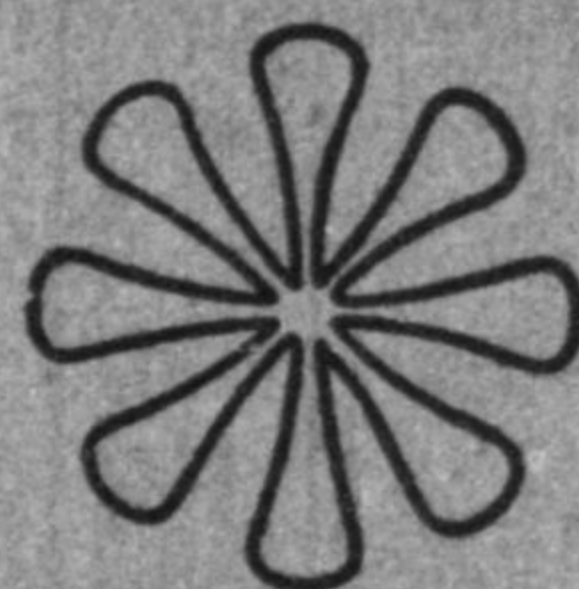


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PUBLISHERS**

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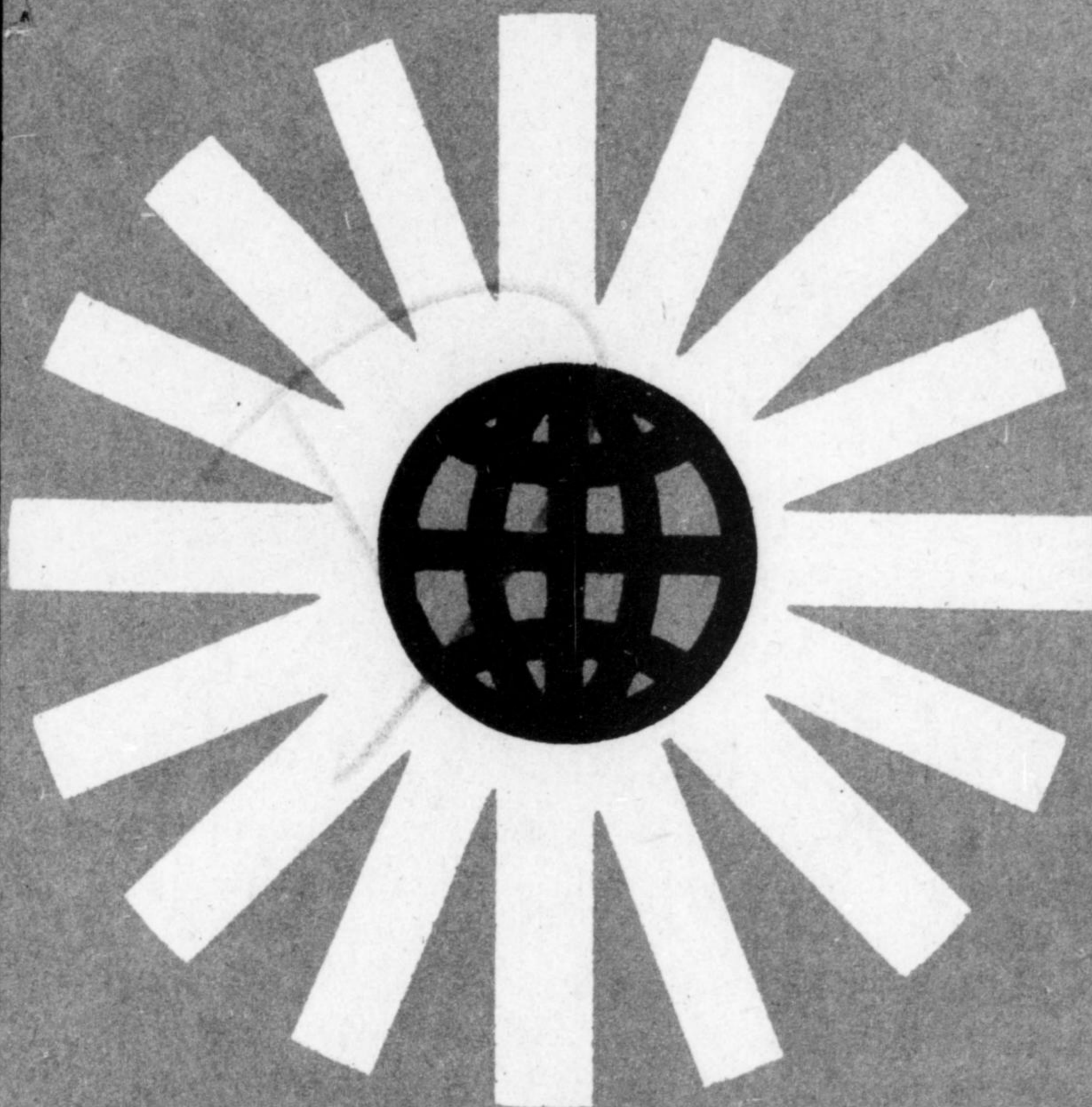
**CARTER'S
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information bulletin — 8 (360) Vol. 16

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

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

PROGRESS BOOKS

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

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PRINTED IN CANADA
APRIL 30, 1978

PRICE: 10 CENTS



IN THE INTERESTS OF PEACE **AND SOCIAL PROGRESS**

MEETING OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE SECRETARIES OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES OF SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

A meeting of Central Committee secretaries of the Communist and Workers' Parties of socialist countries on international and ideological questions from Bulgaria, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, GDR, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania and the Soviet Union was held in Budapest over February 27 to March 1, 1978.

A representative of the Communist Party of Vietnam attended in the capacity of an observer.

The participants informed each other on the ideological-political work of their parties. Views were exchanged on interaction in this sphere and on topical international issues. They noted with satisfaction the fruitful character of the bilateral and multilateral cooperation of fraternal countries in the field of information and propaganda, social sciences, education and culture, and expressed the resolve to develop it further. Such cooperation, which takes account of the conditions in which each party is working, facilitates elaboration of problems of common interest, popularization of the socialist countries' achievements, their domestic and foreign policy.

The meeting examined the results of activities marking the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. This jubilee, widely celebrated throughout the world, as well as the celebration of other important anniversaries and events in the life of the fraternal parties and peoples clearly demonstrated the importance of socialism's salient achievements in all spheres of life, promoted the broader dissemination in the world of Marxist-Leninist ideas and the great ideals of peace, freedom, people's independence and socialism. In this context the need was stressed to continue marking outstanding dates of the working-class, revolutionary movement of the peoples of

the socialist countries, including the 30th anniversary of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance in 1979. The representatives of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the Communist Party of Cuba informed the participants of plans for marking the 30th anniversary of the German Democratic Republic and the 20th anniversary of the triumph of the Cuban revolution next year.

Attention was focused on the role of the mass media and propaganda in present-day international policy. The view was expressed that the mass information and propaganda media are called upon to make a positive contribution to the deepening of détente, to curbing the arms race, to the struggle for disarmament, for strengthening trust among the peoples and promoting diverse mutually advantageous cooperation among states, irrespective of their social systems.

Special attention was drawn to the danger stemming from the continuation and intensification of the arms race, the creation of new kinds of mass annihilation weapons, the neutron bomb included, which is a formidable obstacle in the path of the further normalization of international relations. The parties taking part in the conference come out for the adoption of resolute disarmament measures, above all for nuclear disarmament. Overcoming the resistance to such measures by reactionary circles in the NATO countries and by other reactionary forces is an urgent task of vital importance for all the peoples.

On behalf of their parties the participants pledged solidarity with the just struggle of the communists, progressive, revolutionary and national-liberation forces, of all the peoples against the imperialist policy of diktat and aggression, against attempts to obstruct the free expression of their will, for national independence, sovereignty, inviolability of their borders, respect of the right of every people to decide their future themselves without outside interference, for social progress and equality in international cooperation.

They denounced anti-communist campaigns, attempts by imperialist and reactionary quarters to distort the policy of the socialist countries and to interfere in their internal affairs. They stressed their striving to expand dissemination of objective information on the activity of all communist and workers' parties, on the peoples of the socialist countries, their achievements in building a new society, in developing mutual cooperation.

Speakers at the conference stressed the significance of broad propaganda of the socialist countries' constructive efforts directed at strengthening international security, the consistent and full imple-

mentation, by all states participating in the European conference, of the provisions of the Final Act adopted in Helsinki. The conviction was expressed that joint efforts by all the interested sides, with account of the positive experience accumulated in the sphere of cooperation by states, both big and small, irrespective of their social systems, are an important prerequisite for deepening détente and consolidating peace and security.

The participants reiterated the resolve of their parties to facilitate full and consistent implementation of the conclusions of the 1976 Berlin Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties. Simultaneously the Communist Party of Cuba reaffirmed that it will continue to do everything for the realization of the conclusions of the Havana Conference of Communist Parties of Latin America and the Caribbean.

The meeting proceeded in a businesslike, friendly atmosphere, in a spirit of equality, mutual respect and internationalist solidarity.

Pravda, March 2, 1978

Janos Kadar, First Secretary of the CC HSWP, received on March 1 the Central Committee secretaries of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries, the representative of the Communist Party of Vietnam and the editor-in-chief of the journal *World Marxist Review* (Problems of Peace and Socialism).

On the same day the HSWP Central Committee held a reception in honor of the delegations participating in the meeting of secretaries on international and ideological questions of the Central Committees of the Communist and Workers' Parties of socialist countries.

INTERVIEW WITH BORIS PONOMARYOV

At the conclusion of the meeting a *Pravda* correspondent in Budapest asked the head of the CPSU delegation, alternate member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Boris Ponomaryov to share his impressions of the results of the meeting.

Our delegation, Boris Ponomaryov said, is satisfied with the progress and results of this meeting. I think that it will play a definite role

in the further development of cooperation among the fraternal socialist countries in the political and ideological sphere.

The range of questions discussed at the meeting can be seen from the communiqué published in the press. As for the contents of the discussion held, it touched upon the most urgent problems of today.

The central point of the discussion was the question of how to preserve and strengthen peace and prevent a nuclear holocaust. Comrades spoke of the need to act still more vigorously and display more initiative in achieving our common goals. The consolidation of peace is the prime task of each of our countries and of all our parties, and we have clearly stated this in the communiqué. The Central Committee of the CPSU led by Comrade Brezhnev is doing everything possible to accomplish this historic task.

All the speakers at the meeting pointed out that, in order to preserve peace and remove the threat of war, it was necessary to exert still more persistent efforts to strengthen the political détente and supplement it with a détente in the military sphere. And here, in this matter, the parties represented at the meeting expressed a readiness to work still more vigorously both in the political field and in the sphere of substantiating ideologically our practical activity in favor of détente.

Détente may land in an impasse unless efforts are made to end the arms race and to find ways toward disarmament. The meeting gave good, strong arguments against the arms race. One can say that the parties represented at the Budapest forum are determined to bring the truth about the danger of the arms race to the broadest masses of people and along with other peoples to work for shifting the colossal resources that it swallows up to the solving of acute social, economic and other major problems.

All the parties represented were also unanimous in the view that the dissemination of the truth about real socialism, its achievements and its superiority over the capitalist system is an important component part of the struggle for peace and progress. In the course of the discussion quite a few interesting ideas were expressed on this score. The delegations of fraternal parties informed each other of the successes of socialist and communist construction in their respective countries.

The speakers pointed out that the communists have a great role to play in tackling the above-mentioned vital problems of humanity. The class enemy is aware of that as well. That is why he is trying in every way to undermine the communist movement, to disunite the com-

munist parties and to impair their ability for concerted action. This is regarded by imperialism as one of the major means of frustrating détente and undermining the positions of the peace forces.

The parties attending the meeting expressed their solidarity with the fraternal parties in the non-socialist countries and support for their struggle against imperialism and for peace, the security of nations and socialism. Of course, success of the communists' effort largely depends on strengthening their cohesion on the principled basis of Marxism-Leninism and internationalism.

The meeting paid much attention to the problems of the national-liberation movement. This also is quite understandable since the movement is passing through a critical phase of its development. It was pointed out that greater attention needed to be paid to the processes taking place in what is known as "the third world," particularly to the "hot spots" of liberation struggle.

Finally, attention was drawn to stepped-up imperialist propaganda against socialism, the communist movement, social progress and the cause of peace. Actually, all these constitute one and the same direction of imperialist propaganda rather than its different directions because in this day and age there can be no attack against peace and progress that would not be at the same time an attack against communism. Conversely, any anti-communist act of subversion impairs the cause of peace and progress. That is why, the speakers stressed, the upholding of the cause of peace and progress is unbreakably linked with the struggle against imperialist ideology and anti-communism.

The discussion was interesting, informative and fruitful, said Boris Ponomarev in conclusion. The meeting was well-organized. Much credit for this goes to the host party, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, to which we expressed our heartfelt gratitude for this.

Pravda, March 3, 1978



STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

FOR A JUST AND STABLE PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

LEONID BREZHNEV RECEIVES YASSIR ARAFAT

Leonid Brezhnev, CPSU General Secretary and President of the USSR Supreme Soviet received Yassir Arafat, Chairman of the PLO Executive, in the Kremlin on March 9.

During the talk, which proceeded in a friendly, cordial atmosphere, the coincidence of views was reaffirmed on a broad range of questions relating to the present Middle East situation, the establishment there of a just and stable peace and ensurance of the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian Arabs.

It was noted that as a result of actions of the imperialist forces and the Arab reaction linked with them, the situation in this area has been considerably complicated. While blocking a Middle East settlement, these forces are out to erode the national-liberation struggle of the Arab peoples, reinforce Israel's occupation of Arab lands, deny the Palestinian Arabs' legitimate national rights, including the right to self-determination, to set up their own state and to return to their homes in accordance with existing UN decisions. These aims are served by the capitulatory actions of the Egyptian leadership, which has embarked on separate deals with Israel.

It was stressed that unity of all progressive forces of the Arab world, their unity with their natural allies — the Soviet Union and the other socialist community states, has a major role to play in the Middle East situation. This unity is a decisive factor in the struggle to liquidate the consequences of Israeli aggression and in reaching an overall Middle East settlement. Noted in this connection was the positive role of the December 1977 Tripoli meeting and the February 1978 Algiers meeting of progressive Arab statesmen and the Palestine Liberation Organization in strengthening their united actions in the struggle against imperialism, Zionism and all reactionary forces connected with them, and against separate deals.

Leonid Brezhnev reiterated the principled policy of the CPSU and Soviet state aimed at reaching an overall Middle East settlement, an integral part of which is ensurance of the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian Arabs. He emphasized that the Soviet Union will in future too invariably side with the just cause of the Palestinian Arabs, who are fighting staunchly for their freedom and National independence. In this just struggle the Palestinian people, led by the PLO, has won substantial gains and has become a leading contingent of the Arab national-liberation movement.

Yassir Arafat spoke of the struggle being waged by the Palestine resistance movement in the present aggravated Middle East situation for the realization of their national aspirations, against the onslaught of imperialism and reaction. He expressed on behalf of the entire Palestinian people deep gratitude to the CPSU Central Committee and Soviet government for the consistent, all-round support of the Palestinians' struggle for their legitimate rights. He declared that the PLO sees as a major task the promotion of friendship with the USSR and the other socialist countries.

Leonid Brezhnev wished the heroic Palestinian people further successes in their just struggle and in consolidating their ranks. In this the Palestinians can always rely on the support of the Soviet Union, which firmly stands on positions of international solidarity with the peoples fighting for their national liberation.

Pravda, March 10, 1978

JOINT SOVIET-SYRIAN COMMUNIQUE

Hafiz al-Asad, Secretary-General of the Arab Socialist Renaissance Party (Baath) and President of the Syrian Arab Republic, paid an official visit of friendship to the Soviet Union from February 20 to 23, 1978 at the head of a party and government delegation of Syria on the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers.

Talks were held in a spirit of friendship and mutual understanding between Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet; Alexei Kosygin, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and Dmitry Ustinov, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Minister of Defense, on the one hand; and Hafiz

al-Asad, Secretary-General of the Arab Socialist Renaissance Party (Baath) and President of the Syrian Arab Republic, on the other.

The talks were also attended:

from the Soviet side by G.M. Korniyenko, First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR; S.A. Skachkov, Chairman of the State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations; Yu. N. Chernyakov, USSR Ambassador to the SAR; M.D. Sytenko, member of the Collegium of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Ye. M. Samoteikin, aide to the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee;

from the Syrian side by Abdel Halim Khaddam, member of Baath Leadership, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Syrian Arab Republic; Yu. Assad, member of Baath Regional Leadership; H. Hassun, member of Baath Regional Leadership; Omar al-Sibai, Minister of Communications of the Syrian Arab Republic; Ahmed Iskander Ahmed, Minister of Information of the Syrian Arab Republic; Adib Dawudi, adviser to the President for political affairs; Jabr al-Kafri, Ambassador of the Syrian Arab Republic to the Soviet Union, and Adnan Nashabe, department head of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of the Syrian Arab Republic.

In the course of the talks, which proceeded in a cordial atmosphere typical of Soviet-Syrian relations, a thorough and constructive exchange of opinions took place on questions pertaining to Soviet-Syrian relations, the situation in the Middle East and the Establishment of a just and lasting peace in that area, as well as on a number of international problems of mutual interest.

During the examination of bilateral relations, the sides noted with satisfaction that the friendly ties between the USSR and Syria were steadily developing and deepening in the political, party, military, economic, cultural, scientific and technological fields on the basis of the principles of equality, mutual respect, independence and non-interference in the affairs of each other, which were embodied in the joint Soviet-Syrian statement, signed in Moscow on April 13, 1974, by Leonid Brezhnev and Hafiz al-Asad.

The USSR and the SAR attach paramount importance to the development of political relations between them, and consider that stable relations in this field tell favorably on Soviet-Syrian cooperation in other areas. They expressed the determination to continue to develop and strengthen this mutually beneficial and fruitful cooperation.

The sides confirmed the significance of the meetings between the

leaders of both countries, and believe that they contribute fundamentally to the determination of the ways of promoting Soviet-Syrian relationships. They intend to continue the practice of holding consultations with each other at other levels as well.

They will strive to further consolidate the friendly ties between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Arab Socialist Renaissance Party.

The sides highly assessed the level of Soviet-Syrian economic cooperation and noted its stable and large-scale character. It embraces, above all, the key sectors of Syria's economy — power engineering and electrification, oil industry, transport, and irrigation development — and is carried out in the interests of strengthening Syria's national independence and its progressive development. The sides consider that the creation of the Euphrates hydropower complex, one of the biggest in the Middle East — its construction will be completed this year — is of special importance for the development of the economy of the SAR.

The sides also discussed and mapped out measures for the further raising of the level of the Syrian Arab Republic's defense capability.

In this connection, the Syrian side highly appreciated the aid and support constantly being given by the Soviet Union and the other socialist community countries to the Arab peoples in their struggle against imperialism and Zionism, and especially in the situation which is presently taking shape in the Middle East. The sides expressed the conviction that the strong friendship and close cooperation which exist between the Soviet and Syrian peoples meet the fundamental interests of both countries and serve the cause of international peace and security.

The sides paid particular attention to the situation in the Middle East. They condemned Israel's continued occupation of the Arab lands and its refusal to recognize the inalienable national rights of the Arab people of Palestine, which results in the explosive seat of tension persisting in the area, posing a threat to peace and international security. The sides believe that separate talks between Egypt and Israel do serious damage to the interests of the Arab peoples as they are aimed at frustrating an overall Middle East settlement on a just basis. They resolutely condemn the capitulatory actions of the Egyptian government, which divide the unity of the Arab states and are directed against the struggle of the Arab and African nations for national liberation and independence. The Soviet Union and Syria reject separate deals as a method of achieving a Middle East settle-

ment and believe that this serves the long-time plans of Israel and the imperialist forces to frustrate the Arabs' struggle for achieving a just peace in the Middle East.

The Soviet Union and Syria believe that in the obtaining situation the consolidation and concerted activities of all progressive forces are particularly important. It is the sides' profound conviction that this is one of the decisive factors of the struggle for the elimination of the consequences of the Israeli aggression, for ensuring the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine and for establishing a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

The Soviet side noted in this context the positive role played by the conferences of the leaders of progressive Arab states and the Palestine Liberation Organization in Tripoli in December 1977 and in Algiers in February 1978 for furthering their solidarity and unity of action in the struggle against imperialism and Zionism, and against separate deals.

The Soviet side also emphasized the important contribution made by Syria to the cause of fortifying the front of the Arab states rejecting separate deals.

The Syrian side highly appreciated the all-round support given by the Soviet Union to progressive Arab states, and reiterated the need for its participation in a Middle East settlement at all stages on the basis of the relevant UN resolutions. The sides emphasized the need for strengthening the Arabs' friendly ties with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community and declared their resolve to continue giving rebuff to any attempts at undermining Soviet-Arab friendship.

The sides expressed their firm determination to continue their joint efforts toward achieving an overall and just settlement on the basis of the complete withdrawal of Israeli troops from all the Arab lands occupied in 1967 and toward ensuring the inalienable national rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including their right to self-determination and to establishing an independent national state, and also the Palestinians' right to return to their homes in keeping with the existing UN resolutions. All the sides concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, the legitimate representative of the Palestinian Arabs, should take part in those efforts.

In discussing the international situation, the sides stated that they held identical views on a wide range of basic problems of today. The Soviet Union and Syria regard the struggle for the consolidation of world peace and the security of nations, for general and complete

disarmament, for international détente and the elimination of dangerous pockets of tension as a major objective of their foreign policy.

The sides expressed their readiness to continue exerting vigorous efforts to promote the process of international détente. In this context, they pointed out that the adoption by the UN General Assembly of the Soviet-sponsored Declaration on the Deepening and Strengthening of Détente on December 19, 1977, was a milestone in the struggle for consolidating improvements in international relations, strengthening peace and preventing the threat of war. They resolutely demand that détente should be spread to all regions and that the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems should receive ever wider acceptance.

The USSR and Syria call for an early conclusion of a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations, a treaty which would commit its signatories to renounce the use of nuclear and other weapons, and believe that such a treaty would exert a favorable influence on the world situation and help ensure international security.

The sides emphasized the importance of the UN General Assembly Special Session on Disarmament to be held later this year, regarding it as a major stage on the way to world disarmament conference. They reiterated the importance of this conference, which should be attended by all states, for making further progress in the efforts to halt the arms race and start implementing practical measures in the field of disarmament.

The sides call for a treaty banning all nuclear weapons tests, a treaty to prohibit chemical weapons and a treaty to ban the development and manufacture of new weapons and systems of weapons of mass destruction, including the neutron weapon. The Syrian side expressed its support for the Soviet proposal on ending the manufacture of nuclear weapons and gradually reducing their stockpiles.

The Soviet Union and Syria reaffirmed the importance of cooperation between the forces of world socialism and the national-liberation movement in the struggle for peace, international security, freedom and independence of the peoples. They call for the further strengthening of solidarity between the socialist community, the non-aligned and the developing countries, which are natural allies in this struggle.

In considering the situation shaping up in the Horn of Africa, the sides denounced imperialist meddling in the affairs of that region and expressed their grave concern over the events taking place there. The Soviet Union and Syria will continue to work toward the liberation

of the African continent from neo-colonialist and imperialist domination and press for the final and complete abolition of colonialism in conformity with the UN General Assembly's Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. They condemn the armed intervention of imperialist neo-colonialist forces in the affairs of African states. The sides resolutely oppose the policy of racism and apartheid whenever it may be practised, and call for the elimination of the racist regimes in the south of Africa, for full power to be handed over to the people of Zimbabwe and independence for Namibia.

The USSR and the SAR reaffirmed the importance they attach to the continued enhancement of the role of the UN in strengthening peace and international security through strict observance of the principles and purposes of its Charter.

Hafiz al-Asad expressed gratitude to the leaders and people of the Soviet Union for the warm reception and cordial hospitality accorded to him and members of his delegation during this visit.

The Secretary-General of the Arab Socialist Renaissance Party and President of the Syrian Arab Republic, Hafiz al-Asad, invited Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and President of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and Alexei Kosygin, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, to visit the Syrian Arab Republic. The invitations have been gratefully accepted. The dates for the visits are to be fixed later.

Pravda, February 24, 1978

"DEVELOPMENTS FAVOR THE FORCES OF PROGRESS"

Interview by Khaled Bagdash, General Secretary of the Syrian Communist Party, to "Rude Pravo" Correspondent

Q. How do you assess the recent Middle East events with respect to the balance of forces between the progressive movement and reaction?

A. In the Middle East a fierce struggle is now being waged — at times open, at times covert — between the forces of imperialism, Zionism and reaction, on the one hand, and the liberation and progres-

sive forces represented by the Arab popular masses and some Arab governments.

Despite certain phenomena which strike the eye, developments favor the forces of progress. The general course of development cannot be judged simply from the stance of one or another Arab leader. They cannot of course be ignored, but it would be wrong to draw conclusions from them alone, as this could lead to erroneous views and an incorrect assessment of future prospects. To take the stand of Sadat, for instance: what has it resulted in? By his visit to occupied Jerusalem, by his shameful capitulatory policy, his separate negotiations on a basis designed to strengthen the USA and Israel, by his betrayal of the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine Sadat has shown that he is serving U.S. imperialism, the ruling circles of Israel and world Zionism as a whole. He helped them in evading the Geneva conference and in lessening somewhat Israel's international isolation. Moreover, he helped Israel by imparting an outward legality to its aggressive expansionist policy toward the Arab countries, which is bolstered by U.S. imperialism.

Sadat facilitated the implementation of imperialist plans aimed at establishing U.S. domination in the Middle East, at concluding an official or unofficial pact directed against the Arab and African liberation movement. All that is true. But it is equally true that in the Arab world Sadat's policy was supported only by King Hasan II of Morocco, Gaafar Nimeiri of Sudan and Sultan Qabus of Oman, whose unstable regime, which is propped by foreign troops, is being threatened by a people's revolution. Also true is the important fact that one result of Sadat's capitulatory policy is the growing popular movement in the majority of Arab states directed against imperialism in general and against the U.S. variety in particular.

The progressive Arab countries gathered for their first high-level conference in Tripoli, and for a second conference in Algiers. This "Front of fortitude and rejection," as you know, includes Syria, Algeria, Libya, Democratic Yemen and the PLO. Iraq, which unfortunately has not officially joined the front, agrees with the front's policy on many key points. We retain the hope that Iraq will join the front, which will meet the interests of the fraternal Iraqi people and the entire Arab liberation movement. This "Fortitude front" represents an important qualitative change in the entire Arab liberation movement. The concept of Arab solidarity has acquired a truly anti-imperialist and anti-Zionist character. The maneuvers of U.S. imperialism and Arab reaction, which sought by every means to use the

"Arab unanimity" slogan to their own ends, have failed. They have befuddled the concept of Arab solidarity to such an extent as to totally emasculate it, seeking thereby to achieve solutions which would satisfy U.S. imperialism and Zionism.

What can we see in the Middle East now? At present a correct and just Middle East settlement has been further complicated. But who is experiencing the greatest difficulties? Undoubtedly, U.S. imperialism and the reactionary forces. Their maneuverability has been substantially restricted and in the global aspect it is already clear that the U.S. plans which Sadat is putting into effect will not result in a solution of the Middle East problem nor bring about a stable peace in the region.

At the same time the front of the progressive Arab countries and forces is gaining in strength both militarily and economically, and with respect to the oil situation. It enjoys the broad support of the Arab popular masses, the generous aid of the great Soviet Union and other socialist countries, of the non-aligned movement and all liberation and progressive forces throughout the world. This front is based on the sound political foundation of the United Nations and Security Council resolutions. As distinct from the Americans, Zionists and Sadat they do not see the convening of the Geneva conference as a cover for separate negotiations and stress that the Geneva conference is the sole international body that is competent to settle the Middle East problem peacefully with the participation of all sides, including the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine. This solution can only be based on Israel's withdrawal from all Arab territories occupied in 1967, and ensurance of the rights of the Palestinian Arabs, including the right to set up their own independent state.

In short, every revolutionary or progressive-minded person, considering the powerful and growing resistance of the Arab world to imperialist plans (and not only in the countries of the "Fortitude front," but in other states, like in Tunisia, for instance, where a powerful strike took place against the exploitative and pro-imperialist policy, and in Morocco, where mounting resistance is in evidence), will inevitably arrive at the conclusion that a really deep-going development of our region is not in the interests of imperialism, as might seem at first glance. The same conclusion is prompted if we examine the Middle East events from the point of view of a great world battle between the forces of socialism, the national-liberation movement and the world proletarian revolution, on the other hand, and the forces of imperialism and reaction, on the other. Clearly the

Middle East developments inspire and strengthen the global world revolutionary process in the struggle for peace, independence, democracy and progress.

Q. What is your opinion of U.S. imperialist plans in the Middle East and its new tactic?

A. The plans of U.S. imperialism in the Middle East are part of the global strategic plan to establish world domination. The U.S. imperialists began implementing this dream of theirs right after World War II. As is known, U.S. Middle East plans pursue the aim of creating a pact (official or unofficial) extending from Iran, through Israel, Egypt and Sudan to Morocco and encompassing all the other Arab countries. The pact is designed to serve the struggle against the Arab and African national-liberation movements and to establish U.S. domination over the oil resources and strategic positions in the Middle East and over the rich natural resources of the African continent. This plan will never be effected, it is as illusory as the aspiration to world domination. The U.S. imperialists in view of their class essence are incapable of understanding that the clock of history cannot be turned back.

Every revolutionary-minded and progressive person in our country and throughout the world should realize that U.S. imperialism intends to carry out its Middle East plans, relying above all on Israel. Sadat seeks to create the impression that he is unaware of this when he publicly asserts that the USA on questions of armaments, economic aid and others would take the same approach to Egypt as to Israel. Not a single Arab state can occupy the same position as Israel in U.S. imperialist plans, nor can they adopt the same stand.

The USA is aware of the situation in Egypt. Whereas formerly Sadat was able to mislead public opinion by asserting that by supporting the U.S. course and bowing before Israel it is possible to stop the rapid worsening of the economic situation and the growing oppression of the masses, now he can no longer do so. Sadat was unable to meet a single one of his promises. The Egyptian people by their powerful actions on January 18 and 19, 1977 demonstrated that they were capable of fighting against imperialism and reaction. All this is known to the U.S. imperialists. There is even the possibility that the U.S. will depose Sadat. Since they installed him, they can also oust him.

A basic feature of U.S. imperialist Middle East strategy is the striving to isolate the Arab peoples and the entire Arab national-liberation movement from the USSR and the other socialist countries. The U.S. imperialists had counted on Sadat, in the role

they had allotted to him, to help them in this. But their plans turned against them, however. The political line of the USA, Israel and Sadat engendered a powerful public movement aimed at furthering and strengthening friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union. This movement encompasses the broad popular masses, patriotic and progressive forces in the Arab countries. This was manifested most clearly at the recent meeting of Arab leaders in Algiers, at the previous meeting in Tripoli and at the All-Arab Peoples' Congress, also held in Tripoli. As is known, some 70 political organizations and 140 popular and trade union organizations from all Arab countries took part in it.

The present U.S. tactic consists, above all, in forcing other countries, particularly the "Fortitude front" countries to follow in Sadat's footsteps.

Abridged from *Rude Pravo*, February 22, 1978

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY

March 8 — International Women's Day — is marked throughout the world as a day of solidarity and unity of forces in the struggle for the equality of women, for peace and social progress, freedom and independence of the peoples.

A meeting devoted to International Women's Day was held in the Bolshoi Theatre in Moscow on March 7. Taking part in the meeting were Soviet Party and Government leaders led by Comrade Leonid Brezhnev, representatives of various local bodies and public organizations of Moscow, the Union Republics, territories and regions of the Russian Federation, prominent women workers in industry, science and culture.

The CPSU Central Committee addressed a special message to the Soviet women, which we print below.

TO THE SOVIET WOMEN

Message of the CPSU Central Committee

Dear Soviet women,
Splendid daughters of our socialist Homeland,
The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet

Union cordially hails and warmly congratulates you on the occasion of International Women's Day — a day of unity and solidarity of working women throughout the world.

In our country, March 8 is one of the finest and happiest of holidays. It is brightened by feelings of love, gratitude and respect for women as mothers, as workers, as patriots. Boundlessly loyal to the communist ideals, Soviet women together with their fathers, brothers and husbands fought for Soviet power, they were among shock-workers at the construction sites of the first five-year periods, displayed exemplary heroism during the years of the Second World War, spared no effort in restoring the economy destroyed by the enemy, enthusiastically helped in building a developed socialist society and are actively taking part in communist construction. The Homeland highly values the enormous contribution of its loyal daughters.

Socialism has done away with the oppression of women, providing them with equal rights and opening up unlimited opportunities for the flowering of their creative abilities. Our country's historic successes in resolving the women's question over the past six decades have been formalized in the new Soviet Constitution. We take pride in the broad rights and freedoms of Soviet women, their outstanding role in the life of society, which serve as an example for the working women of all continents.

Today Soviet people are working persistently for the realization of the historic decisions of the 25th Party Congress and the tenth five-year plan. In implementing the party's plans an enormous contribution is made by Soviet women. In response to the Letter of the CC CPSU, USSR Council of Ministers, the Central Trade Union Council and the Komsomol Central Committee, millions of working women joined in the socialist competition to meet and surpass the plans for 1978, for higher efficiency and quality. The party Central Committee is convinced that the women of our country will be exemplary in their work, making good use of existing reserves, and that they will do everything to make the third year of the five-year plan period a year of dedicated labor effort.

The Communist Party invariably follows Lenin's behest on the active involvement of women in the management of society and state affairs. There are more than four million women in the CPSU, and more than a million are deputies of Soviets of People's Deputies, hundreds of thousands hold executive posts in various branches of the economy, science and culture. The party will continue to promote

in every way the socio-political activity of women, seeing this as an important condition of expanding and deepening socialist democracy.

The Soviet state is implementing sweeping measures to ensure good working conditions and health care for women, to satisfy their material and spiritual requirements and ease their household chores. Housing construction is growing with every passing year, along with an increasing number of nursery schools, creches and health care institutions. All this creates conditions enabling women to combine fruitful work and public activity with family responsibilities.

The word mother expresses what is nearest and dearest to every Soviet person. She not only gives life to children, but is their first tutor, bringing them up as highly conscientious and diligent young people possessing noble moral qualities and public ideals. Our tribute to you, mothers, for the warmth of your hearts, for your concern in strengthening the Soviet family, for your striving to rear worthy citizens of our Homeland.

Soviet women wholeheartedly support the CPSU's peaceful Leninist foreign policy. Together with their women friends in the other socialist countries and progressive women of the world, our women-compatriots come out actively for peace, freedom, independence and social progress, for friendship and cooperation between the peoples. We call on all working women to unremittingly strengthen their solidarity and unity in the struggle against the imperialist-imposed arms race, the neutron bomb and other mass destruction weapons, for the deepening of détente and elimination of the threat of war. May there always be clear skies and a bright sun above our planet, may there always be peace!

Dear Soviet women, our comrades in work and in struggle.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union heartily thanks you for your splendid deeds and wishes you good health, great personal happiness, a radiant peaceful life, new successes in your work for the benefit of our beloved Homeland!

Honor and glory to the Soviet women!

Long live the working women of the whole world!

Long live the great Soviet people — the standard-bearer of peace and social progress!

Central Committee
Communist Party of the Soviet Union
Pravda, March 8, 1978

VENEZUELA: TALKS BETWEEN THE LEFT PARTIES HAVE BEGUN

This January saw the beginning in Venezuela of an important dialogue between the major left democratic and revolutionary parties. The participants in the talks are seeking an accord with the aim of facilitating the broadest possible participation by the popular forces in the December 1978 presidential and parliamentary elections.

Taking part in the talks are the Communist Party, the Movement for Socialism (MAS), the Left Revolutionary Movement (MIR) and the Electoral Movement of the People (MEP).

Over many years the Venezuelan left forces had been deeply split owing to a protracted organizational and ideological disunity. As a result they were unable to occupy a place corresponding to their role in the country's political life.

This explains the keen interest with which the Venezuelan public as a whole and the progressive circles of Latin America and other countries received the report on the first meetings of the four parties' representatives. Below we print the document signed in connection with the initiation of the talks and a statement by CPV General Secretary Jesus Faria.

In his statement Comrade Faria clearly expressed the communists' stand in relation to the proposal of MEP General Secretary Paz Galarraga on the simultaneous withdrawal of their presidential candidates by each party and the discussion of a joint candidate of the left forces. As you know, this proposal was supported by the Left Revolutionary Movement, but was indirectly rejected by the Movement for Socialism.

Jeronimo Carrera
Member, CPV Central Committee

JOINT STATEMENT BY THE FOUR PARTIES

The parties which undersigned this statement at the end of the January 11, 1978 meeting, arrived at the following conclusion:

1. We see our joint meeting as a very positive development. The disarray and confrontation in the left forces, owing to circumstances we will not go into here, have always aroused anxiety in the broad

This question was discussed at a Central Committee plenum of the Communist Party of Venezuela. The materials of the plenum will be printed in the next issue of *Information Bulletin*.

strata of our population. Therefore, every effort aimed at surmounting the disunity will be favorably met by these parties.

The Venezuelan people demand of the left forces fruitful cooperation on the basis of the common aspirations for transformation of society and the country's renewal. Therefore we see our duty — without relinquishing our principled positions — in energetically searching for opportunities of mutual understanding that would strengthen our forces and intensify the just struggle of the people.

2. We consider it essential urgently to create an atmosphere of mutual respect between the parties undersigning the statement. Mutual attacks must be avoided. In this way relations between our parties will be liberated from the false dilemma; either an honest alliance or an aggressive confrontation.

It is an open secret that differences exist, and at times significant ones, between various strata of the left forces. The fact that these forces are represented by numerous organizations expressing diverse points of view is a natural source of divergencies. Therefore a reasonable approach to existing differences and comradely discussion of disputed issues is an important condition in creating a favorable climate of mutual understanding.

3. On this basis united actions by our parties, with the participation of all those who support our views, have become possible and necessary already today. We must launch a corresponding struggle in all fields of our national life. Obviously, apart from the elections and our participation in them, the country is beset by other problems. Thanks to the joint actions of our parties, the people's struggle for the solution of these problems will gain in strength and lead to better results. The signatory parties have charted practical steps toward this end.

4. The parties undersigning the statement agreed to continue talks on various aspects of the forthcoming elections. Everyone is aware of the complexity of the question and the need for a positive and reasonable approach to it. That is why each party will study the proposals on this question. In this way the first step will be made for their further consideration at future joint meetings.

5. All who identify themselves with our proposals and accords can, of course, join in them.

We seek to promote essential contacts with other political groups and functionaries who are interested in united actions.

6. To attain the above goals the parties, undersigned in strictly alphabetical order, agreed on setting up a joint commission consisting of the general secretaries of these parties.

MAS — Movement for Socialism
MEP — Electoral Movement of the People
MIR — Left Revolutionary Movement
CPV — Communist Party of Venezuela

Tribuna Popular, January 13-19, 1978

**STATEMENT BY CPV GENERAL SECRETARY
JESUS FARIA**

In speaking of the recent statements by the general secretaries of MIR and MAS in response to Dr. Paz Galarraga's proposal to withdraw the present candidates of these parties, Jesus Faria stressed that to reach unity regarding a common candidate requires a spirit of self-sacrifice, calmness and revolutionary patience.

"The communists support popular unity," Jesus Faria went on to say. "However, the search for a common candidate is a complex and difficult task, requiring time. It is not simply a matter of withdrawing one or another candidature. The main thing is to discuss and approve another, a common candidate. At the same time we must bear in mind that it would be undesirable to be left without a candidate altogether at the height of the election campaign.

"In our view, if we cannot reach unity in January, then we can, through persistent effort, achieve it a little later. However, in view of the existing difficulties, we doubt that for each party to advance its own candidate is the best way to ensure unity and an early victory."

In conclusion the CPV General Secretary warned that a harsh and slighting tone in public polemics regarding a common candidature is absolutely impermissible. Using the established regular contacts, it is necessary to act in a positive manner to reach unity on this complex issue.

Abridged from *Tribuna Popular*,
January 27-February 2, 1978

“FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND PEOPLE’S SOVEREIGNTY”

Theses of the CC CPG for the Tenth Party Congress

The Communist Party of Greece will hold its Tenth Congress in Athens this May. The congress will be a big event in the life of our Party. For the first time in 33 years (since the Seventh Congress) it will be held in conditions of legality.

The significance of the congress is particularly great in the light of the complex domestic and international situation, vital national problems and ideological and political objectives facing the party. This is evidenced above all by the enormous interest displayed by political circles and especially among the broad popular masses in the “Theses of the CPG Central Committee for the Tenth Party Congress.” The CC CPG and its Political Bureau submitted this document for discussion by party committees and broad meetings of the membership, the Communist Youth of Greece, friends and supporters of our party in the country and abroad, including emigrant workers and political emigrés. What has attracted the keenest attention and enhanced the interest of the membership and supporters of the CPG in social problems are questions of the strategy and tactics of our party in the struggle for national independence, democracy and socialism. Owing to limited space, we are printing only some of the basic, in our view, points from Part Four of the “Theses.”

Nikandros Kepesis
Member of the CPG Central Committee

“The Greek people will finally be liberated from the imperialist yoke, capitalist exploitation and oppression, and our country will start out on the road of unrestricted development of the productive forces, steady raising of the well-being and cultural standards of the working people only when the working class together with its allies comes to power, eliminates capitalism and builds socialism.

"As noted at the Ninth Party Congress, there exist in Greece fundamental objective prerequisites for the socialist reconstruction of society. Moreover, these prerequisites have matured over the past few years.

"Simultaneously subjective conditions for the socialist reconstruction of society continue to shape up. The working class, headed by its Marxist-Leninist vanguard party, is enhancing its class consciousness, enriching its fighting experience, raising its organizational level, and its prestige and influence among the working people are growing. The ideas of socialism are being espoused by ever broader strata of the people.

"The steadily growing might of the world socialist system and the continually changing relation of forces on the international scene in favor of the world revolutionary movement also facilitate the development of Greek society in the direction of socialist reconstruction.

"Despite the existence in our country of fundamental objective prerequisites for socialism, the problems of democracy remain unsolved. Moreover, the crucial ones — national independence, monopoly domination and democratic freedoms — are intensified.

"Thus, the need to resolve the contradictions between the local monopoly oligarchy and imperialism, above all of U.S. imperialism, on the one hand, and all the other social classes, strata and groups, on the other, remains the key problem in our country.

"Closely interlinked with this major contradiction is the fact that the objective prerequisites of anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly democratic changes have reached a greater maturity than those of the socialist reconstruction of society, and that they tend to mature much faster.

"However, inasmuch as in Greece basic objective prerequisites for tackling socialist goals have matured, consistent anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly democratic changes simultaneously acquire to a certain extent a socialist character inasmuch as they affect the domination of monopoly capital, thereby eroding capitalist production relations.

"In recent years, along with the maturing of the basic objective prerequisites of socialism, there is an increasing interconnection and intertwining of democratic and socialist objectives.

"Therefore, the program thesis of the Ninth Party Congress stating that the country will come to socialism through a single revolutionary

process encompassing two stages of revolutionary transformations: first, the anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly democratic and, second, the socialist, has become even more topical. At the first stage, in line with the correlation of forces and through methods corresponding to the specific features of the country, democratic objectives will be resolved and certain socialist tasks will also be tackled, with due account of the way in which the anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly democratic forces will come to power. These tasks will be fulfilled in several stages. As a decisive political regrouping of forces in favor of socialism takes place and with ever deeper and broader tackling of the socialist socio-economic objectives the transition to the second, socialist stage will be effected. This objective fusion of democratic and socialist changes into one revolutionary process greatly enhances the importance of the first stage of this process."

"To carry out the anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly democratic revolutionary reconstruction of the country it is essential that power should pass from the local monopoly oligarchy to the anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly democratic forces and that an anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly democracy, a democracy of the people be established. Such is the first stage of the single revolutionary process and the immediate strategic aim of the Communist Party. The party's entire activity is designed to attain this goal ..."

"The Ninth Party Congress, in view of the existence then of the fascist dictatorship and seeking a maximum concentration of forces against it, defined the establishment of a genuinely new democracy linked with the partial realization of the goals of this stage as the first important step, as the first phase of the anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly democratic stage of the single revolutionary process. The Central Committee holds that in present conditions there is no need for such a stage and, consequently, no need for a division of the program's first stage.

"Thus, at the first stage of the single revolutionary process the CPG will seek to implement the program of struggle "For National Independence and People's Sovereignty, for Anti-Imperialist, Anti-Monopoly Democracy of the People," the main directions of which are:

"(a) democratization of all spheres of public life and ensurance of the people's right to sovereignly resolve all national questions; the adoption of a new, democratic Constitution;

"(b) the country's deliverance from imperialist dependency, in-

cluding the abrogation of all agreements that violate its sovereign rights, withdrawal from NATO and the EEC and dismantling of all foreign bases; an independent, peaceful foreign policy;

“(c) nationalization of the foreign as well as domestic monopolies of national significance; restriction of the activity of other monopolies; equitable economic relations with all countries; a programmed restructuring and development of the national economy;

“(d) adoption of measures to raise the working people’s living standards, to develop education and national culture, improve health care, social insurance and housing, and environmental protection.”

“A popular democratic regime will come out against international imperialism and the local oligarchy, against those who serve their interests in all spheres of the country’s life.

“It will simultaneously uphold the interests of all other classes and strata of Greek society, though naturally taking a differentiated approach to each. This objective factor, the position of these classes and strata in the present-day system of social production and their possibilities of struggle, which are closely linked with this position, determine the motive forces of the first stage of the revolutionary process and the role of each in the struggle for the triumph of this democracy and the fulfillment of this program.

“Priority among these forces goes to the *working class*. Thanks to its place in the system of capitalist production, the working class is the most irreconcilable fighter against capitalism, the class of the future, the bearer of socialist production relations; it is interested more than any other class or stratum in consistently and fully implementing a single revolutionary process. And thanks to its concentration, organization, discipline and other qualities which it acquires in the production process and day-to-day struggle, and particularly thanks to its being armed with the most forward-looking theory the working class represents the most progressive and most revolutionary class of Greek society. That is why it is called upon to play a vanguard role in the alliance of the motive forces of the first stage of the revolutionary process.

“*The peasantry*, primarily the working peasantry, is interested in establishing a popular democratic regime that will relieve it from the uncontrolled activity of local and foreign monopolies. Despite its diminishing numbers it remains after the working class the next largest contingent of Greek society. The peasantry is the most important ally of the working class, an important motive force in the

revolutionary struggle to solve the tasks of the first stage of the single revolutionary process.

Handicraftsmen and artisans, workers in science and technology, literature and the arts, a part of the clergy that is close to the people are also a motive force of the anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly democratic revolutionary reconstruction of society.

“Further, *the small and medium businessmen* who are being squeezed out by the insatiable monopolies, are interested in this reconstruction, and therefore it is objectively possible that they, having overcome their fears and vacillations, will participate in one or another way in the struggle against imperialism and the local oligarchy or will at least adopt a neutral stance.

“Popular democracy will be established as a result of the persistent efforts and hard struggle of the above-mentioned classes and strata. It will be the target of the alliance of the anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly democratic forces, with the working class in the van, the target of the parties and organizations who accept the essence of its program.

“*The youth of Greece*, the young working boys and girls, the students have a special role to play in the revolutionary struggle for the triumph of popular democracy. As a special group of the population the youth play an increasing role in the life of the country, and the great majority of them may come out for the revolutionary reconstruction of Greek society, which will ensure them a happy future ...”

“The political system of the anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly democracy of the people will be a revolutionary power of the anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly democratic forces, led by the working class. This system will be a democracy of a new type, a transitional system, which, as the revolutionary process acquires a more profound democratic character, will grow over into a socialist democracy.

“In this new type of democracy capitalist production relations will at first be dominant. But this domination will diminish with the emergence and development of elements of socialist production relations. The key economic lever of the new power will be the state sector of the economy, which will continually expand.”

“With the transition to the socialist stage of the single revolutionary process the popular democratic state will grow into a state of socialist democracy, which irrespective of its concrete form will be by its class nature a revolutionary power of the working class capable of building

and defending socialism, that is, the power which Marxist-Leninist classics have defined as the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"The form of the revolutionary power of the working class in our country will be dictated by life itself and in all circumstances will reflect the specifics of the country and our people's democratic traditions ..."

"The growing over of the popular democratic state into a socialist state will be effected by methods and at a rate corresponding to the balance of forces and the intensity of the class struggle. However, it will invariably hinge on the will of the majority of the working people."

"Under socialism state power will be the power of the working class, inasmuch as only the working class is the bearer of socialist production relations. The working class, however, will not build a socialist state and implement state power single-handed, but in alliance with the laboring peasantry and other non-proletarian oppressed strata of society. This socialist alliance of the working people is objectively possible, since a socialist state serves the fundamental interests of all working people. This alliance is essential, inasmuch as it alone will provide the socialist power with the strength to successfully counter the internal and external enemies of socialism.

"In this sense a revolutionary state of the transition period will be the power of the working people with the working class at its head, whose aim is to build socialism ..."

"Our party is seeking a peaceful transfer of power to the working class and its allies. This road fully complies with the profound humanistic communist ideals, and to the interests of the working class and all working people ..."

"At present the possibility of a peaceful transfer of power to the revolutionary forces has grown on an international scale compared with the past.

"This possibility also exists in our country, due both to the action of a number of favorable international factors and to internal causes.

"The peaceful transfer of power to the working people should not be seen as a purely parliamentary procedure. It is fully realizable through parliamentary elections given a popular majority in Parliament relying on a powerful and well-organized mass movement with a positive response in the armed forces. But it can also come about through the coordination of various forms of unarmed mass struggle.

"In either case, however, an indispensable prerequisite of the

peaceful road is the creation of a political climate and, above all, a superiority of the popular-revolutionary forces that is capable of paralyzing reaction and compelling it to reject any thought of armed opposition to the people's will."

"The CPG will continue to do everything in its power to create in our country the above-mentioned prerequisites of a peaceful transfer.

"It should be emphasized, however, that the way of effecting revolutionary transformations depends not so much on the wish and efforts of the exploited, as on the stance of the exploiters.

"From this point of view Greece represents the following picture:

"The oligarchy in our country has twice unhesitatingly resorted to civil war to save its regime. Moreover, it has more than once established police and fascist regimes. And we have twice witnessed acts of flagrant military intervention by the imperialists against the popular movement at the invitation of the local oligarchy.

"Now the oligarchy is strengthening and improving its oppressive apparatus; it has imposed an authoritarian constitution and can in a decisive confrontation under one or another pretext use the anti-democratic articles of the Constitution in an attempt to suppress by force of arms the people's aspirations for fundamental changes. Moreover, it should be noted that the oligarchy is not concealing its intention to resort to such measures. It is also known that the imperialists have not rejected the tactic of exporting counter-revolution to our country."

"All this prompts the general conclusion that we cannot rule out either road. The CPG will do everything in its power so that developments will follow the peaceful road. But the option will depend on the international and internal situation and the correlation of forces at the moment of decisive confrontation, on the measures the local monopolistic oligarchy and international imperialism will resort to in opposing the popular movement.

"The CPG holds that the thesis of its program retains full force, according to which the exploited of our country and their vanguard should be prepared in the name of implementing the revolutionary transformations to adopt any form of struggle — peaceful or non-peaceful — depending on the stand of the reactionary forces, and for the timely transfer from one form to another ..."

Abridged from *Rizospastis*, January 8, 1978

PRESIDIUM OF THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE USSR MEETS

On February 24, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR met in the Kremlin in regular session under the chairmanship of Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Before the session opened members of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR warmly and cordially congratulated Comrade Brezhnev on being awarded the country's highest military order — the Order of Victory — and wished him the best of health and further successes in his diverse and fruitful activities in promoting the great ideals of communism.

The session examined a number of important questions of state life connected with the implementation by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and its Presidium of the tasks stemming from the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and the new Constitution of the USSR.

A report on the results of examination of the proposals and remarks made by deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR at the special seventh session that discussed the draft of the USSR Constitution was delivered by Alexei Kosygin, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. He pointed out that the necessary measures were being taken on the suggestions and observations of deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and that the Council of Ministers of the USSR was coordinating and directing that work, exercising constant control over it. Alexei Kosygin then dwelt on some proposals and suggestions made by deputies and described what had been done to put them into effect. We proceed from the assumption, he emphasized, that all our bodies should carefully check their work against the high demands of the Fundamental Law of the state and ensure that the important tasks that have confronted them in connection with the adoption of the Constitution are carried out in the best fashion.

Leonid Brezhnev, speaking on that question, said:

From the memorandum submitted and from A.N. Kosygin's report it is evident what extensive and useful work is being planned to give effect to deputies' proposals. This is a matter of fundamental significance. After all, these are the proposals expressing in effect the interests of millions of Soviet people, their great concern for the successful development of our society. This puts especial responsibility on all bodies that are to carry the proposals into life.

The discussion of the report by the Council of Ministers of the USSR at the Presidium session is a logical continuation of the efforts aimed at developing and perfecting the control functions of the supreme organ of power, as is required by the provisions of the new Constitution.

I do not doubt that this trend in the activities of the Supreme Soviet, which incidentally is being further extended, is very useful for the ministries and departments themselves, for the government as a whole. That is understandable. For every time — whether it be a session of the Supreme Soviet, of the Presidium or of a standing commission — many deputies are involved in preparing a question. They are specialists in their respective fields, leading party functionaries and executives, people with a good knowledge of life. Their advice and their suggestions are very important and valuable. They see the management, so to speak, from the inside — from the localities, from production collectives.

There is yet another important aspect of the question. It is that the development of control functions of the Soviets is one of the chief reserves for advancing our representative system and deepening democracy of the socialist society.

I think that the positive experience we have already gained and the nature of interrelationship between bodies of power and of management should be reflected and recorded also in new laws which we will be examining soon. I am referring, above all, to the Law on the Council of Ministers and the Regulations of the Supreme Soviet.

On the question considered the Presidium passed its decision.

The practice of work of the Soviets of People's Deputies of the Byelorussian SSR on the electors' mandates was reported to the Presidium by I.E. Polyakov, President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Byelorussian SSR. It was noted at the session that the Soviets of People's Deputies in the Byelorussian SSR, guided by party organs, were actively working to implement the resolutions of the 25th CPSU Congress, to achieve the targets of the tenth five-year plan, and to apply in practice the Constitution of the USSR. Questions connected with the implementation of the voters' mandates, which express the vital interests of the population and the concrete interests of individual groups of working people and society as a whole, are a major part of organizational activities of the Republic's Soviets.

The republic has accumulated positive experience in working with electorate mandates. They are adopted at election meetings where the

constituencies get together with their candidates. The measures for the fulfillment of mandates are approved at the sessions of the Soviets of People's Deputies. The Soviets take the necessary steps to find the material resources for implementing the mandates.

The floor in the discussion was taken by V.A. Klochkova, a Deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet, and N.A. Zlobin, a member of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, both of whom had taken part in drawing up the question.

Summing up the discussion, Leonid Brezhnev noted that the comrades who had taken the floor had given a sufficiently detailed account of the practice of the Soviets in Byelorussia in working on electorate mandates.

He singled out a number of points:

The matter of mandates has not been raised accidentally. The mandates are a vivid manifestation of our democracy, democracy not in words, but in deeds, democracy which is real and effective. The mandates express the care of the working people for the matters of their state, and for social interests. We have no right to lose these grains of public initiative.

It is also important to take into account that well-organized work with mandates is a strong educational factor. The discussion of submitted proposals, the not always easy process of selecting mandates for execution — all this helps to develop the ability of the Soviet people to think in a statesmanlike way. It is important, naturally, to adopt a correct approach. The interesting point about Byelorussia's experience is that there the work with mandates is given proper attention and scope.

Any initiative, even a good one, may peter out if it does not find support and is not reinforced by practical steps. Of course, translating mandates into life is not a simple matter. It is frequently quite troublesome. Electorate mandates often amend our plans. Nevertheless, it is absolutely necessary to do this work, and it must be done better and more thoroughly.

A few words now about the legislative act on the procedure of examining and fulfilling electorate mandates, Leonid Brezhnev continues. It is common knowledge that the elaboration of such a document is envisaged in our plan of legislative work. I believe that its adoption will make it possible to work more systematically with mandates, and to ensure the participation in it of all the state bodies and public organizations.

At the same time, it should be borne in mind that a national law will

hardly reflect all of the established practices. Evidently, the basic principles of work with mandates must be further elaborated and concretized in the legislation of the Union Republics.

In conclusion, Leonid Brezhnev expressed confidence that the Soviets would learn much from the experience of Byelorussia. We shall continue to show the whole country the best examples of work done by Soviets, he said, and we shall continue to promote new trends which are becoming widely established in running the affairs of the state.

Having approved the valuable experience of Byelorussian Soviets of People's Deputies in handling their electors' mandates, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR adopted a resolution instructing the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the local Soviets of People's Deputies of Byelorussia to take measures further to improve the work of state bodies, enterprises, institutions and organizations in considering and carrying out mandates and to eliminate existing shortcomings in this work. The Presidiums of the Supreme Soviets of the Union Republics and local Soviets of People's Deputies have been recommended, in conformity with the Soviet Constitution and drawing on the experience of Byelorussian Soviets, to further improve the handling of electors' mandates. Ministries and departments and heads of enterprises, institutions and organizations have been advised to pay constant attention to the consideration and carrying out of electors' mandates related to their field of activities.

The Presidium discussed the results of the visit of the USSR Supreme Soviet's delegation to the United States. A report on the visit was delivered by Boris Ponomaryov, alternate member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Soviet of Nationalities in the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. Boris Ponomaryov described meetings in the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives where a wide range of problems related to the current international situation and Soviet-American relations was discussed. The two sides also discussed progress in working out strategic arms limitation agreements, halting the arms race, the situation in the Middle East and the Horn of Africa, and other issues. The Supreme Soviet delegation clearly and precisely stated the Soviet position on a new SALT agreement and emphasized its importance for relations between the two countries and also for making progress across a wide front of disarmament. The delegation pointed to the need for all parliaments

which respected the wishes of their electorates to counter the activities of the opponents of détente and disarmament.

This problem was also taken in the speech of Z.P. Pukhova, member of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, who was a member of the Supreme Soviet delegation.

Summing up the discussions, Leonid Brezhnev said:

The trips of the delegations of our country's supreme body of power abroad, the development of contacts with parliamentarians, with statesmen of other countries hold an important place in the foreign-policy activities of the Soviet Union. We are also establishing such contacts with the U.S. Congress, which is, doubtlessly, of substantial significance.

As one can see from the delegation's report, Comrade Ponomaryov and our other comrades have carried out useful work in the United States.

The foundation of our country's relations with the USA has been laid, as is known, by a whole series of agreements and accords, reached in the past several years as a result of summit level negotiations. Possibilities have been created for deepening and expanding USSR-USA cooperation. But today, unfortunately, one has to state that the road to such cooperation is still obstructed by all kinds of obstacles. They are put up by forces that are interested neither in good-neighborly USSR-USA relations, nor in the relaxation of international tension in general.

How is this expressed concretely?

Let us take, for instance, the strategic arms limitation talks. Notable progress has been reached. At the same time it is clear that there are some in the U.S. who would like to retard these negotiations, to prevent their successful conclusion.

We have outlined our position repeatedly and in different forms both to the White House, and to the U.S. Congress. It is clear, consistent and definitive. I shall not indulge here in repetition. I will just stress once again that we stand for the earliest conclusion of the talks on the principles of equal security. Following the signing of a new strategic arms limitation agreement, it will be possible to go over to the next stage. This would be a real breakthrough on the road toward a military détente. We would like to hope that responsible figures in the U.S. realize how much is at stake.

Or still another negative circumstance. I mean the plans for the manufacture of the neutron weapon, and its deployment in Europe. The realization of such plans, so attractive to bellicose circles in the

USA, would substantially complicate the situation. The Soviet proposal on the reciprocal renunciation of the manufacture of neutron weapons is well known. There is only one alternative to giving up the manufacture of this weapon — a new qualitative leap in the lethal arms race. It is impossible not to see this.

No small element in Soviet-American relations is our economic, scientific and technical cooperation. However, here too, the artificially created difficulties are far from being overcome. They are mainly connected with the well-known decisions of the U.S. Congress, which we justly regard as an attempt to interfere in our affairs.

In other words, comrades, at present a period has come in Soviet-American relations which requires new efforts to impart dynamism and a more constructive character to these relations. The Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Congress of the USA could, of course, play their respective roles in this matter.

On our instructions the delegation of the Supreme Soviet has invited a delegation of the U.S. Congress to arrive in the USSR on a reply visit. That is a good thing. We have already received such delegations and realize their usefulness.

In conclusion, comrades, I would like to stress once again that we regard Soviet-American relations as an important element of the general international course of the Soviet state, a course toward strengthening peace, ending the arms race, toward developing equitable and mutually advantageous cooperation among states.

Having approved the work carried out by the delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet in the USA, the Presidium noted in its decision that contacts between the Supreme Soviet and the Congress are an important factor promoting cooperation among our countries in the interests of the Soviet and American peoples, of deepening détente, of strengthening international peace and security. The Presidium confirmed the invitation to the Senate and the House of Representatives of the U.S. Congress to send their delegations to the USSR on official visits.

The session of the Presidium discussed a plan for measures to be carried out by the Supreme Soviet in 1978. A report on the plan was presented by V.V. Kuznetsov. He outlined the plan and emphasized that it was based on the provisions and principles of the Soviet Constitution and the tasks which the CPSU Central Committee plenums and Leonid Brezhnev set for the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and its bodies.

A plan for the work of the permanent commissions of the Soviet of

the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet in 1978 was presented by M.P. Georgadze, Secretary of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The Presidium noted the plans and recommended that in preparing and discussing appropriate questions the permanent commissions should pay particular attention to the implementation of the principles of the Soviet Constitution, the enhancement of efficiency of social production and improvement of quality of work, and the further strengthening of socialist law and order and state discipline.

The Presidium also discussed a number of other problems.

Pravda, February 25, 1978

STATEMENT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY OF TURKEY

Bulent Ecevit, Chairman of the Republican People's Party, who has been entrusted with forming the new government, has published a list of its members. In the new Cabinet, the RPP won 22 ministerial posts, the "Independents" who split from the Justice Party, 10, the Republican Reliance Party, two, and the Democratic Party won one ministerial post.

In a governmental statement Ecevit stressed that the key problems facing his government are to ensure the upholding of law and order and confidence in the morrow and to improve the economy.

The statements made by the various alliances and organizations after the governmental statement noted that the government faces serious problems. Attention centered on the following facts: the country is in the throes of a profound crisis; unemployment and inflation are snowballing; the fascist forces are stepping up their activities; the people have no confidence in the morrow; the state organs and universities have been seized by fascist elements; the people demand urgent measures for the solution of these problems.

The statements emphasized that in the present circumstances special importance attaches to united actions of all progressive and national-democratic forces. Achievement of such unity stands high on the agenda.

Below we print a statement of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkey in connection with the formation of a new government.

The Demirel coalition which leaned on the reactionary and fascist forces has been defeated. Its positions were eroded by the deep economic, political and social crisis which it itself had aggravated, and by the struggle of the workers and broad masses of working people against the imperialist yoke, collaborationist monopoly bourgeoisie, poverty, unemployment, high cost of living and against the fascist elements which, encouraged by the Demirel coalition, have stepped up their activities. All this led to its downfall. An eloquent example of such struggle is the prolonged strike organized by the steel workers' trade union and the democratic forces' solidarity with it.

From the very first day of the reactionary-fascist coalition government the Communist Party of Turkey explained to the people that this government would only bring them hunger, bloodshed and tears. The communists called for joint struggle of the working class, the people, all anti-imperialist, democratic and progressive forces to overthrow it and to form a democratic government. Developments have confirmed the correctness of the Communist Party's policy.

The imperialist circles and the collaborationist bourgeoisie sought a new solution to the crisis, which consisted primarily in the NATO-oriented circles and monopolies demanding that the Republican People's Party and the Justice Party be included in the government. The Ecevit government represents a step in that direction. Represented in it are such anti-communists as Sukan and Feyzioglu and figures acting as the Justice Party's Trojan horse in the government. It is these very elements which facilitated the activation of fascism.

The dominant positions in this government belong to the rightward leaning top leadership of the Republican People's Party. Instead of uniting with the forces that fought the reactionary fascist coalition, with the workers, the working people and all progressive forces, the leaders of the Republican People's Party embarked on a road of cooperation with the collaborationist bourgeoisie and internal reaction in the interests of the imperialist circles. At the same time they sought to establish control over the working class, its trade union movement and above all over the Confederation of Revolutionary Workers (DISK), to throttle the working-class movement and impose on it a policy of class cooperation. The working class, however, saw

through these maneuvers. It knows that the Ecevit government includes enemies of the workers and the popular masses.

The unremitting class struggles, mass actions and demonstrations, and the results of the recent elections leave no doubt as to the kind of government our people demand. The crisis can be overcome only by eliminating the causes engendering it. That is why an anti-imperialist, anti-fascist program and policy is so badly needed, that is why a government of national and democratic forces is so badly needed.

What should the program of such a government be like? Its key points are: withdrawal from the militarist, political and financial organizations of imperialism, from NATO, CENTO and the European Community, renunciation of bilateral agreements, dismantling of imperialist bases on our territory, an end to the arms race, pull back of our troops from Cyprus, prohibition of deployment in our country of such new types of mass destruction weaponry as the neutron bomb, Turkey's liberation from the yoke of the consortiums and the International Monetary Fund, establishment of mutually beneficial peaceful, friendly, multilateral ties with other countries. Above all it is essential to purge the state apparatus of reactionary and fascist elements, call to account those guilty of bloody plots, malpractice, embezzlement, and to ban the fascist "Nationalist Movement Party" and fascist bands, disband the "commandos," repeal fascist legislation and to annul the ban on the Communist Party, release political prisoners, forbid lockouts, ensure the right to a general strike, ensure all trade union, democratic and social rights of the workers and all working people, freedom of education and guaranteed means of livelihood for the youth, and to grant equal rights to the Kurdish population. It is essential to nationalize the imperialist and collaborationist capital, develop national heavy industry and implement a democratic land reform. Our people are fighting for a government capable of implementing the above program. A government that refuses to implement such a program cannot count on a long life.

A program enabling our country to extricate itself from the crisis can be implemented only by a national, democratic front of all the anti-imperialist, anti-fascist forces, coming out for freedom and progress. It can be realized only by uniting our people for struggle. It is essential that, together with the communists, the leftward oriented patriotic elements in the Republican People's Party, the socialist parties which advocate unity, the patriotic-minded army, NCOs and officers, all those who love their country, who seek the happiness and well-being of the people should take part in such a front. The Com-

Communist Party is fighting to unite the working class, laboring masses, middle strata, the majority of the nation in a national-democratic front.

The struggle of the working class and the people as a whole for freedom and democracy, for national independence and social liberation goes on. The Communist Party of Turkey is marching in the front ranks of this struggle.

Central Committee,
Communist Party of Turkey

January 6, 1978

*Information Bulletin of the Communist
Party of Turkey, January 15, 1978*



Understanding Marxism

A CANADIAN INTRODUCTION

FRANK CUNNINGHAM

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TORONTO, ONTARIO M5V 2P6 368-5336

PAPERBACK \$4.95

FROM THE PRESS

FOLLOWING THE SAME OLD LINE

The First Session of the National People's Congress (NPC), Fifth Convocation, which opened in Peking on February 26, concluded its work on March 5. It adopted amendments to the PRC Constitution and the "Main Provisions of the PRC's Ten-Year National Economic Development Plan for 1976-1985."

The report on the government's work, delivered by Hua Kuo-feng, says that in recent years "a sharp and complex class struggle and a struggle between two lines" has been waged in the People's Republic of China. Removal of the "four" was "a great victory in this struggle." Hua Kuo-feng called it a "major task" at present and in the immediate future to continue and carry out to the end the struggle against the "gang of four" and its supporters.

The session reaffirmed the slogan of implementing in China the so-called "four modernizations," which include, apart from the objectives of developing the economy and science, the building of a "modern defense system" with the view of turning China into a "great, strong power" by the end of the century.

Touching on the PRC's foreign policy, Hua Kuo-feng said that the Chinese government intends to follow the Maoist concept of "three worlds" and to implement the "foreign policy line of Mao Tse-tung." In this connection he repeated the customary anti-Soviet attacks and the Maoist slogan of creating "the broadest united front of struggle against superpower hegemony."

Commenting on the results of the NPC session, the world press notes that the foreign-policy line of the Chinese leadership remains the same. "In recent years the formulations have not changed," *L'Humanité* writes, "and the PRC continues to portray the USSR as its main enemy, to the great satisfaction of U.S. imperialism." Observers stress that the program of "four modernizations" contains an "obvious contradiction between the call to bring the PRC into the ranks of the economically advanced countries by the end of the century, and its declared course of 'preparing for the eventuality of war.'" Moreover, as emphasized by the Japanese press for

instance, the program stresses primarily the modernization of China's armed forces. This is evidenced by the fact that at the very first session of the NPC Standing Committee on March 7, a decision was adopted to prolong the term of military service. The new system, the decision notes, is designed to "strengthen the combat ability of the army."

The Maoist leadership's aggressive policy is turning them into politically like-minded allies of the imperialists. This is noted in particular in a commentary by the Bulgarian communists' daily *Rabotnichesko Delo*, which we print below.

PEKING SUPPORTS THE BARBAROUS WEAPON

World opinion is well aware that the neutron weapon is the offspring of an inhuman military doctrine — which lauds the fact that it annihilates people, while preserving their property — and that it is designed more for the destruction of civilians than of combatants. The "luckiest" will die immediately, but large numbers will be doomed to a slow death after weeks or months of agony, as a result of the radiation. That is why people pronounce the words "neutron bomb" with such anger and indignation, that is the reason for the anxious calls to take vigorous action against the spread of this new weapon. A wave of protest is sweeping across all continents. The campaign to collect signatures, the demonstrations and meetings have reached a level far exceeding all previous public movements to ban mass destruction weapons.

And at a moment when the Pentagon and other aggressive militarist forces were running out of arguments to justify production of the inhuman weapon, the Maoists have come to their aid. "The neutron bomb is not so bad," the *Jenminjihpao* wrote recently. The Hsinhua Agency on its part declared that it "fully supports" the statements of M. Werner, representative of the CDU/CSU in the FRG Bundestag, insisting on a speedy production of this bomb. To "motivate" their stand, the Peking leaders are repeating the imperialists' insinuations of an imaginary "Soviet threat." They assert that their "concern" for the fate of Western Europe, allegedly threatened by Soviet "aggression," impels them to approve the plans to arm NATO with neutron weapons.

The present Chinese leaders are following the adventurist foreign policy line of Mao Tse-tung which endangers peace and is designed to aggravate the international situation. The Maoists see the equipping of NATO troops in Western Europe with neutron weapons as an act

which is bound to worsen relations between the socialist community countries and those of Western Europe. This will heighten the danger of a military confrontation on our continent, which is what the Maoists would like to see. They contend that a thermonuclear war between the Soviet Union and the United States, with China remaining on the sidelines, would bring nearer the primary aim of their great-power policy, that of world domination.

By inciting Western politicians and generals to a new and highly dangerous stage of the arms race, the Maoists seek to push humanity to a thermonuclear catastrophe, hoping they alone would stand to gain. That is why all honest people on our planet denounce Peking's provocative policy which endangers their fundamental right, the right to life, and demand the banning of the inhuman bomb.

Rabotnichesko Delo, March 9, 1978

CARTER'S AFRICAN STRATEGY

Henry Winston

National Chairman, Communist Party USA

Stressing the connection between monopoly's drive to reverse the struggle against inequality at home and its strategy to contain the liberation struggles in southern Africa, Henry Winston says:

At home the administration opposes policies that would advance the goals of Black and other oppressed minorities, and of all working people, while it simultaneously helps to sustain racist minority rule in South Africa. Together with its NATO allies, the U.S. continues to support the apartheid South African regime not only as a counterweight and constant threat to those fighting for independence in Africa, but also to those who have won it.

It becomes increasingly apparent that the Carter-Brzezinski domestic and foreign policies, no matter how they may differ in style from those of former occupants of the White House, continue to be shaped by what is "acceptable" to U.S. imperialism. This continuity, instead of a break with the Ford, Nixon and Johnson policies is revealed in debates now in progress between influential supporters and influential opponents of the administration.

One highly revealing example of this occurred when former Secretary of State Kissinger appeared in an hour-long TV special, delivering

a cold-war style declaration of opposition to the right of the Italian and French people to choose a government unacceptable to Washington. The very next day President Carter pronounced a similar view. This shows U.S. imperialism's disregard for the sovereignty of even its European allies.

The continuity of aims from Nixon-Kissinger to Carter-Brzezinski is, of course, more sharply expressed in U.S. strategy in Africa, the Mideast and elsewhere in the "third world."

When Brzezinski tries to obliterate the Palestinian people's right to self-determination by asserting, "Forget about the Palestine Liberation Organization," even the Carter Administration's vaunted difference in style evaporates. As the U.S. maneuvers to impose the status of an "entity" on the Palestinian people in order to deprive them of their national rights, and as it promotes various neo-colonialist substitutes for liberation in southern Africa, one sees that today's foreign policies are nothing more than an updated version of domestic policies that have accounted for the history of Black oppression in the United States.

In its actions against Ethiopia, Angola, Mozambique and the Black majorities of South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia, the Carter Administration repeatedly demonstrates that Africans have no rights imperialism is bound to respect. Previous administrations made the same point over and over — for example, in the Congo with the assassination of Lumumba.

The affinity in content between the Carter-Brzezinski and Nixon-Kissinger policies is revealed time and again. For example, in an article in the *Atlantic Monthly* in October 1977, George W. Ball, former Undersecretary of State, takes issue with the Carter policies in Africa. In a subsequent issue of *Foreign Policy* (January 1978), Clyde Ferguson and William R. Cotter take issue with Ball, supplying the fullest exposition of Carter's South African policy that has yet appeared.

"Our difference with Mr. Ball, then," Ferguson and Cotter state, "lies not in defining the proper American goal, but rather in spelling out the tactics to achieve it."

Even when Ferguson and Cotter appear to have substantive differences with Ball, examination shows this not to be the case: they are spelling out tactical variants the better to pursue the agreed upon "proper American goal." For example, they state:

"An approach to our dilemmas regarding South Africa that has had particular appeal to some Americans in the past decade is a policy of

'communication' with South Africa's whites to persuade them to change their ways. Henry Kissinger and Richard Nixon officially opted for this policy in choosing Option 2 of National Security Study Memorandum (NSSM) in 1970. A notable contemporary argument for this has been enunciated in an article by former Undersecretary of State George Ball . . .

"It is our contention, however, that an updated version of the communication policy will not foster the major U.S. objective regarding South Africa — a transition to a just power-sharing with a minimum of violence."

Cotter's and Ferguson's call for a move away from the limitations of a policy of "communication" only with South Africa's whites is a tactic fully in line with imperialism's aims. This is revealed in their definition of a "proper American objective" in South Africa: a "transition to just power-sharing." To speak of "just power-sharing" between the South African majority and the apartheid fascist minority regime is not to present a goal for liberation but a diversion from it!

The Carter Administration's policies, defended by Ferguson and Cotter, reflect certain tactical differences as compared to the policies of previous administrations — since U.S. imperialism is increasingly compelled to take into account such facts as its defeat in Indochina, the smashing of the Portuguese empire in Africa, as well as the new levels of anti-imperialist struggle throughout the African continent.

But the present administration's tactical adjustment to the impact of the struggles for majority rule in South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia does not preclude its continuation of the Kissinger policy of "communication" with the racist minority rulers of southern Africa.

What real difference is there between the present administration's policies and those of previous ones, when these policies were and are designed to enable U.S. imperialism to play the determining role in the continuation of "communication" with South Africa's apartheid regime?

The liberation forces of South Africa demand an end to "communication" with racist regimes. What they call for is not communication but excommunication of the white minority apartheid regimes in southern Africa. What they demand is military, economic, trade and cultural sanctions against these regimes.

Inasmuch as the U.S. was compelled to vote with the UN majority for an embargo on military weapons for South Africa, U.S. weapons now simply move into South Africa via an arrangement with Iran and Saudi-Arabia. Moreover, the United States and its British and French

allies continue to update military supplies to South Africa. And the support of Israel and the Federal Republic of Germany to South Africa's development of nuclear weapons — aided also by U.S. government connivance — will soon be acknowledged in a book to be issued by *The New York Times'* publishing company.

As the record shows, the U.S. defies the UN embargo on military aid to South Africa. U.S. trade, investment, aid, and political and cultural "communication" with the white minority rulers continues. Instead of departing from old forms of "communication," the administration has stepped them up. "Communication" now includes official visits from Walter Mondale, who is in charge of African policy for the administration, as well as from Andrew Young.

At home Ambassador Young cultivates a "militant" image. But last spring in Johannesburg, Young met with a group of businessmen (a few of them Black businessmen who profit from apartheid) brought together by multimillionaire mining operator Harry Oppenheimer. At this meeting, Young "used the moderate language of the Chamber of Commerce," reported the *Washington Post* (May 22, 1977).

Declaring that South Africa's future lies in the market-place, Young called for the "sharing" of power. By implying that the goal of South Africa's oppressed should be to "share" power with the oppressor instead of continuing the fight for Black majority rule, Young affronted the memory of the martyrs of Sharpeville and Soweto.

At home Vice-President Mondale cultivates a "liberal" image. He quickly lost it in South Africa last fall. After some initial rhetoric about "one man, one vote," he assured the South African newspaper, the *Rand Daily Mail*, that the United States has no formula or timetable for change in South Africa. This was reported in a *New York Times'* article titled "Mondale Eases South Africa Stance" (October 18, 1977).

Although this type of "communication" in South Africa continues apace, there has been no "communication" with those who uphold the demands of the liberation movement. There has been no "communication" with Nelson Mandela and the other African National Congress leaders serving life terms on Robben Island, nor with the Congress leaders in exile.

Abridged from *Daily World*, February 18, 1978

A REVOLUTIONARY VANGUARD PARTY

Sandor Jakab

*Central Committee member and head of the CC HSWP
Department of Party Building*

DEVELOPMENT OF OUR SOCIALIST SOCIETY AND THE QUESTION OF PARTY MEMBERSHIP

In waging a principled political struggle for the creation of a party of a new type, Lenin was adamant on the question of who could be a member of the party, on the conditions of joining its ranks. The success of the party's activities depend largely — along with the Marxist-Leninist platform — on its social composition, on how effectively its membership can implement its policy. The social structure of the party, in turn, determines to a great extent the possibility for the working class to implement its leading role, the unity of the party itself, and fulfillment of its revolutionary vanguard role. The touchstone of the party's attractive force, its influence in the masses and ability to organize them is the character of its membership growth. Changes in the party's social composition actually reflect changes in society. It is essential therefore that leading party bodies — from the meeting of the primary organizations up to the party congress — systematically study the shaping of its social composition, inasmuch as only thus can they properly check on whether the character of the party meets the demands of social development at each given moment. Moreover, it is an imperative condition of the party's implementation of its leading role.

The conditions for party membership, the demands made on present and future members, also determine the tempo of membership growth.

Experience shows that the formation of our membership and the work involved in admitting new members were determined in each case by political feasibility. After its legalization in the wake of the country's liberation, the Communist Party was transformed in a few years into a mass party with a membership running into hundreds of thousands. This was the result of persistent political struggle and

Excerpt from the author's pamphlet "Exchange of Party Cards: a Means of Strengthening the Party," put out by the Party publishing house in Budapest in 1977.

organizational work. At the time many held that the only condition under which the party could fulfill its historic mission was to limit it to a small number of experienced, educated and steeled members. However, the leadership was aware that the creation of a so-called cadre party would be an erroneous step, as it would separate the party from the masses, thereby weakening it, which would favor only the sectarian forces. To take over power, to hold it and to direct the implementation of major social transformations a few thousand people are insufficient. Therefore the principles of party building and, consequently, the admittance of new members should take account of the concrete situation, and the party acted accordingly.

The struggle for power impelled the party to open relatively wide its doors to those wishing to join its ranks, and at times it even resorted to a mass admittance of new members. During such a period anybody (naturally with the exception of the exploiters) who agreed with its policy could join it. Our party advanced a program for the reconstruction of the country and establishment of a people's democratic system. Its policy reflected the interests of the working people who in consequence actively helped it in translating this policy into reality. The party invited people to join it, induced the workers, working peasantry, and progressive intelligentsia to join in revolutionary activity. Party organizations appeared, above all and in the greatest numbers, in industrial centers with a working-class movement tradition, in the working-class urban districts, in areas populated primarily by poor peasants, where there had formerly been peasant movements. Among the first to join the party were the veterans of the glorious Hungarian Socialist Republic, former underground workers, who had staunchly fought against Horthy fascism, members of the international brigades, partisans. Their example was followed by workers, working people, the youth and women who had faith in the party's policy. The party's successful fulfillment of its aims prompted the masses to join its ranks. Thanks to effective organizational work party membership in February 1945 stood at 30,000, in May 1945 at 150,000, in September 1946 at 653,000 and in June 1948 at 885,000.

At the moment of the merger of the two large workers' parties* the membership amounted to well over one million (about 13 per cent of the population). The great majority were the best sons and daughters of the working class and the laboring peasantry. But in view of the

*In 1948 the Communist Party and Social-Democratic Party merged in what came to be called the Hungarian Workers' Party. In 1956 the HWP was renamed the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. — Ed.

party's rapid growth, a sizeable petty-bourgeois contingent inevitably got into the party, many of whom were guided solely by their own narrow self-seeking aims. The intensification of this tendency after the merger of the two parties — in fact with the working class coming to power — increased the danger. Therefore the Hungarian Workers' Party decided to temporarily stop admittance of new members, and in 1948-1949 it conducted a purge of its ranks. As a result, party membership was reduced to 880,000. The purge was a necessary measure, but in executing it there were mistakes and distortions. Ideological-political education was often replaced by administrative methods, and unjustified intolerance increased. In the 50s political distrust reached a broad scale and there was a search for the class enemy even inside the party. This erroneous political conception greatly affected the party's social composition, its organizational unity and united actions and its prestige among the masses. Almost a third of the membership was changed: in 1948-1956 some 350,000 people were excluded from the party, while 330,000 new members were admitted. In some year around 50 to 60 thousand were expelled, including many who criticized negative phenomena in the party's policy or spoke out against violation of the norms of party life, against the use of administrative measures.

Our party remained a numerous party even in those years — and its social composition reflected the structural characteristics of society — but there were serious contradictions in the work of admitting new members. That is why a part of the membership remained passive during the 1956 counter-revolutionary events, vacillated, was frightened and did not rise in defense of socialism. At the same time thousands of non-party working people defended the socialist system along with the staunch communists.

In reorganizing the party after the defeat of the counter-revolution in 1956, the Leninist norms were consistently implemented. At the National Conference of the HSWP in June 1957, it was stressed in relation to party building that the repeated shocks sustained by the party, particularly the counter-revolutionary putsch, and the experience gained since then show that it is best to have members who are prepared to actively champion its cause, rather than hundreds of thousands of "well-wishers" and "sympathizers" who vacillate at a difficult moment. The conference called attention to the fact that in the interests of a stronger party it is essential to intensify the Marxist-Leninist education of the membership, and to admit to the

party working people directly engaged in production, workers, the laboring peasantry and the best among the intelligentsia.

The party emerged smaller in numbers from the struggle against the counter-revolution, but stronger in terms of its social composition and the membership's fidelity to its cause.

The decision reached by the National Conference that non-party people could be appointed to any job with the exception of party work, helped to strengthen party unity. The adoption of this principle ensured that no one would apply for party membership from considerations of personal advantage or careerism.

In working for its political consolidation, the party sought to ensure that the working class is properly represented in its ranks. From this standpoint importance attaches to the 1958 Central Committee decision on the status of the working class, a decision which resulted in closer ties between the party and the workers, enhancing its influence among them.

In 1958-1961 the membership grew relatively fast, which pointed to a growing social and political activity. During these years membership increased by approximately 7 per cent annually. The party's social composition remained virtually unchanged; the number of worker and peasant members went up but their proportion remained the same.

The rate of membership growth gradually fell, beginning with 1961. This is to be explained by two causes. One is that the heightened political activity in evidence during the socialist reconstruction of agriculture later slackened somewhat. Another reason is that the March 1961 Central Committee resolution instructed party organizations to set higher demands on the admittance of new members and put an end to the practice that was expedient in the period of intensified development of the production-cooperative movement (direct admission to the party, etc.).

Beginning with 1962, in conditions of a well-balanced policy, party membership grew uniformly. The share of workers by brain increased, which attested to their drawing nearer to the party.

The 10th HSWP Congress (1970) stressed the need to strictly adhere to the requirements of admittance to the party. It denounced the practice of seeking only numerical growth, and pointed out that only the best from each class and stratum should be recruited. However, due to an erroneous approach, mistakes were committed in fulfilling this decision. The average annual growth rate went up from 3-3.5 per cent to 4.6-5 per cent, but the share of workers dropped despite overall membership increase. To change this situation, the

Central Committee in November 1972 resolved to resort temporarily to administrative measures. It established a nationwide 3 per cent norm of annual admittance of new members. Simultaneously the Central Committee defined the percentage of workers among the new members: two-thirds of them should be workers engaged primarily at big enterprises. This measure was implemented over a period of two years and led to a favorable balance in the membership with respect to occupation.

By the 11th Congress (1975) there were 753,000 members in the party. The growth rate remained the same as in previous years but positive changes had occurred in its composition: the proportion of workers and younger members had gone up and the overall general political educational level had risen.

After the congress — in 1975-1976 — new members were admitted in accordance with the Central Committee decision, that is, the rate of growth corresponded to the average of the previous years and the majority of the newly admitted were workers. As a result, the membership increased by 13,000, bringing it to 766,000 by December 31, 1976. This is equal to almost 10 per cent of the adults and approximately 7.5 per cent of the entire population.

A VANGUARD, MASS PARTY

A fundamental question that requires clarification is the question of a vanguard and mass party. It is impossible, of course, to determine an optimal membership level that would correspond to each given period or situation.

Party membership, its growth rate, and the question of its composition are regularly examined by congresses and elective organs, which adopt decisions in accordance with political expediency. Optimal party membership is determined by a number of factors: the social structure of society, the maturity of class relations, specific historical development, specific political and ideological conditions, immediate objectives in society's development, urgent political tasks and aims of the party, etc. The interconnection and interrelation of these factors should be examined in their totality, inasmuch as only on such a basis is it possible to define expedient, optimal party membership levels commensurate with its vanguard character.

A general requirement is that the party should through its organizations embrace the entire society, all major political, economic and cultural institutes, and to ensure, also with their aid, its leading role,

the continuous action of the mechanism of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In all spheres of political life social practice confirms that the party is in the van of the working class and simultaneously, in view of its numerical strength, it is a mass party. In such a context the concept of a mass party signifies that its members constitute a substantial part of the economically active population and that the composition of the party should approximately reflect the social structure of society.

Another fundamental requirement is that the distinction between the vanguard and the masses should not be blurred, i.e., that the party members by their ideological grounding, political awareness, activity and moral behavior should stand at a higher level than the rest of the working people. The party's mass character, naturally, does not rule out the fact that it should constitute the vanguard of the working class. More, in examining this process we can say that the Communist Party first became a mass party of the working class and only then, a party of all working people.

If the party irrespective of its social composition really unites the most conscious members of society, those who have grasped the historic aims of the working class and are fighting for them, then the vanguard character and the mass character of the party do not contradict each other. The point is that despite its large membership, the party does not become dissolved in society, but remains a leading and directing force, fulfilling its historic mission and ensuring implementation of the interests of the working class and the whole of society.

The HSWP has used the concept "party of the working people" ever since 1957. At the time this concept had, like a slogan, expressed the party's understanding of its role, its relation to the working people. The party sought in this way to clarify (as has been invariably confirmed since at its congresses) that it sees its leading role not in domination, but in serving the working class and the working people as a whole, while considering itself not only the leader of the working people, but a weapon and an instrument of the struggle of the working class, of all working people. The concept "party of the working people" reflects the close connection between the party and the masses, as well as the fact that the people have always seen its policy as their own.

In the program statement adopted at the 11th Congress, the party, analyzing the objectives of building a developed socialist society, charted the prospects of its own development. The party is, as the

above document notes, a living organism closely interacting with social processes. Accordingly, by influencing the transformations taking place in the life of society, it directs them through a policy elaborated on the basis of knowledge of the laws of social development, while constantly developing and changing itself in the process. We can consider as a theoretical formulation of the process that will take place in the life of the party in the next 15-20 years the provision of the program statement according to which as the differences between the classes and strata of society disappear, in the course of the further development of society, the party will gradually be transformed into the Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the entire people. This transformation has already begun, and under its impact the features of our party which point to the fact that, while retaining its class essence, it is at the same time gradually becoming a party of the entire people, are becoming ever more clearly defined. The road to this goal now lies through the further strengthening of the vanguard character and leading role of the party and its ties with the masses.

IN BRIEF

GILBERTO VIEIRA ON THE ELECTION RESULTS

The February 26 elections to the Congress "bore the imprint of the emergency situation which the two-party government used against the opposition in the interests of their own candidates," Gilberto Vieira, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Colombia, writes in the weekly *Voz Proletaria*. The Maoists and groupings siding with them adopted a negative approach to such important issues as strengthening the united actions of the Colombian working class at the present stage and solidarity with the historical vanguard of Latin America — socialist Cuba. This made it impossible to set up an election alliance of all left forces.

We can hail the election results of our revolutionary coalition, the CPC General Secretary writes. The election campaign helped to clarify our ideological platform, and signified in many respects an important step forward for the UNO-ANAPO-MIL coalition.

Dealing with the new stage of the June 4 presidential and Lesser Constituent Assembly election campaign now under way, the leader

of the Colombian communists notes that attempts are being made to convince public opinion that there is a fundamental difference between the presidential candidates of the Liberal and Conservative parties, and to impose a representative of the Conservatives as a "national candidate."

The left cannot be squeezed into the two-party formula of the ruling class, Vieira notes. He calls on the left to support in every way the candidature of Julio Cesar Pernia, stressing that Pernia is a steeled fighter against the oligarchy and imperialism, a candidate worthy of the support of all left forces.

SPEECH BY FRANZ MUHRI

Addressing a meeting of members and supporters of the CPA in Graz, Franz Muhri, Chairman of the Communist Party of Austria denounced the campaign now under way in Austria, which is designed to exaggerate the significance of the opposition Austrian Freedom Party (AFP). Its representative A. Hetz, Mayor of Graz, having received a big vote at the municipal elections, declared that together with the Austrian People's Party (APP) the AFP will emerge victorious at the 1979 parliamentary elections.

Franz Muhri appealed to all conscious socialists, to all democrats in the APP, to all anti-fascists in the country jointly to come out against the conciliatory policy of the AFP and the APP.

The approaching 40th anniversary of Austria's annexation, Muhri said, should serve as a reminder that lessons should be drawn from that distressing time "which brought so much grief and suffering to our homeland." The AFP is now the only party that still supports German nationalism. The oath to the "German national and cultural spirit," Muhri continued, is at the heart of the AFP program. It is not surprising therefore that this party still has not dissociated itself from neo-fascism and its ideology, which denies the existence of an independent Austrian nation, calling it a "communist invention." The top Socialist Party leadership, hoping to enlist the AFP as a partner in a coalition of bourgeois parties, seeks to represent the AFP as a "liberal and democratic party." It is these dangerous maneuvers that Franz Muhri denounced.



