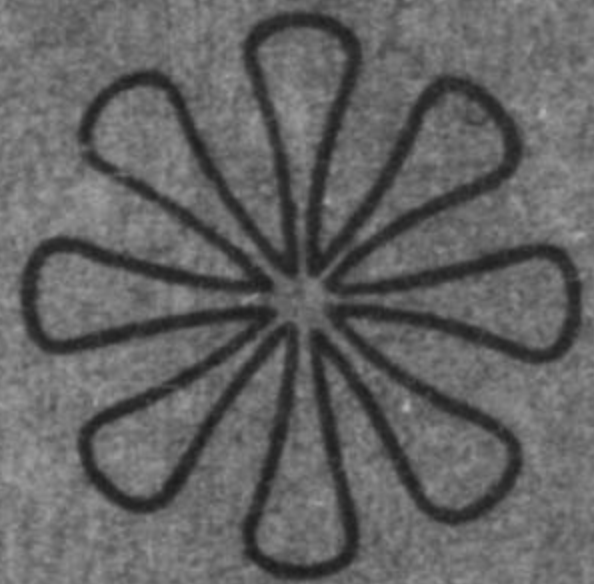


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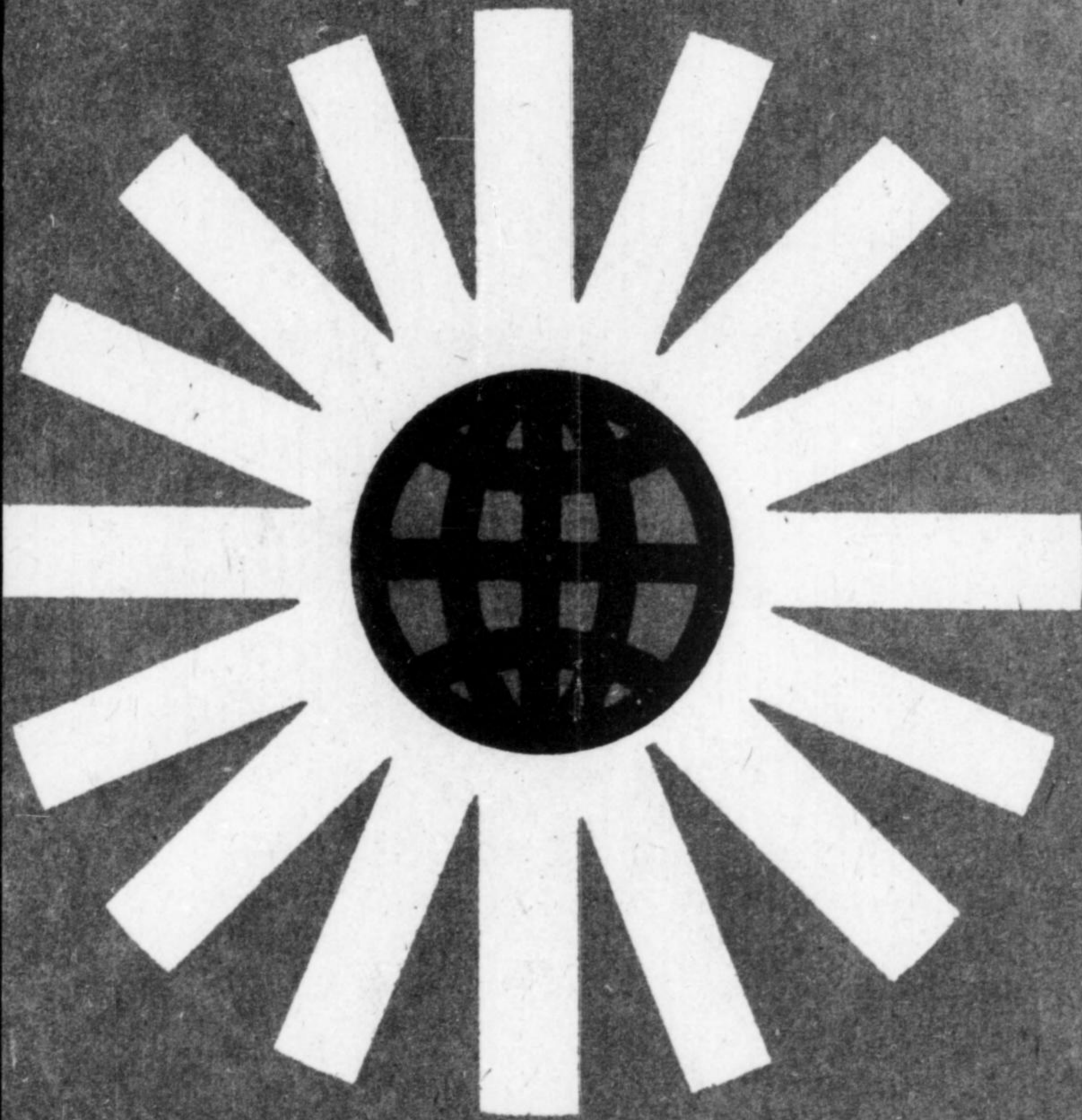


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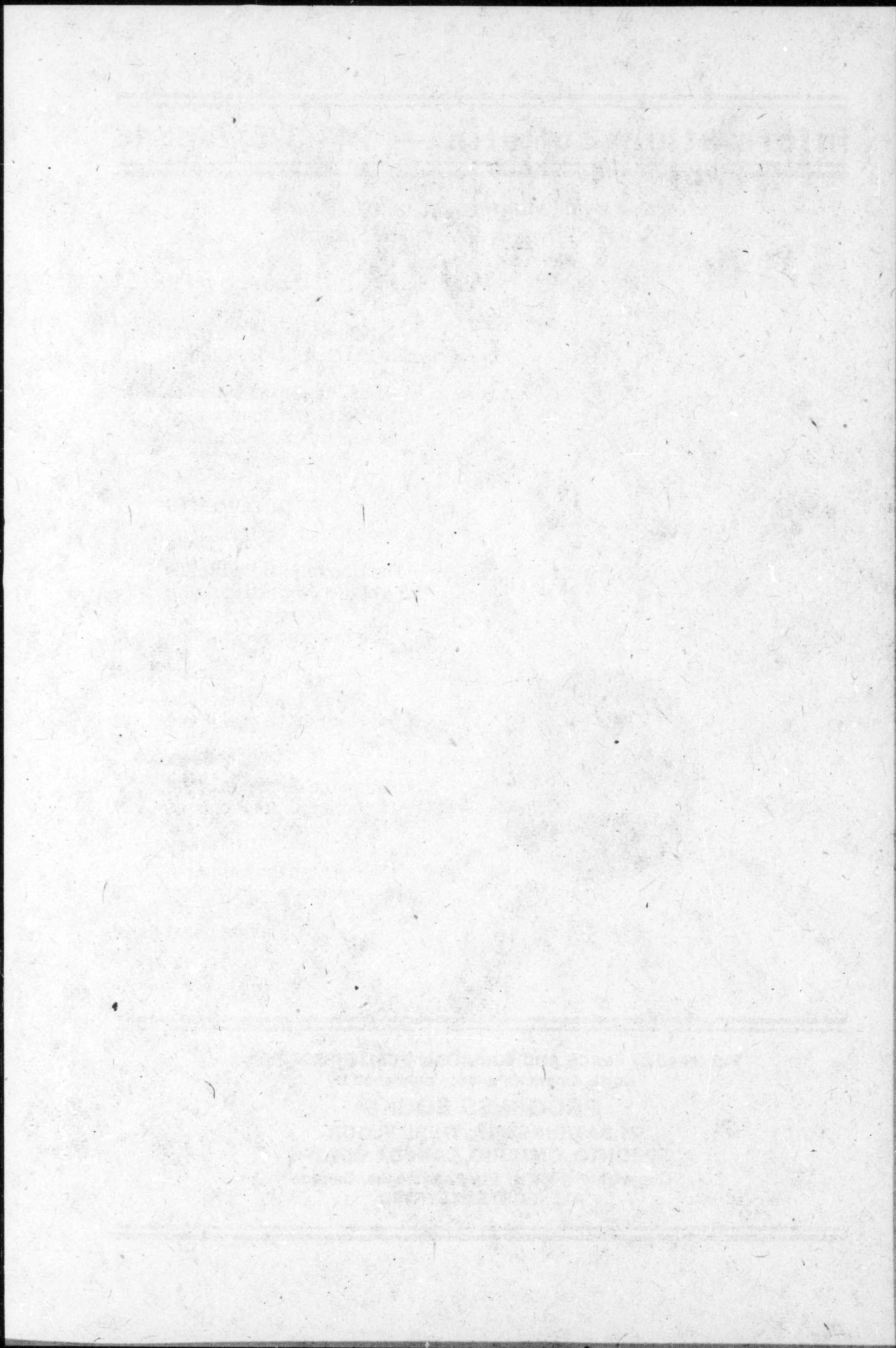
**TALKS BETWEEN
SOVIET UNION
AND VIETNAM**

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THE CREATIVE FORCE OF THE GREAT IDEAS OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

Excerpts from the report by Alexei Kosygin, member of the CC CPSU Political Bureau and Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers at a meeting devoted to the 61st anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, held in Moscow on November 4, 1978.

The October Revolution has become the greatest international event of our time. It generated the mighty upsurge in the struggle for social and national liberation of the peoples, it abolished the monopoly of the imperialist states in world politics, and opened the prospects for the radical transformation of international relations. In the words of Lenin, the October Revolution signified "the first victory in the struggle to abolish war."

For more than six decades now, the foreign policy of the Soviet state has served the lofty ideals of socialism and peace. It is distinguished by its unchanging fidelity to the international principles of the October Revolution, of Lenin's Decree on Peace. This is one of the foundations for the prestige of the foreign policy of our country, of its influence in the international arena.

Close ties of fraternity unite our country with the other countries of the world socialist system. As their economic potential grows, and as they accumulate all-round experience, the countries of the community go over to ever higher levels of cooperation in all fields. In the economic field, we rose in the three decades from the simple agreement of the mutual exchange of commodities to joint planning of long-term integrational projects. In the field of political and defense cooperation, our joint efforts, including those within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty Organization, have become even more coordinated and effective.

The party firmly pursues the course of further strengthening the solidarity and cohesion of socialist countries. Leonid Brezhnev's friendly meetings with leaders of fraternal parties and states, held in the Crimea in July and August, were of much importance in defining the perspectives of our interaction. As was demonstrated by these

meetings once again, in all spheres of cooperation our countries are capable of setting and solving tasks whose scale is determined both by their current requirements and by program aims.

The fraternal countries have demonstrated more than once to the whole world their loyalty to the principles of socialist internationalism. Socialist internationalism is the life-giving source of our solidarity both in peaceful construction and in the defense of the revolutionary gains of the peoples. We want to particularly emphasize this today when thinking of our friends, first of all the heroic Vietnamese people, which is defending its independence, its sovereign rights from Peking's great-power expansionist encroachments. The Soviet people will further cement fraternal friendship with the working people of socialist Vietnam who in complex conditions are confidently building a new society under the leadership of their tested Marxist-Leninist vanguard — the Communist Party of Vietnam. Yesterday we signed a Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation with the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. This treaty will still further strengthen the close bonds of solidarity of the peoples of both countries and their Communist Parties.

The socialist community has become the decisive factor of international security, a reliable ally of the peoples struggling for freedom and independence, against imperialist aggression.

The Soviet Union, the fraternal socialist countries are persistently pressing for an improvement of the international situation, are doing everything possible for détente to acquire a truly irreversible nature. When evaluating what has already been done, we see what tremendous efforts were demanded by this work. But its results are of exceptional importance.

These results are that the overwhelming majority of states recognizes détente as the only reasonable way of consolidating peace that has no alternative. A number of basic principles and rules of just relations between states were recognized and recorded in international documents. Numerous agreements encompassing a wide range of questions of the peaceful cooperation of countries with different social systems were concluded. Noticeable changes for the better have occurred in Europe; peace there has become much stronger, especially after the successful conclusion of the European Conference in Helsinki. Useful experience of the constructive peaceful cooperation of states has been accumulated, and the scope of this cooperation has grown considerably.

These results are important both for the present and for the future

because expressed in them is the process of the filling of détente with material content, the process of the acceleration of détente in international life.

The real achievements of détente evoke the deep satisfaction of all peace-loving forces. On the other hand, they encounter the stubborn resistance of its opponents — the aggressive circles of imperialism which want to prevent a just and democratic solution of international problems and to aggravate the situation. Their dangerous actions and, first of all, the arms race launched by imperialism cause worldwide apprehensions about the destinies of détente. People are concerned by the question: what direction will the development of events follow and is it possible to consolidate and deepen détente as the leading tendency in international life?

Our party holds that such a possibility exists. To achieve this it is necessary through common effort to achieve a breakthrough first of all in the field of military détente. For the present and future of mankind no task is more important than that of ending the arms race and of turning to real disarmament. Without this there will be a further growth of the irretrievable losses of the material and spiritual resources of the peoples. Without this peace cannot be durable and strong.

This task can be accomplished only by an active search by states for mutually-acceptable agreements that would strictly proceed from the principle of undiminished security. That is the starting point which makes it possible to advance to the further relaxation of international tension, toward the solution of the disarmament problem. Such an approach is not only just but also realistic. It will not give unilateral advantages to anyone. And if the questions of détente and of stopping the arms race do not receive lately an appropriate solution, this is due to the designs of aggressive circles in the West to secure unilateral concessions from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries to the detriment of their security and their sovereignty and for attaining military superiority over them.

Such expectations are, of course, very far from reality. The policy of pressure and threats is no good and the Soviet people are not to be intimidated by it. Their peaceful work is reliably protected by our defensive might, by the gallant armed forces of the Soviet Union which have everything necessary to give a crushing rebuff to any aggression against our country, against its allies and friends. While saying this, we do not threaten anyone and do not propose to vie in war preparations. But we shall not allow, of course, the approximate

balance of forces, which has taken shape by now, to be disturbed. Let no one have any doubts about this.

No one who bases himself on facts can reproach the Soviet Union on the insufficiency of its efforts to deepen the relaxation of international tension and to supplement it with measures to ease tension in the military field. There is no question, no measure in the matter of curbing the arms race and achieving disarmament, on which the Soviet Union would not be ready to conclude a mutually acceptable agreement on the terms of equality. This is shown convincingly by the wide range of our initiatives and proposals on the problems of disarmament. The biggest of them were put forward in Leonid Brezhnev's speeches and submitted by the Soviet Union to the Special General Assembly Session on Disarmament for consideration. They cover many key problems of relaxation of military tension ranging from reduction of military confrontation of states and limitation of conventional arms to complete nuclear disarmament.

These are well thought-out and well-considered proposals aimed, just as the whole of our foreign policy, at strengthening world peace. The Soviet Union wants the search for accords on these questions to be supported by the conclusion of a World Treaty on the Non Use of Force in International Relations and an International Convention on Strengthening Guarantees of Security to Non-Nuclear States.

To go ahead in the matter of disarmament the states should see to it that their actions help create a situation of required confidence. Unfortunately, this is not always so. How is one to understand, for instance, when our peace proposals are actually countered by measures of quite a different kind? These measures are well known: they are steps to build up armaments in the United States and the other NATO countries, including plans for the manufacture of neutron weapons, the inordinate swelling of military budgets, the striving to hold back talks with the Soviet Union concerning the relaxation of military tension, and, finally, attempts to arouse distrust in Soviet policy and to spread inventions about the "Soviet menace."

All this cannot but alert. A policy, into the rut of which it is being attempted to place simultaneously the disarmament negotiations and decisions to step up the arms race, cannot but cause concern and anxiety. Can a policy whose purpose of achieving military superiority is being proclaimed openly promote the strengthening of confidence among states? Can Soviet-American relations become more durable and more predictable given such an approach to international affairs? The answer to this question is absolutely clear. The Soviet Union

proposes a different basis for our relations. Its essence is renunciation of attempts to come out from positions of strength, concern for further relaxation of tensions and for consolidation of peace, equality, non-interference in each other's internal affairs. This is at the same time a good basis for the growth of mutual confidence among states, confidence which must grow to be a reliable guarantee against conflicts and wars.

The Soviet Union wants our relations with the United States, as with any other country for that matter, to be an effective factor of peace. For the sake of this we are prepared to do everything depending on us, because we are aware of the importance of our relations for the peoples of both countries, for the overall world situation and for the prospects of settling many international problems.

I should like to express the hope that the efforts now being exerted by both sides at the Soviet-American strategic offensive arms limitation negotiations will be crowned by a mutually acceptable solution of this major problem. Such an agreement, very important in itself, would allow us to make a serious step toward the creation of conditions for levelling up the Soviet-American relations and their subsequent positive development.

We proceed from the premise that both our countries bear a great responsibility for ensuring universal peace and removing the menace of war, and, consequently, both the Soviet Union and the United States must make these actions in international affairs commensurate with the dimensions of this responsibility to all mankind.

This holds absolutely true of all the areas of the world, including, of course, Europe. The American policy of this continent is based for more than three decades now on the invention about the Soviet Union's "aggressiveness" and, in conformity with this invention, on guarantees to the West European NATO members against the so-called "Soviet menace." This myth has grown rather threadbare with the passing of years and faith in it has waned in Western Europe. This is a result of the peace-loving policy of the Soviet Union, other Warsaw Treaty nations, of our major initiatives to strengthen European security. Nonetheless, the NATO leadership continues to fan up fear of the Soviet policy, deliberately distorting its goals. Such a line cannot serve the cause of peace either in Europe, Africa, or anywhere else.

The Soviet Union stands for Europe being really turned into a continent of reliable security and peaceful cooperation in conformity with the goals of the Final Act of the European Conference. In

pursuance of this goal we are developing relations with France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Great Britain, Spain, Finland, Austria, the Scandinavian and other European countries, and also with Canada. The Soviet Union strives to strengthen further the mutually beneficial relations with the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. It is necessary that the ties of international cooperation be multiplied and strengthened, and that trust and mutual understanding among states be increased. It is important that every country, each political worker, who has a feeling of responsibility for his own people, take an active stand in favor of détente not only in word, but also in deed. Such a position will always be met by understanding and support by the Soviet Union.

We are all for the broad development of political, economic, cultural, scientific and technological contacts between all the countries in the world, for uniting also on an international scale the efforts of states to deal with the most complex global problems connected with the rapid growth of population, the satisfaction of the growing demands for food, for raw materials and energy resources, for environmental protection, and for combating diseases. Naturally, as communists, we have our own views on the socio-economic and other prerequisites which are necessary for the most successful settlement of all these questions. But we are prepared for an equal and mutually beneficial cooperation with other countries, irrespective of their social system. Détente is the most important and necessary condition for this, and cooperation among states was and will remain to be its most reliable foundation.

When speaking of the international situation, we cannot but dwell on Peking's activities. While preaching the inevitability of a new world war and fanning anti-Sovietism, the present Chinese leadership has turned to unprincipled aligning with the most reactionary forces of the world. The present constructive tendencies in international relations do not suit it, it can by no means put up with the fact that the relaxation of tensions has struck deep roots in Europe, that the peoples of Asia also want peace and tranquility on their borders. Peking would have liked to upset all this and to carry out its hegemonic plans. Serious thought must be given to all this by those who are endeavoring to align themselves with Peking on the basis of anti-Sovietism.

The Soviet Union perceives the policy of the Chinese leadership such as it is, and assesses it correspondingly. We come out, as before, for the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations, which would meet

the basic interests of the Soviet and Chinese peoples, the cause of peace and international security. We are not opposed, of course, to other countries maintaining normal relations with China. But we cannot close our eyes, as some do, to certain aspects of the Chinese policy and see only those that do not affect their current interests. History teaches us that such an approach is fraught with grave consequences. A policy which has the purpose of destabilizing the world situation cannot but arouse condemnation, it calls for a firm rebuff.

The Soviet Union regards solidarity and cooperation with the peoples struggling for their equal position in the world, against all forms of imperialist diktat, great-power hegemony and neo-colonialism as one of the most important conditions of improving the international situation. An important role in this belongs to the big group of countries participating in the non-alignment movement.

Our ardent sympathies are on the side of the revolutionary peoples of Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Angola, Mozambique and other countries which recently embarked on the road of building a new life. We are on the side of the national patriotic forces of Rhodesia and Namibia, with the courageous fighters against the reactionary and inhuman system of apartheid in the Republic of South Africa.

The Soviet Union invariably sides with the Arab peoples which are rebuffing Israel's expansionist claims. A deep and all-round appraisal of the situation in that part of the world was made by L.I. Brezhnev in his recent speeches. There is only one road to a just peaceful settlement in the Middle East, and that is the road of the full withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied in 1967, of implementing the inalienable rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including the right of self-determination and the creation of its own state, and of ensuring a reliably guaranteed security of all states in the Middle East.

The further development of the world situation will depend, in a large measure, on the activity and unity of all the peace-loving, anti-imperialist forces.

The prestige of the supporters of peace is growing all over the world, and the coordination among all their trends and organizations has become closer. The very broad public campaign against the plans for the production and development of neutron weapons was an example of their joint action.

The role of the international communist movement as the most active and influential potential factor of our time has become stronger in the struggle for a better future for the nations. In many capitalist countries the communists, while leading the struggle of the working

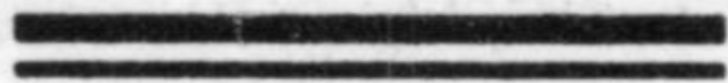
class and of all the working people, have become a major and prestigious force without whose participation it is impossible to resolve a single cardinal question in national life. The communists struggle within the ranks of the national-liberation movement, and they side everywhere with those who resist colonialism, racism and fascist intrigues. Developing the anti-militarist traditions of the international working-class movement, the communists initiate the biggest public actions for peace, détente, for the bridling of the arms race. The communists appeal for united action in the name of peace and social progress to all the political and professional organizations of the working class, to all the democratic and progressive forces.

The foreign policy activity of the party and the government is conducted with account taken of both the positive and the negative aspects in the international situation of our time, and with account taken of the realistic possibilities to achieve, step by step, a change in the situation for the better, for its improvement. The party travels from the premise that the consolidation of the principles of peaceful coexistence, of the in-depth development of détente is not just a temporary process, but a natural line of development. It is the line of progress in international relations.

Just as it is impossible to stop progress in the life of mankind, peaceful coexistence and détente will continue to blaze the way for themselves in spite of possible complications and halts. The ranks of their advocates are growing ever more wide, because mankind's future is not in the arms race, not in destructive wars, but in the broad-scale international cooperation in the name of peace and progress.

Our country, the Soviet people, initiated the course on peaceful coexistence, on détente, and we have spared no effort to translate them into reality. And we shall continue to do everything that is required of us to defend and strengthen this course.

Pravda, November 5, 1978



VISIT TO THE SOVIET UNION OF THE PARTY AND GOVERNMENT DELEGATION OF THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM

A delegation of the Communist Party of Vietnam and the government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam led by Le Duan, CC CPV General Secretary and Pham Van Dong, member of the CC CPV Political Bureau and Prime Minister of SRV government, were on an official friendly visit to the Soviet Union from November 1 to 9, 1978.

During the Soviet-Vietnamese talks in the Kremlin views were exchanged on question of Soviet-Vietnamese cooperation in the political, economic and cultural spheres.

As a result of the talks a Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between the USSR and the SRV was signed, as well as a number of economic agreements.

The Treaty, which was signed on behalf of the USSR by comrades Leonid Brezhnev and Alexei Kosygin, and on behalf of the SRV by comrades Le Duan and Pham Van Dong, emphasizes that the Soviet Union and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam "in keeping with the principles of socialist internationalism shall continue to consolidate their unshakable friendship and solidarity and assist each other in a fraternal spirit. They shall unceasingly develop political relations and cooperation in all fields and endeavor to assist each other on the basis of respect for each other's national independence and sovereignty, equality and non-interference in each other's internal affairs" (Article 1).

Considering it their internationalist duty to assist each other in strengthening and defending socialist gains, both states, the Treaty notes, "shall join efforts, to consolidate and broaden mutually beneficial cooperation in the economic and scientific-technological fields in order to push forward the building of socialism and communism and to constantly raise the material and cultural standards of the two peoples" (Article 2).

The sides "shall consistently strive to further consolidate their fraternal relations, and to strengthen solidarity and unity among the socialist countries on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism.

They "shall do their utmost to consolidate the world socialist

system and actively contribute to the development and defense of the socialist gains" (Article 4).

"The two parties signatory to the Treaty," Article 5 states, "shall continue doing their utmost to contribute to defending world peace and the security of all nations. They shall actively oppose all schemes and maneuvers of imperialism and the reactionary forces, support the just struggle for the complete eradication of all forms and manifestations of colonialism and racism, support the struggle waged by non-aligned countries and the peoples of the Asian, African and Latin American countries against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, for the consolidation of independence and the defense of sovereignty, for mastery over their natural resources, and for the establishment of a new world economic relationship with no inequity, diktat and exploitation, and to support the aspirations of the Southeast Asian peoples for peace, independence and cooperation among the countries of this region.

"They shall strive to develop relations between countries with different social systems on the principles of peaceful coexistence for the purpose of broadening and consolidating the process of détente in international relations and radically eliminating aggression and expansionist wars from the life of all nations, for the sake of peace, national independence, democracy and socialism."

The Soviet Union and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the Treaty emphasizes, "shall exchange views on all important international questions relating to the interests of the two countries. In case either party is attacked or threatened with attack, the two parties signatory to the treaty shall immediately consult each other with a view to eliminating that threat, and shall take appropriate and effective measures to safeguard peace and the security of the two countries" (Article 6).

On November 3, the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and government of the USSR gave a dinner in honor of the delegation of the Communist Party of Vietnam and the SRV government, at which Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and President of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and Le Duan, General Secretary of the CC CPV spoke.

EXCERPTS FROM SPEECH BY LEONID BREZHNEV

We have met with the leaders of Vietnam during the difficult years of the Vietnamese people's heroic struggle against U.S. aggression.

We also met after you had won a historic victory over the aggressor and his abettors and when the country faced the task of peaceful construction. And every time we found a common language in the interests of the peoples of our two countries and the cause of peace and socialism.

I have already had occasion to say this and now I reaffirm it: for the Soviet communists, solidarity with Vietnam has been and remains a dictate of the heart and the mind. Soviet-Vietnamese friendship is based on a community of interests and goals, on the firm foundation of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism.

In the present complex situation when the Chinese leadership's policy has created new substantial difficulties for socialist construction in Vietnam, special importance attached to the strength of our friendship, to the strong solidarity of the socialist community states.

We are convinced that with the aid and support of all the fraternal peoples the Vietnamese people will surmount the present difficulties and, under the leadership of their Communist Party, carry out all the tasks set by the Fourth Congress of the Vietnamese Communists, and will build a strong and flourishing socialist state.

These days we have exchanged views with the Vietnamese comrades on all topical problems of our relations and on important international issues. We reached complete mutual understanding, confirming once again the community of our assessments and approaches.

As a result of the talks, we have just signed a Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, a document of great, truly historic importance.

What is the purport of this treaty, what are its most important features?

Its aim is above all to serve the interests of the peaceful creative labor of our peoples, the interests of socialist and communist construction in our countries. That is its most important feature.

The treaty is called upon to further consolidate and expand fraternal friendship between the peoples of our countries. Acting in common, we become stronger both politically and economically, as well as in other spheres of public life.

Our treaty is an expression of the genuine comradeship uniting the fraternal countries of socialism. It is a continuation of the splendid traditions of the socialist community countries, whose relations are

firmly based on treaties. It serves the interests of all fraternal countries and strengthens their international positions.

The Soviet Union and Vietnam reaffirm by this treaty the main direction of their foreign policy. We are for stronger peace in Asia and throughout the world, for just and equitable international relations.

The Soviet-Vietnamese treaty is a treaty between two equal, independent and peace-loving states. There is not a single line in it dictating anybody's will to anyone else, or infringing on the interests of a third country.

I am convinced that everyone who wants peace will welcome the conclusion of the Soviet-Vietnamese Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation.

At the same time, foreseeably it will not be favorably met by those who are displeased with Soviet-Vietnamese friendship, who stake on aggravating tensions, on driving a wedge between the socialist countries.

But the treaty has already become a political reality. And whether they like it or not, this reality has to be reckoned with.

We look to the future with optimism and confidence. Boundless horizons are open before the peoples of our countries, equal members of the powerful socialist community family. Great revolutionary leaders laid the foundations of our states, gave a decisive impulse for their development and mapped out their course: Vladimir Ilyich Lenin in Soviet Russia and Ho Chi Minh in Vietnam. We can say with justified pride that we are faithfully following this course.

EXCERPTS FROM SPEECH BY LE DUAN

The Vietnamese people are deeply aware that the revolutionary victories they have won under the leadership of the Communist Party of Vietnam, founded and tempered by Comrade Ho Chi Minh, are the result not only of their own efforts, but also the product of the entire modern epoch. Their source lies in the great victory of the October Revolution and they are inseparably linked with the Soviet people's heroic feats in the war against fascism and the formation of the socialist world system. Without the tremendous transformations implemented in the homeland of Lenin, without the lofty feat of the Soviet people attained at the cost of tens of millions of their sons, without the sorrow of their mothers, without the proletarian internationalist assistance on the part of the world's first socialist country it would have been impossible to carry out the profound changes which we are now witnessing, and a small country like Vietnam could

not have defeated the big imperialist plunderers, and entered the era of independence, freedom and socialism. In our day national independence should be inseparably linked with socialism, and only socialism is capable of ensuring genuine respect for and guarantee the independence and freedom of the peoples. Generations will pass, but our people will always remember all that the Soviet Union has done for the Vietnamese revolution, recalling Comrade Brezhnev's moving words: "For the Soviet communists, for all Soviet people, solidarity with Vietnam has been and remains a dictate of the heart and the mind."

The superiority of the combined might of the main revolutionary forces of our time over imperialism and reaction enables these forces to achieve enormous successes in their continuous forward movement.

Seeking to hamper this development, imperialism and the forces of reaction are doing everything possible to block the forward movement of history. Characteristically, the reactionary group in the ruling circles of Peking are intent on gathering forces, on setting up a new alliance with imperialism and the fascist toadies, an alliance that is directed against the socialist system and national-liberation movement, at splitting and undermining the working-class struggle, at hampering the process of détente, at undermining world peace.

However, in view of the existing difficulties and contradictions rending imperialism and reaction, any reactionary alliance, any barbarous force is doomed to failure in the face of the growing might and fighting solidarity of the forces of socialism, national independence, democracy and peace, in the face of the vigilance of the workers and all honest people across the world.

Slightly more than three years have passed since the Vietnamese people enthusiastically started the rehabilitation of their economy and peaceful construction, following the road mapped out by the Fourth CPV Congress. While our successes and Vietnam's bright future are a source of happiness for our people, for our brothers and friends, they infuriate the camp of international reaction. The latter see the emergence and strengthening of a peaceful, independent united socialist Vietnam, which is pursuing an independent sovereign policy, a correct policy of international solidarity, as a serious obstacle in implementing their expansionist, chauvinistic designs, great-power hegemony, above all in Southeast Asia. They are conducting a fiercely hostile policy against our country, undermining the traditional

friendship between the Vietnamese people and the peoples of neighboring countries.

In these circumstances our people face a new historic objective: to wage a struggle for the successful construction of socialism while at the same time vigorously defending the peace, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of our homeland.

The Vietnamese people are confronted by new difficulties, but no one can stop them from moving forward to victory. Because we are strong by the token of our monolithic unity, national tradition of staunchness, that is imbued with the truth that "there is nothing dearer than freedom and independence;" because we are fighting for a just cause, which corresponds to historical development, and we enjoy the sympathy and support of the Soviet Union, all the fraternal socialist states, governments and peoples of the countries fighting for peace and justice, the support of all progressive humanity.

Pravda, November 4, 1978

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James Lawler

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DOCUMENTS

THE COMMUNIST PARTY CALLS FOR A COUNTRYWIDE DISCUSSION AIMED AT DRAFTING A DEMOCRATIC CONSTITUTION

Statement by the Communist Party of Chile

Pinochet and his camarilla intend to impose on the country a new constitution that would permit the legalization of fascist power. Such is the aim and character of the draft constitution drawn up under arch-reactionary Enrique Ortuzar's supervision. Pinochet has now submitted it to the puppet State Council and is seeking the military junta's approval in order to hold a pseudo-referendum along the lines of the one held early this year.

This draft, which is couched in involved juridical terminology and starts off by proclaiming all manner of rights, represents in fact a code of laws that deny all political, social and economic rights of the citizens as well as human rights. It lists all sorts of "constitutional" provisions in case of "declaration of war," "civil war," "internal disorder," "serious violations of public order," "the undermining of or threat to national security," "catastrophe" or a "national calamity" necessitating the introduction of martial law, a state of siege or an emergency situation, with consequent abrogation of all rights and freedoms. This is followed by the cynical statement: "The judiciary is not qualified to pass judgment on the validity of the measures adopted by the authorities." Thus the rights initially listed in the constitution are virtually brought to nought and a typically fascist-type unrestricted arbitrary system is offered instead.

On the other hand, all Chileans who popularize teachings which in the dictatorship's view "undermine the family, uphold violence or concepts of a totalitarian society, state or judicial order, or views based on class struggle running counter to human dignity and rights" are outlawed.

As if in mockery, the draft calls the fascist inquisition a "constitutional tribunal." And in order to perpetuate the crimes of DINA, now

the National Information Center, and other unprecedented crimes, the draft constitution hypocritically lauds "human dignity and rights." Those who are outlawed are denied suffrage, work in state institutions, the right to head any organization, to work as reporters or teachers.

The draft gives a vague definition of the virtually unlimited category of crimes termed "terrorist actions," for which the "guilty" will be tried by a military tribunal, providing no procedural guarantees and where the "provisions for probation, amnesty or pardon do not apply to the accused, who are also denied the right of asylum,"

This fascist script cancels all constitutional decrees on the nationalization of the copper industry and agrarian reform. It eliminates state participation in crucial spheres of activity and the laws of nationalization and expropriation, replacing them by others that are anti-patriotic and shackling in character. This draft virtually abolishes state ownership in the mining industry, although it has some demagogic reservations on that score. It is unambiguously directed at perpetuating the imperialist monopolies' privileges, which with Pinochet's permission are plundering the country's wealth.

Apart from the many absurdities contained in this sinister draft, it does not recognize the fundamental rights of the workers and the entire Chilean people. It virtually eliminates the right to strike, imposing instead "obligatory negotiation and arbitration," which are to become the "imperative norm" in future.

Members of the Armed Forces are denied suffrage and, on the other hand, all organs of power and public life come under the permanent control of the Armed Forces command, whereby the junta seeks to totally separate the army from the people.

This draft, which distorts the popular will and imposes an authoritarian system running counter to the interests of the nation, is a challenge to the Chilean people. The Communist Party calls for unity to thwart its implementation.

Moreover, it is essential to vigorously rebuff the brazen intentions of fascism and to advance without delay a broad and clear democratic alternative, responding to the genuine interests of the country and the aspirations of the people.

It is essential to unite all forces that oppose the plan of institutionalizing fascism. Joint efforts are needed to create a situation in which the people will have an opportunity to determine their future. In our view, all strata of the population must take part in this debate, whose significance goes far beyond the debate itself and which

should be transformed into a genuinely national movement to foil this fascist scheme.

The Communist Party considers that this is why the discussion of the new constitution goes far beyond the framework of a purely juridical problem. It is an extremely important political issue and should be discussed by all the working people, in all trade union organizations, in all settlements, towns and rural communities, in schools and universities. The discussion should flow over into the streets and become an instrument of mass mobilization. The point is that a new front of struggle against fascism should be opened by putting forward a democratic constitution. It is essential to expose the reactionary essence of the Pinochet-Ortuzar fascist draft and to put an end to it through the joint efforts of all opposition forces without exception.

What is the most probable common denominator in the process of unification? We communists share the opinion of the Popular Unity parties that the UN Declaration of Human Rights should serve as the basis of a new Chilean constitution. Such a constitution should become the basis for uniting all the anti-fascist forces. It is universal in character and reflects the national interests and the program of all the opposition forces. Obviously, the creation of institutions guaranteeing democratic rights for the people, thus providing an opportunity of waging a struggle for social progress, reflects our profound right to existence as a revolutionary party.

Today Chile needs a constitution that not only proclaims human and social rights, as reflected in many provisions of the 1925 Constitution, but a constitution that would guarantee them and set up organs of power that would defend and not destroy them. To create such a constitution it is essential to utilize all that is positive in the 1925 Constitution and the experience of drawing up fundamental laws on the basis of unity of the anti-fascist forces, as for instance in Italy, Portugal and latterly in Spain.

This new Fundamental Law must be based on the will of the majority and facilitate the process of transformation. Instead of the instability engendered by the 1925 Constitution, the new constitution should be geared to reaching a consensus by combining homogeneous democratic representation with forms of direct democracy in order to more effectively implement the principles of popular sovereignty, while restricting bureaucratic practices and the tendency to set up state bodies uncontrolled by the people. This applies particularly to the armed forces. Chile needs a sophisticated army that would effec-

tively ensure its national security. Everything should be done to ensure that the armed forces are put at the service of the people, society and the nation, and not permit their being used against the independence and freedom of the country.

In order to promote, and not to obstruct progress, there should exist a legislative body in accord with these principles. It should serve as a center for uniting and multiplying forces not only in the political but also in the economic and social spheres.

In the political sphere, to avoid conflicts between the various bodies of state power, we consider it essential to hold elections to the one-chamber Parliament simultaneously with the presidential elections, and in the latter case an absolute majority is essential.

Restoration of broad human rights signifies, first of all, recognition of the people's sovereign right to determine their fate through general elections that will guarantee the free and conscious participation of all Chileans who have reached 18 years of age. For this it is also essential to set up new democratic institutions: a new Parliament, new judicial organs, new control bodies, new municipalities. They must also be formed on a more democratic basis than previously: there should be no room for servility to a definite class, for voluntarism, a caste mentality or demagoguery.

Respect for the democratic opposition should be ensured and fascism must be eradicated. We propose that the constitution guarantee and defend in all branches public, mixed, private and cooperative property, enterprises with a system of self-management or which are run by the working people and that it envisage setting up a democratic body of economic leadership in which all spheres of production are represented.

Democratic discussion of the new constitution should culminate with the convocation of a Constituent Assembly that is to adopt it.

This is a question that affects the interests of the people and the homeland; its solution requires enormous creative effort and a high sense of responsibility. It should be resolved through the joint efforts of all the anti-fascist forces. All the nation's political forces should submit their views for public consideration, in order to reach agreement between the opposition forces based on a unified version of the constitution to be publicly counterposed to Pinochet's pseudo-constitution.

We propose drafting a post-fascism constitution so as to establish a more developed and reliable democracy. In our view, it is essential for the people to participate in the process of adopting decisions at all

levels. We are for recognition of the authority in their corresponding spheres of the neighborhood councils, the National Mothers' Center, universities and municipalities. We are for reviving the activity of the provincial assemblies. We urge that the trade unions themselves, being endowed with sufficient authority, should resolve certain vital problems of the working people.

1978 was a year of intense struggle and substantive changes in the fight against the dictatorship. In the coming months there can and should be even more decisive changes on the road to winning freedom. All problems and all demands are linked with the struggle for the rights of the workers, all the people, for human rights.

Communist Party of Chile
October 1978

SOME QUESTIONS OF THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

Resolution of the National Conference of the CPL

The Communist Party of Luxembourg held a national conference. The participants heard, discussed and unanimously approved the report "Communists in the struggle for job security, for social and democratic progress," delivered by CPL Chairman Rene Urbany.

Conference adopted a number of resolutions on urgent domestic problems and also on international issues. Below we print a resolution on international issues.

The communist movement in Europe has been engaged in a broad and active discussion of topical political problems over the past few years. The discussion centered primarily on present-day problems, but there is also a growing interest in problems of future development. This reflects, apart from other things, the complexity and crucial character of the present moment.

It is now clear to everyone that capitalist society is at the threshold of a *new historical stage*. This society's crisis is so deeply reflected in all spheres, structures and mechanisms of the socio-economic system that it clearly shows the need not only for far-reaching socio-

economic reforms, but for even more radical changes in many spheres. Even champions of the capitalist system can no longer deny that the only alternative to serious changes is that of slipping into the bog of economic stagnation and a general fear of the future.

Therefore, the communist parties, as they see it, face the following questions:

What must they do in the present circumstances? What course should they follow? What new opportunities exist for waging a revolutionary struggle? How can these opportunities be realized?

The answer to these questions is complicated by the fact that each party is tackling them in accordance with the conditions in its own country, its own traditions and political resources.

In politics there is not nor can there be a universal key that fits every lock. However close, from the *general historical viewpoint*, certain countries may appear to be, as for instance the West European countries, *concrete political* differences between them are so great as to rule out a complete identity of political goals and tactics of the fraternal parties.

That is why we are opposed to any stereotype, whether in matters of a universal or regional significance.

But rejection of pseudo-international stereotypes should not lead to a party's shutting itself up in the narrow framework of its own national experience. Occasionally, at theoretical discussions sponsored by communists some participants, while advocating a creative attitude to questions of theory and practical activity of a communist party and stressing the crucial significance of practice and the relative nature of general laws and principles, make the same kind of mechanical mistake, though in reverse order: they reject as a whole the laws of historical development and revolutionary struggle discovered by Marx, Engels and Lenin. This is true particularly of those who have inscribed the word Eurocommunism on their banner.

Whereas it is in these laws that the entire historical experience of struggle for the socialist transformation of society has been generalized and concentrated. They are therefore indispensable *reference-points* in each country's creative quest for concrete roads to socialism.

It is not, of course, a matter of "applying" these laws scholastically to real life, but of analyzing the concrete national reality with account for the extensive international experience of the revolutionary working-class movement and of drawing the necessary conclusions for oneself.

However, for all the variety of concrete roads leading to a socialist future, it is clear that each of them presupposes ensuring the real power of the working people, led by the working class, and the liquidation of the socio-economic foundation of the domination of the exploitative classes, above all elimination of private ownership of the means of production; democratic participation of the popular masses in socialist construction, with the Communist Party playing the leading role; the ability of a revolution to defend its gains and rebuff the attacks of the class enemy.

It is impossible to arrive at socialism if these important universal lessons of revolutionary practice are disregarded. Wherefore their validity as laws of socialist revolution.

We object to attempts to counterpose the future socialist society in one or another industrialized country to the real existing socialism. We object to such an attitude not because we see socialist society in the Soviet Union and the other countries of socialism as an ideal. And the fraternal parties of these countries are far from asserting this. They speak openly of their problems and shortcomings, knowing how they can be surmounted.

We object because we are aware of the enormous historic significance of existing socialism in the Soviet Union for world social progress, for the successful development of the communist and working-class movement in the capitalist countries. To realize this, it is enough to ask oneself: what could be the conditions for our struggle here, in the West, what would be the situation of the working class, of the working people in general without the solidarity of the communists of the socialist countries, without their moral and political support? The very fact of the existence of the Soviet Union, of real socialism, strengthens the communist movement, serves as the main guarantee of universal peace, and is the most important prerequisite in developing peaceful, democratic forms of struggle in the interests of the working people and for socialism in the capitalist countries.

To counterpose our own ideas of socialism and our plans of struggle for it to real socialist society or to minimize the historic achievements of existing socialism is not only unjust in relation to our comrades in the socialist countries, to the peoples of these countries. It also prejudices our own struggle by weakening the attractive force of the socialist perspective in the eyes of the masses, which runs counter to the interests of international unity of the communists and all progressive forces.

Therefore our party, like the communist parties of other countries,

considers it its duty to defend the Soviet Union, all the socialist community countries against the attacks of imperialism and Maoism, as well as against unjustified and biased criticism, which is occasionally heard also from democratic, left and even communist circles.

The task is to work out concrete features of a future socialist society by analyzing the situation in the given country. Thus, our notions of socialism, for instance, in Luxembourg, *will be natural and logical; they will, of course, differ from all existing patterns, but will not be counterposed to them.* Given such an attitude, our conceptions of a socialist future will become an ideological weapon against capitalism, and will not rebound on our friends — the socialist countries. In the course of the present discussions in the communist movement there sometimes appear manifestations of over-confidence in the correctness of one's judgment, an apodictical striving to label as "dogmatic" anyone who upholds a different viewpoint.

We have said from the outset that we stand for creative examination of any problem, a creative quest for answers to new questions posed by life. The need for such a quest is indisputable. The question is how and in what direction to conduct the search, and what should be done to ensure its success.

We are convinced that for this search to prove fruitful it must be based on a generalization of the real experience of struggle for socialism, on the tested theory of Marxism-Leninism.

It is not words or concepts as such that we object to. What matters is, of course, the real class content, the real political aim of one or another concept or conclusion:

Nevertheless we hold that such concepts as "Marxism-Leninism" or "proletarian internationalism," contain a profound meaning. *They imbue the revolutionary traditions of the communist movement, but at the same time they in no way hamper creative development of the theory of scientific socialism, of an original attitude to practical relations between communist parties.*

Moreover, the rejection or negation of such concepts, whatever their motivation, provides the class enemy with an excuse to interfere in our discussion, to hold forth on the "crisis" of communism, weakening of its internal unity, etc. Thus, we stand for innovation that does not signify rejection of revolutionary traditions; we stand for creativity in theory and in policy which presupposes knowledge and mastery of everything created hitherto by revolutionary thought and revolutionary practice.

Zietung vum Letzeburger Vollek, October 19, 1978

MEETING THE DEMANDS OF THE BROAD POPULAR MASSES

Statement of the Political Bureau, CC Syrian CP

The Political Bureau of the Central Committee, Syrian Communist Party examined at its meeting the conclusion between two fraternal countries, Syria and Iraq, of a joint national action charter in the light of the facts set forth at the meeting of the Central Leadership of the Progressive National Front, held on October 30, 1978, and of the grave situation in the Arab world. In line with the SCP's principled position of struggle against imperialism, Zionism and all the venal reactionary forces, the Political Bureau endorsed a resolution in support of the joint national action charter adopted at the Baghdad meeting.

The SCP, just as the fraternal Iraqi Communist Party and all other conscious progressive patriotic forces in both countries, has always urged that relations of close cooperation should be restored between Syria and Iraq and that all obstacles on this road should be surmounted with the aim of uniting their efforts in the struggle against the main enemy, U.S. imperialism, the Israeli aggressor and world Zionism, in defense of national independence, for the liberation of occupied Arab territories and for ensuring the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine.

Consequently, the Political Bureau expresses satisfaction with the adoption in Baghdad of the joint national action charter, considering that it meets the demands of the broad popular masses.

The meeting between the leaders of the two fraternal countries acquires particular importance in view of the serious circumstances in which the Arab liberation movement is waging a struggle against the U.S.-Zionist Camp David deal and Sadat's treachery.

The Political Bureau expresses the hope of the Arab masses and all progressive patriotic forces that the efforts to implement the charter will lead to the expansion of the anti-imperialist national struggle within the framework of the two fraternal countries and in the entire Arab world, to the development and consolidation of friendly ties and cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist community countries, to further advance on the road of social progress. For this it is essential to strengthen joint actions between all progressive patriotic forces in both countries, leaning on the activity of the progressive national front existing in each country.

The Political Bureau expresses the hope that implementation of the provisions of the joint national action charter will further expand and consolidate the positions of the Arab front of steadfastness and confrontation and will favor realization of the principles of the important documents and resolutions adopted at the recent Damascus meeting of the heads of states forming this front.

The joint national action charter met with a favorable response and the support of all progressive patriotic forces in the Arab world, all friends of the Arab national-liberation movement, with the socialist community countries in the lead.

At the same time it was met with hostility by quarters of world imperialism and Zionism, by Anwar Sadat and those like him in the Arab world. All these hostile forces will undoubtedly resort to every possible means to frustrate this action, to emasculate its progressive patriotic essence and neutralize its influence on the entire Arab world. Hence the SCP calls for vigilance with respect to the onslaught and intrigues of the hostile forces, while working energetically to implement the joint national action charter and to develop it on a progressive patriotic basis. This will provide an impulse for both fraternal countries to make further headway along the road of anti-imperialist struggle, the road of social progress and will prepare the ground for advance in the direction of anti-imperialist progressive democratic Arab unity.

The Arab popular masses, all progressive patriotic forces in the Arab countries hope that the efforts to translate the joint national action charter into reality will result in Iraq's joining forces with the Arab states of the front of steadfastness and confrontation. This would help to multiply the forces of the Arab national-liberation movement and enhance the results of the support and assistance that is being rendered to the Arabs by their loyal friends, with the Soviet Union in the lead.

The Political Bureau sees this as a boost for the Arab national-liberation struggle, helping it to intensify its rebuff to the onslaught of U.S. imperialism and world Zionism and to invigorate the efforts to thwart the treacherous plans of Carter, Begin and Sadat, eliminate the consequences of the Camp David deal and fulfill the just goals of the Arab national-liberation movement, and above all to liberate the Arab territories occupied as a result of the imperialist Israeli aggression and guarantee the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including the right to return to their homeland, the right to self-determination and to set up an independent national state.

This is the only way to a just and stable peace in the Middle East.
Political Bureau, Central Committee,
Syrian Communist Party
Damascus, November 2; 1978
Nidal al-Shaab, No. 228, November 1978

HOLDING HIGH THE BANNER OF PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM

Excerpts from the Report of the Political Bureau CC, CP Turkey

In May 1978 the Communist Party of Turkey published the materials of the CC CPT plenum, at which Comrade I. Bilen, General Secretary of the CC CPT presented the Report of the Political Bureau. Below is a summary of the report.

1. THE POLITICAL SITUATION

“The principal objective before us today is to overcome the danger of fascism that has been created by imperialism and the collaborating monopoly bourgeoisie...”

The report, just as the Konya Conference of the CPT,¹ declared that the crisis in the country is gradually deepening and that the divisions within the bourgeoisie are increasing. It said the following: “These developments, the struggle of the working class first and foremost, of the democratic forces allied with it, are destroying the possibilities for the collaborating big bourgeoisie to rule the country as before. In general, the bourgeoisie can no longer form a government very easily. It cannot even make Parliament work. In such a situation, the reactionary ruling circles see the way out in increasing the terror and promoting the rise of fascism...”

The Report of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the CPT stressed that guided by the resolutions adopted at the Konya Conference, the leadership of the party struggled to draw the working class and the broad working masses into action against the Demirel partnership and the process of fascist escalation. It worked to realize the unity of the working class, the unity of action and unity of front of all national democratic forces.

It was emphasized in the Report that following the bloody massacre by fascists in Istanbul on March 16, the Communist Party of Turkey

had issued a call to all progressive forces for unity of action, and nationwide resistance through demonstrations, meetings and political strikes against the danger of fascism. "The vacillating attitude of the government turned against the working class, the broad masses of the people, the forces and organizations actively struggling against fascism. . . . The policy of our party is to support the forward steps, however small and wavering they may be, taken by this government against the attacks of reactionary fascist forces; to criticize and oppose the government's backward steps and inconsistencies and to force the Republican People's Party (RPP) leadership to keep its promise to the people. The CPT is struggling against the RPP right-wing leadership's efforts to distract the working class and working masses with social-democratic ideology and reformist dreams. It opposes Maoist, Trotskyist and anarchist trends and adventurist attitudes which consider this government and the RPP to be one and the same with the reactionary-fascist forces.

The report concentrated on the developing class struggle in the country and noted that above all the process of organization of communists in villages had begun and that progressive mass actions, including the actions of youth, women and middle strata, were broadening. The report emphasized the increasing influence of the Communist Party and forces close to it within this movement. "Another important gain obtained during this period is the strengthening of international ties by trade unions and progressive mass organizations, in particular with international trade union bodies affiliated to the World Federation of Trade Unions, the World Federation of Democratic Youth, the World Federation of Democratic Women, the World Peace Council. . . . The report stressed the importance of rescuing the army from the hands of imperialism and NATO, the importance of the patriotic soldiers, officers and non-commissioned officers, as well as the anti-fascist forces in the police. It also stressed that the ideal of the National Democratic Front proposed by the Communist Party of Turkey was spreading rapidly: "The rapidity and hopping nature of this development gave the impression in various places that the front had already been achieved. However, despite its popularization as an ideal in broad circles, the actual process of formation of the national democratic front around a common platform could not be started. . . ."

2. THE QUESTION OF TRADE UNIONS

"It is necessary to work in the DISK² and among workers affiliated

to Turk-Is and other trade unions. . . .³ Success in the struggle for the unity of the trade union movement on the basis of class interests depends first and foremost on ourselves becoming sufficiently organized among the masses of workers belonging to different trade unions. . . . In the process of the class struggle, suitable conditions for ending the leadership of both yellow trade unionists and class collaborationists are developing. . . . In addition, there is still the duty to drive back fascist attacks on the trade union level. . . . The process of unity of action of the working class is developing under these conditions of the class struggle."

3. THE QUESTION OF THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC FRONT

The report pointed out that in today's concrete situation, the necessity and opportunities for winning the masses to the struggle for national independence have increased: "It is daily becoming more and more important to connect the struggle for peace and disarmament, for friendly relations with the socialist countries, above all with the Soviet Union, for anti-fascist demands and democratic rights with the anti-imperialist struggle for national independence, and to organize mass actions around these aims. . . ."

The report also emphasized that the CPT supports the struggle of the Kurdish people against oppression and all kinds of inequality: "The CPT defends the Kurdish people's right to self-determination. . . . It is the duty of communists to struggle against both the chauvinist and terrorist attitude of the Turkish bourgeoisie, and the Kurdish bourgeois nationalists who are allied with the imperialists, big landowners and sheiks. . . . It is their duty also to organize the common struggle of the Kurdish and Turkish working people, the working people of other national minorities, against imperialism and fascist escalation. Communists can open the way to freedom by forging unity between the Kurdish working masses and patriots and the Turkish people in the struggle against the common enemy, under the leadership of the working class, by uniting them in the National Democratic Front. . . ."

4. THE QUESTION OF STRENGTHENING THE CPT

"After the Conference, the Political Bureau held a series of meetings with the party's regional secretaries and the bodies responsible for publication, trade union and mass activities"; party organizations,

particularly in the factories are developing both quantitatively and qualitatively. Nevertheless, the report said, there are still important shortcomings in the area of organizational work. It was emphasized that 60 per cent of the party members are workers and that the overwhelming majority of the members are young, which, it said, has negative as well as positive aspects. It was pointed out that the task of drawing the party's sympathizers, especially those among the workers, into the party, remained on the agenda. The importance of resolving the questions of conducting legal and illegal work in a coherent way, ending artisanship, and preparing conscious and experienced cadres, were concentrated upon in the report: "One of the most important areas of struggle facing our party in this period is the ideological struggle. One of our foremost duties is the constant struggle against all kinds of bourgeois ideology, against fascist ideology and every form of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, against opportunism in all shapes and sizes, splitting trends like 'Eurocommunism,' bourgeois reformism, Maoism, Trotskyism and anarchism. To defend the unity of the communist movement based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism is our agenda."

"One of the questions on which we must concentrate is that of legalization of the CPT. In the recent period, the struggle for freedom to the CPT was taken up by broad masses. This year's May Day is the most concrete example of this. Democratic circles and some MPs from the bourgeois parties brought forward the demand for the repeal of anti-democratic laws and recognition of the CPT's right to work legally in the progressive press in various ways. On the one hand, the reactionary ruling circles are continuing the fascist terror and attacks and the repression of youth organizations and progressive publications like *Urun* and *Problems of Peace and Socialism*. On the other hand, they are making preparations to establish fake communist parties. The slogan of our struggle is: 'Freedom to the CPT!'... Our unceasing duty is to defend and strengthen our party's ideological, political and organizational Leninist unity with all our might. Our party holds high the banner of proletarian internationalism."

Durum — CPT Information Bulletin No. 16, September 1, 1978

¹ The Conference of the Communist Party of Turkey was held in February 1977 in Konya, Turkey. — Ed.

² DISK (The Confederation of Revolutionary Trade Unions) is the second largest trade union confederation in Turkey. — Ed.

³ Turk-Is — another large trade union confederation in Turkey. Extreme reactionaries dominate its leadership. — Ed.

FROM THE PRESS

THE COMMUNIST PARTY: A PRODUCT OF HISTORY

*Gus Hall
General Secretary CPUSA*

The turn of the 20th century marked more than the elapse of another hundred years. It was above all else the beginning of a stormy, explosive century of revolutionary change. History had prepared the soil, moulded the forces and set the direction for the historic changes. The changes and the events that have taken place since the turn of the century are truly monumental. But they are in keeping with Karl Marx's observation that mankind sets for itself only those tasks that it can fulfill.

In past centuries wars ended in the redistribution of territory and markets. The results of the First World War were different because history had matured a new force, the working class, whose class interests were not served by wars of conquest.

Before the turn of the century the idea of taking political power had not yet become a serious mass concept in the ranks of the working class. Because of this, history gave rise to socialist-oriented parties that toyed with the ideas of working-class political power. When the world moved toward the inevitable war to redivide the loot among the imperialist powers these parties did not meet the test of time. History had prepared the soil for revolutionary changes and they were not revolutionary parties. They were parties only for reform. The explosive elements associated with the transition from a world of capitalism to a world of socialism were building up steam. Sooner or later something had to give way. History posed the question of working-class political power for resolution.

The end product of the First World War was different because history had given birth to and raised to maturity a new force, the working class, and assigned it the task of leading the forces of transition. So the new century brought forth the "ten days that shook the world." The transition had begun. The working class in Russia, in

alliance with other forces, took political power. They named their new state the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

With the turn of the century history had set into motion a worldwide revolutionary process in which the transition to socialism was the pivot. From the very beginning the class struggle and the working class forces in the capitalist countries became a primary force within this historic process. An inevitable feature of the revolutionary process is the worldwide struggle against colonialism and for the liberation of all nations. On the waves of the three currents propelling the world revolutionary process ride the fortunes of human progress. Because racism and chauvinism have been an ideological pillar in the oppression of nations the struggle against racism and chauvinism emerged in the very center of the revolutionary process. The struggles that accompany the process cut down many of the weeds of racism, but only the transition to socialism destroys its economic, political and ideological roots.

No revolutionary class in this epoch can come to power or fulfill its role in history without a political party that understands the historic tasks assigned it. So inevitably as the working class grew in size, as it cut its ideological wisdom teeth, it faced the tasks of organizing, of giving birth to political parties that would meet the test of leadership for the period of the revolutionary transition. There was also a need for a body of thought, a science that would probe and explain the laws, the inner workings and the forces involved in the transition. It is in this basic sense that the science called Marxism-Leninism and the working-class revolutionary parties (most of which include the word "communist" in their names), are products of history. They are a response to the unique tasks set for this period of revolutionary change.

The world revolutionary process and history in general have a definite progressive direction. But as is the case with all processes it does not move with the same speed or in the identical way in all the countries of the world. However, no country is exempt from the process itself.

Because of a number of objective factors capitalism in the United States has had the benefit of favorable circumstances. This has been a factor influencing many developments, including the growth and maturing of the working-class movement. But the U.S. is not immune from the basic laws of capitalist development, including the laws of its general decay.

In the United States the new century gave rise to the growth of

mass production and the giant corporations. This was accompanied by brutal exploitation — a 12-hour day, total disregard for the health of workers, child labor and inhuman speedup paced by the production belt line. It soon turned into the century of high corporate profits, escalating rates of exploitation, dehumanization and alienation. This gave rise to the organization and legalization of trade unions. William Z. Foster, who was later to become a leader in the Communist Party, was a key personality in these early drives to build the trade unions.

The objective developments continued to give rise to many different kinds of radical and socialist-oriented groups. The frustrations led some to establish communes. They tried to get away from the evils of capitalism in isolated enclaves. They were crushed by the capitalist surroundings. This rebellion led some to anarchist and syndicalist organizations. They took their anger out on a one-to-one basis.

There were a number of socialist organizations which did not see socialism as a practical alternative in the United States. So for many it remained a beautiful idealistic dream.

These formations did not meet the challenges history was preparing. The struggles for the resolution of the problems the working class faced needed a different kind of political party. Of necessity, it had to be a party that understood and accepted the task of working with and guiding the spontaneous mass movements which objective developments were giving rise to. It had to be a party that accepted the class struggle as its primary point of reference, but also understood how it is related to the problems and struggles of all sections of the people. It had to be a party that would be in the very forefront of all the struggles for reforms, but would reject reformism as a way of political life. It had to be a party that understood that the struggle against racism was a special task for a working-class party, but that it also had to be a part of all struggles, especially the struggles related to the class struggle. It had to be a party that took a principled stand against imperialism, and accepted as its acid test the struggle against U.S. imperialism.

It had to be a party that understood the dialectical relationship between fighting for a better life under capitalism and the advocacy and the struggle for the transition to socialism. It had to be a party that did not opportunistically succumb to the ideological pressures of big business, a party that saw slander of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries as basically a slander of the working class and of socialism in general.

It had to be a party that understood and accepted the science of Marxism-Leninism and that continued to develop it as a guide and a methodology for its work. It had to be a party that was democratic, but with a structure through which it could come to policy and tactical conclusions.

Fifty-nine years ago a group of men and women who had participated in most of the radical and left organizations, who had studied the experiences of world revolutionary developments, got together and gave birth to just such a party.

The Communist Party, USA, and the men and women who participated in its founding, were products of the same history, the same worldwide revolutionary process, that had given rise to working class revolutionary parties the world over. It is in this sense that the founding of the Communist Party, USA, is the finest achievement of the U.S. working class.

The rise and the disappearance of "left" and "radical" sects continues apace. Many of these groups attach themselves to such words as "Communist" and "Marxist-Leninist." But such groups come and go because they do not meet the test of history or reality. There is an opportunist streak that runs through most of them. They try to maneuver with and go around the main political and ideological attacks of the class enemy. They join with reaction by being anti-communist. The special Trotskyite accommodation with anti-communism is to say they are for socialism in general, but to attack it wherever it is a reality. Anti-Sovietism is a special opportunistic hiding place for most of these groups.

Most of them maneuver with and accommodate to racism. The latest maneuver is to say: "The basic struggle against racism has been won." Therefore, the conclusion that there is no need to ever raise the issue. For some these groups provide a place to express their individualistic, middle-class anger. Many are honest but misled. In many cases they are lost to the revolutionary movement. These sects do not meet the test of history because they do not accept or understand the laws of capitalist development, the class struggles and the role of the working class. Their anti-communism, anti-Sovietism and their playing with super-radical phrases make them an easy mark for penetration by the FBI and other enemy agents. Some of these groups are used by the FBI to disrupt broader mass movements.

The science of Marxism-Leninism provides the Communist Party with an understanding of the laws, the forces and the direction of this period of history.

The Communist Party, USA, grows and matures, but it never gets old because it continues to reflect and work with the forces of a changing reality. It makes contributions, takes part in and helps to guide the spontaneous movements which the changing objective developments give rise to.

The Communist Party can be proud of its 59 years of contributions. It has been a major factor in the building of our trade unions. It was the main force in the organization of the mass production unions. It was the spark plug in the struggles for social security, for unemployment insurance. It has a 59 year record in the struggle against racism. It has been a leading force in the struggle for equality of women. It has continued to provide the anti-imperialist content to all struggles for world peace. It has an honorable record in the struggles of family farmers. It has provided leadership in the struggle for democratic rights and against the ultra-right and fascism. It survived the years of McCarthyite, anti-communist hysteria.

The Communist Party has not only survived, but continues to influence events because it is a product of and is sustained by the working class and the people's struggles in the U.S. The objective developments gave it life and they sustain it. The need for it grows, and because of this the Communist Party grows. There are serious unsolved problems, but there have been more bread, more justice, more democratic and civil rights, better working conditions, higher wages, more housing, social security and unemployment insurance because of the contributions of the Communist Party.

The primary factor that influences everything in a capitalist society is the class struggle. On the world scene this factor is reflected in the contest between the two systems — capitalism and socialism. These forces of history do not permit any real neutrality. Even political passivity becomes a factor on the scales between the two basic class forces. The Communist Party, USA, accepts that challenge. It does not evade or capitulate; it carried out its responsibilities proudly and honorably.

The historic transition has basically changed the world relationship of forces. World imperialism is not now the unchallenged master. Because of this many new avenues and possibilities along which the transition can proceed have opened up. Wars of conquest are not now inevitable. New paths to socialism have become possible. Colonialism can now be destroyed for all time. Human progress can now take ever bigger steps.

To make these possibilities a reality it is necessary to fight for the

unity of the forces propelling the world revolutionary process. The struggle for world peace and détente must get top billing, the highest priority. The Communist Party, USA, accepts this challenge.

The Communist Party begins its 60th year confident that because it is a product of the rising forces of history it will continue to make history.

Political Affairs No. 9, September, 1978

CARTER'S DIRTY BOMB

By adopting the decision to implement the neutron bomb program, while deferring its mass production and deployment in Western Europe, the U.S. President has escalated to the utmost his policy of blackmail.

Elected on his promise to promote détente and, in particular, to reduce military expenditures, Carter was seemingly opposed to the armaments lobby; he had frozen the neutron bomb project, the bomb which is coyly referred to as a "clean bomb" because it destroys less than it kills.

But he very soon joined the Pentagon and NATO strategists, taking account of the interests of certain monopolies that were hoping for a deal amounting to tens of billions of dollars. Only fear of a direct confrontation with the public and some West European governments induced him to defer his final decision on the neutron bomb last spring. But it was only a postponement, as we have already stressed, and not a rejection.

His recent decision clearly shows that it was a tactical ploy.

This American maneuver pursues at least two aims.

First of all, to reassure the pressure groups that are clamoring for super-destructive armaments, and the "hawks" in Congress on the eve of a strategic arms limitation accord between the USSR and the United States. . . .

Then, to blackmail the Soviet Union at the last moment ("either this, or nothing"), to gain unilateral strategic advantage.

The White House has taken a big risk. As Carter put it, the second SALT-II treaty is 95 per cent ready. The hope has been expressed both in Washington and Moscow that its signing could take place before the end of the year with the participation of the heads of both states.

In these circumstances, a renewed drive for the most dangerous nuclear armaments is tantamount to jeopardizing the talks.

Moreover, the collapse or indefinite postponement of the SALT-II treaty would result in the failure of another plan that is even more important for détente and international security, i.e., SALT-III, which, going beyond mere limitation, should lead to a reduction of stockpiled strategic armaments in the USSR and the United States, that is, nuclear-powered submarines, intercontinental missiles and long-range planes, and all means of delivery which make it possible to strike at the very heart of one or another power.

In deciding to produce separate elements of the neutron bomb (without giving official permission for their mass production), the U.S. leaders are taking a further step toward a new stage of the arms race, which throughout the world is already swallowing up 5 billion francs per day, apart from the expended labor and incredible waste of talents and skills.

Including the neutron bomb in the armaments of countries would not only greatly hamper attempts to reach agreement on disarmament, but could result in their total failure.

The miniaturization of this type of weapon with intensive radiation and the means of its delivery could render ineffective all present measures of control and accounting. The neutron bomb, a so-called "tactical weapon," will be put at the disposal of generals on the battlefield, which signifies that the decision of going over from a conventional regional conflict to a nuclear conflict would in this case be made by general headquarters, and not by heads of state.

M. Leon

Abridged from *L'Humanité*, October 20, 1978

ON WHOSE SIDE IS PEKING?

Anyone who is waging a struggle for independence, who carefully follows world developments and examines our struggle in the context of the anti-imperialist battle of our time, cannot but ask this question: On whose side is Peking?

In the past the People's Republic of China, its party and government were considered an ally of the peoples fighting for national independence. But the facts, most of which have been confirmed, show that the Peking leaders have gone over to the imperialist camp.

The Maoist "fever" penetrated our country in the latter part of the 1960s. The young people engaged in the independence struggles embraced Mao's "thought" as a guide to action, without even suspecting that Maoist "theory" was no more than a distortion of Marxism-Leninism. Time has put everything in its place. Maoist theory essentially denies that the world is divided into two opposed social systems: capitalism and socialism. For this objective fact Mao substituted a subjectivist and unscientific "differentiation of the three worlds" schema. In line with this Maoism considers the existence of the socialist world system "unwarranted."

But Maoism dealt the most serious blow at the socialist camp by its wild anti-Sovietism and its departure from proletarian internationalism, that organic part of Marxism-Leninism.

It is no secret that the Chinese leaders have concluded a shameful alliance with the most reactionary forces of imperialism, whose representatives often visit Peking. The Chinese leaders have shaken not a few bloodstained hands in the recent past.

Hardly had the body of Chilean President Salvador Allende, killed by the fascists, turned cold when the Chinese leaders were already receiving the emissary of the fascist dictatorship in Peking. Shortly after that a photograph of the Chinese Ambassador posing with Pinochet appeared in Santiago. . . .

The Chinese leaders' vulgar interpretation of Marxism-Leninism has led them to claim that the main danger to humanity emanates from the Soviet Union and that it is necessary to fight against the so-called "hegemony of the two super-powers." Hence their striving to set up a "broad front" comprising the United States and China, and also including the member-countries of the imperialist NATO bloc, and the reactionary regimes of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The class contradictions between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie are also interpreted by the Chinese leaders in the light of

“hegemonism” or, in other words, from the positions of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism. They urge the working people to come out in support of aggressive circles and to insist, under the guise of “class struggle,” that the governments of their respective countries reject the orientation toward détente.

The Maoists’ acting hand in glove with the traitors Holden Roberto and Jonas Savimbi against the heroic Angolan people, who after 500 years of colonial oppression were forced to wage a fierce struggle in defense of their independence — a struggle in which they were assisted by Cuba and the Soviet Union acting on the principle of proletarian internationalism — is yet another shameful page in the activity of those who, while paying lip service to socialism, have gone over to the side of imperialism.

CIA agent Holden Roberto established his first contact with the Maoists in 1963. The Chinese leadership’s cooperation with the FNLA gangs reached its peak in April 1974, after the overthrow of fascism in Portugal. Since then the Chinese leaders have invariably sided with the enemies of the Angolan people.

Leaning on China’s military aid, the impostors hoped to destroy the MPLA, the legitimate representative of the Angolan people. After deposing the MPLA government, Savimbi and Roberto were to form a puppet government on the instructions of the reactionary white settlers. The Angolan people defeated the bandits. However, even after this the Chinese leaders still hoped that their lackeys would overthrow the MPLA government.

The position of the Chinese leadership with respect to the events in Africa is not fortuitous. Nor is it a miscalculation. It clearly confirms the coincidence of China’s foreign policy with that of imperialism, which is directed against the peoples fighting for their liberation, particularly those who receive aid from the socialist-community countries, and first of all from the Soviet Union.

The whole world is aware of the Chinese leadership’s stand in the United Nations Organization, its Committee on Decolonization, with regard to the colonial status of Puerto Rico. No independence fighter should be confused by Peking’s slanderous propaganda, whose aim is to isolate us from our genuine allies in the socialist camp, from the revolutionary peoples of Angola and Ethiopia, who epitomize the triumph of the principles of proletarian internationalism.

Tomas Silva Aguilera
Pueblo, organ of the Puerto Rican
Communist Party, September 1978

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