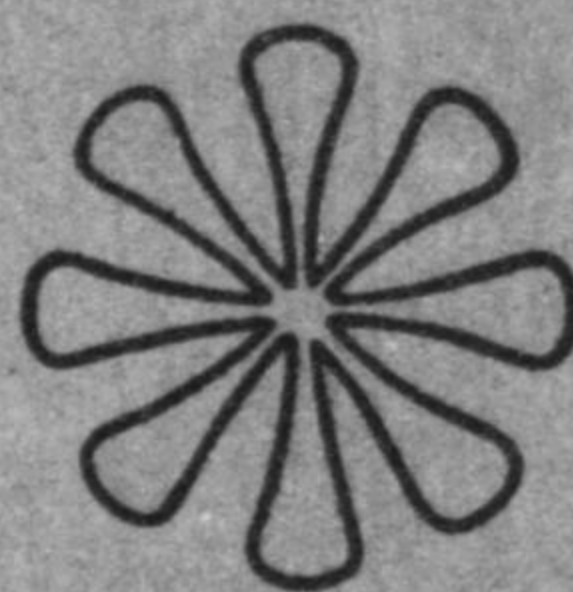


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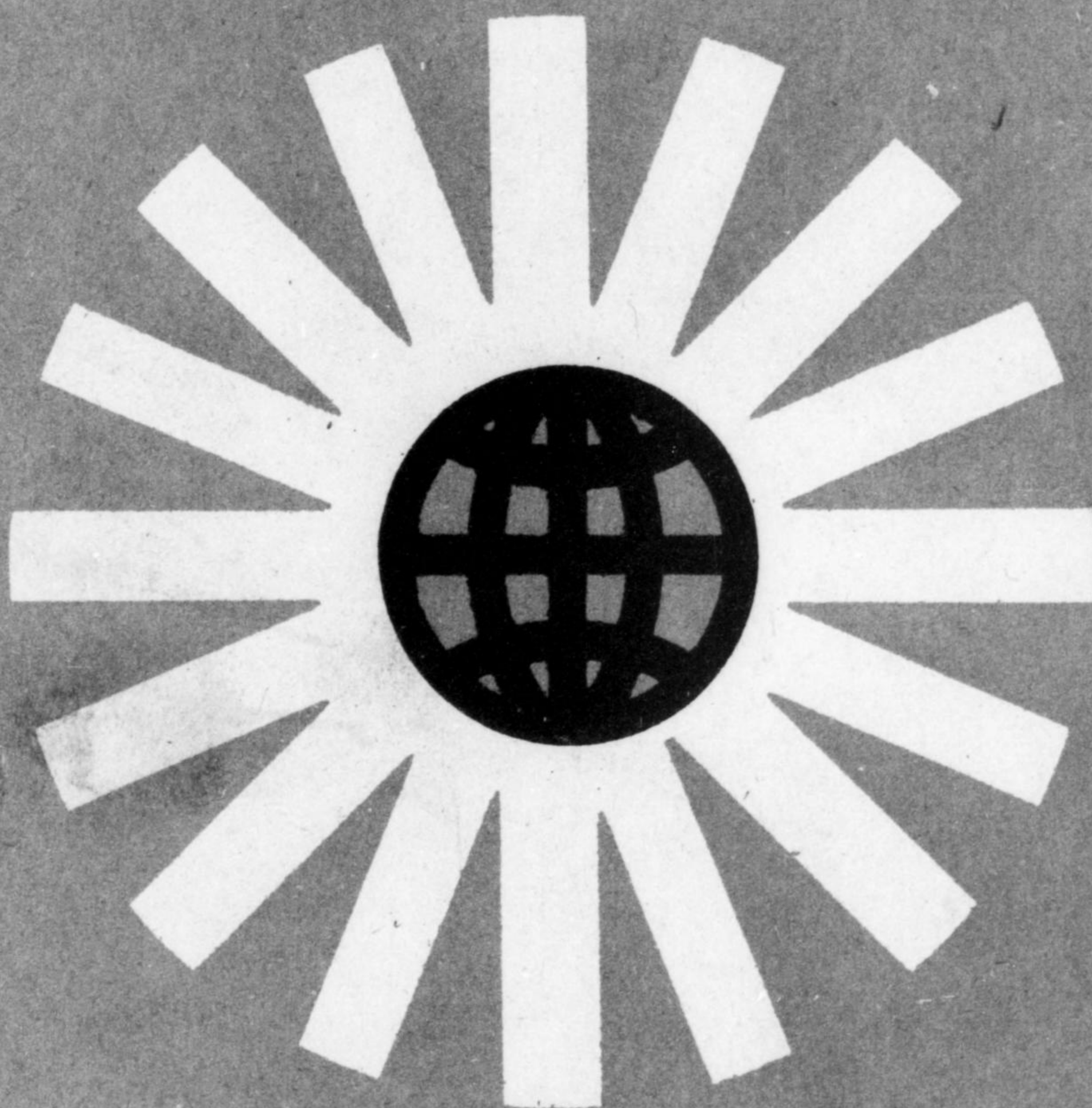


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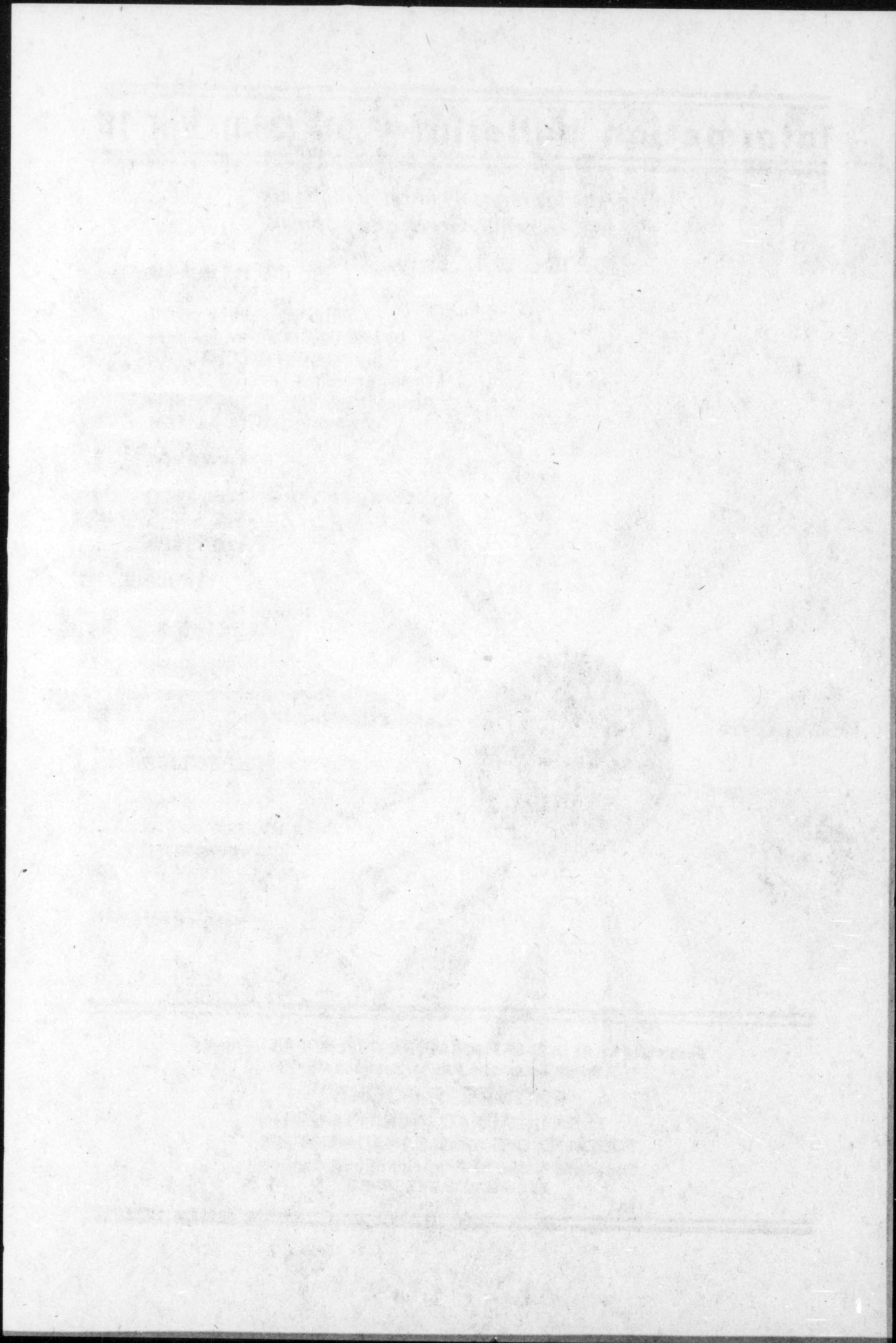
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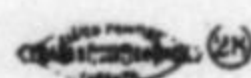
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ON THE RESULTS OF THE VISIT
BY LEONID BREZHNEV,
GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CPSU
CC, PRESIDENT OF THE USSR
SUPREME SOVIET PRESIDUM,
TO THE DISTRICTS OF SIBERIA
AND THE FAR EAST

*In the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee,
the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and
the Council of Ministers of the USSR*

The Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the CPSU, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Council of Ministers of the USSR, having heard an account by Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, of his visit to the districts of Siberia and the Far East, fully approve the work done by him.

Leonid Brezhnev's visit has been of great importance for the fulfillment of the 25th CPSU Congress decisions with regard to the comprehensive utilization of the natural resources and the development of the productive forces of Siberia and the Far East, which play a growing role in the country's economy.

The Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the Union republics, territorial, regional, area, city and district party committees, party organizations, ministries and departments should draw practical conclusions from the instructions and recommendations given by Leonid Brezhnev in the course of his meetings and conversations with working people, party officials and managerial staffs. The task is to go on expanding the production of coal, oil and gas, particularly in Tyumen Region, in the country's eastern areas, and to more fully harness the immense hydropower resources of those areas for the development of the aluminum, pulp, petrochemical and other industries.

Guided by the principle that the plan is the chief instrument of realizing the party's economic policy, all party, government and economic bodies must concentrate their efforts on the unfailing fulfillment of the planned objectives as well as the socialist emulation pledges for 1978 and the five-year period as a whole. It is necessary, in this respect, to lay particular emphasis on expanding production through better utilization of latent reserves, faster progress in putting newly-installed production units in operation at full capacity, removing the "bottlenecks," raising the standards of organization, order and discipline in every area of economic activity.

The local party and government bodies, ministries and departments must take measures toward accelerating the construction of major first-priority projects, improving the supply of material and technological equipment to the building sites, removing the shortcomings in the transport services and improving the planning of freight carriage and putting things right in the exploitation of the rolling stock.

The priority objective in agriculture should be to concentrate all energies and attention on completing the spring sowing at a high agrotechnical level and within the shortest possible time limits and ensuring the highly productive utilization of machinery and tractors during field work in spring and at harvest time. No time should be wasted in preparing the necessary facilities for the storage and processing of cereals, vegetables and fruit. It is important that the population's demand for meat, milk and vegetables should be ever more fully met by locally producing these products on the basis of expanding inter-regional specialization and cooperation.

The USSR State Planning Committee and the Council of Ministers of the RSFSR should, together with the relevant ministries and departments, consider the specific issues involved in the continued social and economic development of the districts of Siberia and the Far East, raised by Leonid Brezhnev during his visit.

The Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the USSR note the great importance of Leonid Brezhnev's meetings with Soviet servicemen for raising still higher the standards of military and political training in the Soviet Armed Forces.

The Soviet Union's defense effort is directed toward protecting and safeguarding itself and its socialist friends against possible aggression, from whatever quarter. The Soviet Union is profoundly averse to positions of strength policies. It does not threaten any of its

neighbors, far or near, and seeks to develop good-neighbor relations between states.

The Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the USSR stress the necessity of stepping up efforts to deepen the process of détente. No task affecting the destinies of every man on Earth is of greater importance in the present conditions than that of bringing about real disarmament. A major step toward achieving this aim would be the conclusion of a long-term agreement between the USSR and the U.S. on limiting strategic offensive armaments, on the principle of equality and identical security. This would open up a prospect for moving toward more far-reaching measures for limiting and reducing strategic armaments. The USSR reaffirms its proposal for a mutual renunciation of the production of neutron weapons which would save mankind from being drawn into yet another round of the arms race.

The Soviet Union, in close cooperation with other countries of the socialist community, will work persistently for progress in other areas of disarmament now under negotiation and for a radical improvement of the entire international climate.

The Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers express their confidence that the Soviet people will work still more energetically to fulfill the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, build up their country's strength and actively contribute to an effective attainment of the home and foreign policy objectives of the party and the Soviet state.

Pravda, April 15, 1978



THE ROAD AHEAD

Rude Pravo editorial

Nine years ago, in April 1969, the CC CPCz completed at its meeting the struggle of the party's Marxist-Leninist forces against the rightists in the party leadership and elected a new leadership headed by Gustav Husak. The meeting was a milestone in the history of the party and the country; it marked the beginning of consolidation in the life of our party and people, the beginning of further progress.

The first prerequisite of success in the political struggle against the rightists and for the defeat of anti-socialist, counter-revolutionary forces was provided by the internationalist assistance which the Soviet Union and four fraternal socialist countries rendered our party, country and people in August 1968 to defend and safeguard socialism, to protect the working people's fundamental, vital interests. Let us recall the main historical lesson of those events as described by Gustav Husak, General Secretary of the CC CPCz, at the 14th Party Congress.

"The Czechoslovak events of 1968," he said, "confirmed the correctness of Lenin's precept that even the largest revolutionary force becomes — unless it has a principled and firm leadership adhering without qualification to a Marxist-Leninist position — a scattered mass incapable of organized action and, in certain conditions, is likely to be defeated by the onslaught of counter-revolutionary forces. An objective analysis of developments in that period confirms that had it not been for the timely internationalist assistance of our closest socialist allies, the power of the working class and other working people in our country would have been defeated. And that would have had far-reaching consequences not only for our people but for peace in Europe; it would have endangered the positions of socialism and prejudiced the international revolutionary movement as a whole."

Both before and after August 1968, the Marxist-Leninist forces were gradually consolidated and fought stubbornly against rightists and anti-socialists. It was an open political struggle in which the task was to expose right-wing opportunist forces and their real intentions and to rid large numbers of working people of the influence and demagoguery of these forces.

The Marxist-Leninist forces that were forming and their representatives in the Presidium and Secretariat of the CC CPCz, on the Central Committee, in the party apparatus and party organizations

stroved to free the party and the whole of our public life from the encumbrances of revisionism, opportunism and nationalism, strip the anti-socialist and counter-revolutionary forces of their influence, fully restore the strength of our socialist system and carry it forward. In the process they had to patiently overcome not only incomprehension but even distrust and to gradually win the support of comrades and citizens who had wavered for a time in August and were now searching for the truth.

It was no easy struggle, for after August 21 the right-wing opportunists retained a number of positions and, indeed, strengthened them in some spheres.

The first marked gain of the Marxist-Leninist forces, a gain on which they could base their further initiatives and activity, was the November 1968 meeting of the CC CPCz. Its results narrowed the rightist elements' field of action to a considerable extent.

After the November meeting of the Central Committee the rightists began to realize that they would go on losing ground. They therefore used every lever in an effort to delay their downfall as much as possible. They made a double-dealing policy their platform. It was primarily young people and students that they tried to involve in a new round of the pressure campaign directed against the normalization process. The rightists organized student strikes, demonstrations, the submission of various memorandums, and other actions expressive of the extreme demands of the right-wing opportunist and anti-Soviet front.

To bring about a radical turn in the general development, it was indispensable, first and foremost, to settle the situation in the party leadership, the sphere in which radical change and rectification had to start. This historic task was accomplished by the April meeting of the CC CPCz. The meeting (held on April 17) was a new advance toward ending the crisis. It opened a decisive stage at which the process of change in the balance of forces within the party rose to a qualitatively new plane.

Great personal credit is due to Gustav Husak and the comrades who supported him for rallying the Marxist-Leninist forces and enabling the party once again to fulfill its mission as the revolutionary vanguard of the working class, as the leading force of society uniting all patriots and internationalists aware of their great political responsibility to their own people and the revolutionary movement as a whole.

In solving various problems, the party leadership under Gustav

Husak relied for support on the ideologically staunch Marxist-Leninist core which had withstood the hard test. The party leadership strove from the outset to deal with the situation in such a way as not to lose sight of the future; it strove to cleanse the party, ensure the party's ideological and political unity, unity of action, efficiency and consistent application of Leninism in all our policy, and to re-establish Leninist working methods. It proceeded in a principled manner and a creative spirit, above all in order to win stronger positions for socialism. The CPCz leadership was consistent in defending the fundamental interests of the working people and respected the principles of proletarian and socialist internationalism.

It was a correct path, a Leninist approach. This was convincingly attested to by practice in subsequent days, months and years, and is confirmed by present reality.

That path . . . was not easy. In following it, we had to overcome all the grave effects of the crisis, doing it purposefully and energetically yet patiently and judiciously and in every sphere of our public life ranging from the economy, which during the crisis found itself on the brink of a breakdown, to correcting the erroneous attitudes of some people. It was one of the party's most difficult struggles in all its history, an intense struggle in which hundreds of thousands of communists and millions of citizens of our country devoted to socialism proved their worth. Leninist policy made it possible to muster the creative forces of society so as to end the crisis, remove its effects and causes, consolidate society, resume and assure the dynamic development of the economy as well as of all other fields.

If we are to define briefly what led to ending the crisis and advancing society, we must cite, first of all, the fact that the party rid itself of rightist elements, uniting itself ideologically and organizationally on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, restored Leninist working methods, relied on the working people for support, systematically built up its unity and cohesion with the people, and cherished friendship with the Soviet Union as the apple of its eye, in the spirit of Klement Gottwald's legacy.

Ever since April 1969, the party's policy has been a policy of creative development of Marxism-Leninism; it links up organically with the revolutionary spirit of February 1948 and accords with the present and future requirements of further development of our society. The working people have come to see its correctness, and have

therefore put their full confidence in this policy and, moreover, support it actively, creatively and devotedly.

The consolidation process begun by the April meeting of the CC CPCz also made it possible to solve all the fundamental problems whose neglect had caused the crisis. At the 14th CPCz Congress, in 1971, we were able to adopt a far-reaching program for construction of a developed socialist society, which we are now carrying out according to the guidelines of the 15th Party Congress. This program is consistently geared to meeting the fundamental requirements of society, to its continuous progress, to a steady rise in the people's material and spiritual standards, and fully guarantees the working people's security. The program is a reflection of the real humanism of our socialist system and demonstrates its complete superiority over capitalism.

The results achieved by the working people of our country under the party's leadership are remarkable. The economy is developing at a dynamic rate, the people's standard of living is improving, their political, social, economic and legal status is further consolidating. Thanks to the development of socialist democracy, man in our society has increasing opportunities to use his abilities as an active, creative force in public life.

After April 1969 Czechoslovakia strengthened and carried forward its alliance and fraternal ties with the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community, with which we are linked by common ideas and goals and by the solution of problems of building socialism and communism. After April 1969, the international prestige of our country increased. The rightists' plans aimed at isolating our republic politically fell through. In fact, the number of countries with which we maintain diplomatic relations is much greater now than before 1968. The past nine years have seen a series of important top-level visits, and our contribution to the solution of major international problems and to the work of international organizations has grown.

It is worthy of note that the miscarriage of the plans of imperialism and domestic counter-revolutionaries, who in 1968 tried to subvert the Czechoslovak social system and snatch our republic out of the socialist community also marked the beginning of a period in which international tensions are lessening. This, too, is proof that the rebuff to the onslaught of counter-revolution in Czechoslovakia was an important factor in improving the situation in Europe.

We realize, however, that the imperialist forces and the oppo-

nents of socialism have not given up their class plans. Our country and our socialist system have been a thorn in their flesh for as many as 30 years, ever since 1948. Their propaganda methods are still the same and so is the class hatred, except that the intensity of the campaigns carried on against the socialist countries and the forms used in the fight against communism vary.

It is a fact, however, that they are wasting their resources and energies and that their anti-communism cannot disrupt our system. And if they nourish the hope that they can undermine our socialist system from within and form anti-socialist forces or a serious anti-socialist opposition they shall be disappointed again — they actually were last year, when a handful of so-called “Chartists” exposed themselves before the people of their country. They had imagined that they would succeed in engineering some sort of effective provocation on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of Victorious February, and they are also making plans in connection with certain anniversaries due this year. But these schemes are all in vain. They have understood nothing of our country’s development since April 1969.

In the past nine years, thousands of people who see the correctness of the party’s policy have found the road to correcting their mistakes and shaking off right-wing opportunist influence. The differentiation process was successful and is continuing.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia constantly concerns itself with ideological work in the party, with raising the ideological level and maturity of all its members. The March meeting of the CC CPCz described assimilation of the fundamentals of Marxist-Leninist theory by communists and ideological firmness as being among the main permanent aspects of our effort. This is indispensable for the ideological maturity and unity of the whole party. In the past, one of the principal causes of the growing crisis in party and society was the fact that the party had disarmed itself ideologically. We have drawn proper conclusions from that and must never allow a slackening of attention to ideological work.

Since April 1969, large sections of the people have satisfied themselves of the correctness of the Communist Party’s approach: they have seen that the party’s words are never at variance with its deeds, that it speaks frankly of existing problems, is attentive to the people’s opinion and that its supreme goal is to work steadfastly for the good of the working people, for the prosperity of the country, for the further progress of socialism.

The program of the 15th CPCz Congress is a new proof of this. Our party systematically mobilizes the forces of society to fulfill the program. The 11th plenary meeting of the Central Committee assessed realistically and with a sense of responsibility the results achieved to date and decided on further steps to carry out the decisions of the 15th Congress. It summed up the work done to date and specified the tasks set for the remaining three years of the five-year plan. The deliberations of the meeting showed that the Central Committee puts emphasis on decisive questions and problems on whose solution the whole party, its every committee and every member must concentrate. Our society has the strength and resources needed to attain the goals set by the 15th Party Congress. However, this necessitates the mobilization of all resources and reserves, all communists and all working people.

We speak openly of the problems and shortcomings on whose elimination we must concentrate. The mobilization of all reserves and our subsequent advance will depend on this. The Central Committee neither conceals nor embellishes anything. It urges communists in every sphere not only to reveal and record shortcomings but to remove them everywhere and promptly.

This is an approach which we all must make our own. It is also the legacy of the April 1969 meeting of the CC CPCz, which ushered in a new stage in the development of party and society, a stage of creative development of Marxism-Leninism, of great advances in building socialism in our country.

Abridged from *Rude Pravo*, April 15, 1978

DEFENSE OF REVOLUTIONARY GAINS

*Speech by Alvaro Cunhal at Portuguese Communist Party
Conference on Defending and Invigorating
the Nationalized Sector*

THE HISTORIC GAINS OF THE PORTUGUESE REVOLUTION

The defense of the gains of the revolution is indivisible.

The struggle in defense of nationalization is inseparable from the struggle in defense of agrarian reform, workers' control, in defense of the cooperatives, and the self-management and fully or partially government-controlled enterprises, in defense of the tenant farmers against the arbitrary actions of the rich landholders, in defense of the interests, rights and freedoms won by the working people after April 25.

The solution of all fundamental economic, political and social problems facing Portugal today hinges on the defense of nationalization and other revolutionary gains.

Nationalization represents a radical revolutionary transformation of the socio-economic structure, carried out by the Portuguese revolution. This radical revolutionary character is defined not by the fact of nationalization itself, but by how it was carried out, by its nature and class essence, its socio-economic significance, scale and consequences, and the profound changes it wrought in the structure of the Portuguese economy.

Nationalization is not always revolutionary in character. In the capitalist countries it frequently serves as an element and factor of capitalist development. Nationalization of unprofitable branches, obsolete enterprises, infrastructures that are costly but essential for the big capitalist companies — such is the practice of capitalist states.

Even the fascist government implemented partial nationalization in Portugal. During the dictatorship, some experts put forward the idea of nationalizing the key branches (mining and electric power) to strengthen the monopoly groups. This kind of nationalization is always conducted under the supervision and in the interests of the monopolies.

The nationalization implemented by the Portuguese revolution is quite different in character. It was conducted on the initiative of the working classes and revolutionary forces against the stubborn

resistance of finance capital, the monopoly groups and all reactionary and conservative forces. It was not a measure in defense of big capital. It was an extraordinary measure in defense of the revolution, against the economic sabotage and plotting of the lords of the Portuguese economy.

Nationalization signified not restriction of monopoly power, but liquidation of the power and the groups themselves . . . Along with agrarian reform and other revolutionary measures, it opened up the socialist perspective to Portuguese democracy.

At this conference, Cunhal went on to say, a clear picture was given of the situation in the nationalized sector, with account for its immediate objectives. The basic and strategic branches of the Portuguese economy, on becoming state property, function outside the orbit of monopoly capitalism and the sphere of private property.

Nationalization created extremely favorable opportunities for the implementation of a new national policy that is free of monopoly domination, and serves the people, progress and national independence.

Nationalization, along with agrarian reform, with the setting up of numerous cooperatives and self-management enterprises, workers' control or control over management — that in our conditions is not a declaration of principle but real changes. They led to the creation of a socio-economic structure that leans on the collective ownership of the basic means of production, the land, and natural resources.

What we are dealing with therefore is not a Marxist "injection" into the Constitution, as reaction is seeking to depict it, but the very essence of the economic organization of Portugal, which is defined by the Constitution and which, according to it, is not subject to amendment.

AN ECONOMIC POLICY DIRECTED AGAINST THE NATIONALIZED SECTOR

The attack against nationalization is carried out above all through an economic and financial policy, which places the nationalized enterprises in a less favorable situation than the capitalist firms, creating for the former insurmountable difficulties and facilitating the latter's receipt of profits, investing in production and its expansion. The maneuvers used vary, but the aim they pursue is the same.

The prices policy. Prices have been frozen in almost all the nationalized enterprises. Their change hinges on very involved bureaucratic delays, appellation to the government involving the

permission of two ministers. The capitalist enterprises, however, have freedom of action in relation to prices on their output.

The aim of this policy is to force the nationalized enterprises to sell their products and services at below cost price and to enable the capitalist enterprises to sell their products at above cost price. Thus, the government is seeking, through the mechanism of prices to hand over to the capitalist firms for their use and accumulation a substantial part of the value created at the nationalized enterprises.

The credits policy. In this sphere the government is also striving to place the nationalized enterprises in a less privileged position. The selective approach to credits favors the capitalist sector, while the nationalized enterprises experience financial difficulties, their bank credits are cut, and in accordance with the program announced by the ruling Socialist Party (SP) and the Social Democratic Center (SDC) coalition, they are forced to resort to foreign loans.

The practice of irrational use of foreign credits and the higher interest rate imposed by the international Monetary Fund have resulted in such enormous debts and high rate of interest that the nationalized enterprises cannot achieve a favorable balance. The nationalized banks appropriate most of the profits of the enterprises through interest on credits. By giving the capitalists preferential credits, these banks in the final count confiscate the additional value from the nationalized sector, handing it over to the capitalist sector.

The investments policy. Here too the nationalized sector comes up against restrictions and difficulties. Financial resources are concentrated in the hands of the capitalist enterprises. The entire system of indemnification in connection with investments is simply a form of handing over means and resources to the capitalists, with the resultant stagnation and degradation of the public sector.

The attack against nationalization is conducted by other means as well: lack of government support for the nationalized enterprises and branches, delay in adopting urgent decisions, obstructing the implementation of projects and useful initiatives, which are at times indispensable for the normal activity of these enterprises, for their expansion, and overcoming the difficulties they come up against.

Seeking to implement its plan of restoration, big capital is out to hamper the effective and successful functioning of the nationalized sector.

A real threat to the nationalized sector and the Portuguese economy is posed by the handing over of ministerial departments, key and influential posts at the nationalized enterprises to the opponents

of nationalization, who advocate restoration of the positions of capitalism and re-establishing monopoly power.

The aim is to further aggravate the situation in the nationalized enterprises and industries, to bring about their collapse, to prove their unviability, creating thereby conditions for transferring them to the private sector.

The attacks against the nationalized sector, Cunhal noted, were accompanied by a clamorous and ceaseless campaign of lies, slander and defamation, with the aim of discrediting nationalization and preparing public opinion for the restoration of capitalist positions and the transfer of the nationalized enterprises to big capital.

In the face of this offensive the PCP firmly defends nationalization, and not only because it is the decisive factor in building a new, progressive and independent economy in the interests of the people and country, but also because it is a major factor in extricating the country from the crisis.

Together with the workers and all working people, democrats and patriots, we believe that nationalization, and the agrarian reform will be defended, that the nationalized enterprises will be invigorated and will make a decisive contribution to strengthening the Portuguese economy.

THE HARMFULNESS OF THE POLICY OF CAPITALIST RESTORATION

Continuing its attacks against the revolutionary gains and following a road designed to restore the positions of capitalism, the SD-SDC government cannot solve the crisis but will, on the contrary, aggravate it, and lead — however indirectly — to a situation from which it will be even more difficult to find a way out.

The 16-month existence of the one-party socialist government has proved that the policy of restoring capitalism is incapable of solving a single major national problem.

As noted at the conference, in 1976-1977 the trade deficit grew from 73 million contos to 112 million, and the balance of payments deficit, from 29 million to a level that would exceed 50 million contos.

The foreign debt increased from 104.5 million contos at the end of 1976 to 205 million at the end of October 1977. More than 100 tons of gold have been sold. Half of the gold reserves has been mortgaged.

Incapable of mobilizing the national resources, lacking both imagination and initiative, the SD-SDC government, like the previous socialist government, sees foreign loans as the only means of

extricating our economy from its present difficulties and disproportions.

The government continues receiving loans, burdening the Portuguese people with debts, mortgaging its reserves and resources, endangering the future of our economy and our national independence.

It is essential that the country should know what these loans signify. Usually they are not intended for economic development, investments, strengthening the country's productive capacity, which would enable Portugal to raise production to the level of consumption. They are rather used for patching up holes in the treasury, to cover the balance of payments deficit, to pay the interests on previous loans.

On the other hand, in providing these loans, imperialism imposes its own terms, which curtails the real possibilities of strengthening the economy in the interests of the people and the Portuguese nation and endangers freedom and democracy.

To accept the terms imposed by the IMF and the imperialist countries with respect to economic policy means to tie Portugal hand and foot, to deprive it of the opportunity to solve problems through its own efforts and to find ways of surmounting its difficulties.

The PCP is not opposed to foreign loans. But it holds that the Portuguese government has no right to permit outside interference in the country's internal affairs, the imposition of terms from abroad, which prejudices Portugal's independent future.

DEMOCRATIC ALTERNATIVE

The government asserts that there is no democratic alternative to its policy. I believe, comrades, that our present conference — like the Seventh Party Congress and the economic conference in June 1977 — will firmly declare that a democratic alternative does exist.

As our party has repeatedly emphasized, a way out of the crisis requires enormous efforts on the part of the nation, using, above all, its internal reserves and energy.

It is essential to raise home production, particularly in the branches where the production process is less dependent on imports. It is also essential to rapidly increase production of goods that are not imported ... Finally, an indispensable condition is the active and creative participation of our working people.

For this to become possible, it is essential to rebuff the attempts at capitalist, latifundist and imperialist restoration, to defend the

changes wrought by the revolution in the Portuguese economy, maintain the borders between various economic sectors (capitalist and non-capitalist), and to stimulate the inherent dynamism of each of them.

The capitalist enterprises, naturally, also have an important role to play in the country's economic development. They must be given the necessary conditions for their functioning through appropriate stimuli and support ... However, stimulation and support of the private sector presupposes that it should renounce attempts to seek revenge, to return to the past, to restore monopoly capitalism; it should once and for all recognize the transformation of the socio-economic structure implemented in the process of democratization which today is part of the democratic regime of Portugal.

Invigoration of the nationalized sector, just as of the entire economy requires a policy pursuing the following aims: not a slump or stagnation (as demanded by the IMF, to which the government agrees), but rapid expansion of production; not the flooding of the domestic market (as demanded by the IMF, to which the government agrees) by foreign goods, much of which are absolutely unnecessary; not a steep deterioration of living standards of the people, who are thus made to pay for the crisis (as demanded by the IMF, to which the government agrees), but defense of the interests of those who work, which will help in finding a way out of the crisis; not the uncontrolled squandering of resources and energy, as is the case at present, but economizing of resources and a genuine national campaign against wastefulness.

Invigoration of the nationalized sector, of the entire national economy, requires coordination and planning which would make it possible to determine the possibilities and resources, to set goals, ensure the necessary interaction between the various branches, sectors and enterprises of the national economy.

Invigoration of the nationalized sector demands a new prices policy, renunciation of the present discriminatory criteria ... a new policy in the sphere of credits and investments.

In defending the national interests, the Portuguese people will not be reconciled with the government's fatherly concern for the private sector while it looks on the nationalized sector as a poor relative in the house of a rich aunt.

The PCP has always held that a way out of the crisis through enormous production efforts is fully in accord not only with maintaining living standards, but with improving them.

The dynamism, effectiveness and productivity as well as the profitability of the nationalized enterprises depend largely on the efforts and activity of the working people, and as a manifestation of civic and political consciousness these efforts and activities should receive material encouragement.

The conference approved what is part of the every-day activity of our party: the communists do not limit themselves to criticizing the political course, they advance alternatives and propose solutions to problems.

Closely linked with the workers, the masses of working people and the progressive circles of Portuguese society, the communists are making a direct and real contribution to the solution of major national problems.

Irrespective of the policy Portugal will follow in the immediate future, one thing is certain: the day will come when the majority of the Portuguese people will clearly see that the restoration of capitalism, latifundism and imperialism, liquidation of the agrarian reform and of nationalization, re-establishment of monopoly power would be a national catastrophe, and that a way out of the crisis, economic development, growing well-being of the people and national independence can and must be achieved through the economic policy proposed today by the Communist Party.

Unfortunately, the SD leadership, in collusion with the legal extreme rightists, is with increasing stubbornness conducting a policy toward capitalist restoration. A "legitimate" counter-revolution is still active in the Assembly of the Republic.

We do not believe that there is a single worker in the ranks of the Socialist Party, unless he has lost all class-consciousness, who would approve such a policy.

The working-class and popular movement remains strong and united, unitary tendencies are triumphing, and are characteristic not only of the working class, but also of the other anti-monopoly classes and strata. Not for several years has there been in evidence such a tendency toward coming together and mutual understanding of democrats, and instances of cooperation between the communists and socialists are multiplying, which we welcome.

And, finally, *our party* — which was reinforced by 27,000 new enthusiasts during the April enrollment, thanks to which its membership went up to 142,512 in January 1978, apart from the 30,000 members of PCP youth organizations — has never had such close ties with the working class and the masses, who see our party as the sole

major party that consistently, firmly and selflessly defends the interests of the working people, the revolutionary gains, civil rights and freedoms, and the democratic regime that is sanctified by the Constitution.

The leaders of the SD and SDC declare that the government will stand until 1980. It is most unlikely that they will hold out that long, given their policy. They will not hold out because voluntarist plans and projects drawn up in offices and institutions is one thing, but the real life of society and will of the people is something quite different.

The SD-SDC government disregards the real life of Portugal, its people, and its own contradictions . . . This policy inevitably leads to the aggravation of social conflicts.

Bearing in mind the economic and financial situation of the country, our party has been and continues to be particularly cautious in examining the question of strikes. But should the policy of capitalist restoration, the policy of "tightened belts" for the working people and "open pockets" for the capitalists continue, the strikes will inevitably increase.

The working class, the popular masses are the flesh and blood, consciousness and heart of our homeland. They represent an enormous creative force that is essential for strengthening the economy and finances, for building a democratic and independent Portugal.

Together with the working class, with the popular masses, always prepared to join in the efforts of all democrats, the Communist Party, united, resolute and enjoying confidence, will continue waging a struggle in defense of the revolutionary gains, in defense of freedom, a democratic regime and national independence.

Abridged from *Avante!*, March 16, 1978



THESES FOR THE 14TH AKEL CONGRESS

(May 1978)

The main feature of the period under review was the culmination of the imperialist plot against Cyprus, as expressed by the July 15, 1974 junta putsch and the barbaric Turkish invasion on July 20 of that year.

The four years that have passed since the previous AKEL congress have been years of bloodshed and tears, banishment from their homes, occupation and captivity for our people. At the same time, however, these were years of courageous struggle for the salvation and freedom of Cyprus. Thousands laid down their lives, and some 2,000 are missing. A third of the population are refugees in their own homeland.

Our party has taken a correct approach to the complex problems that appeared after the putsch and the invasion, enabling eventually the return of President Makarios and restoration of constitutional order and normalization of the situation on the free territory of the Cyprus Republic.

The enormous losses of our party and the popular movement during the putsch and invasion confirm, as evidenced by the *Chronicle of Struggle* put out by the AKEL Central Committee, that our party played the vanguard role in the struggle, during which the government underestimated the danger and turned out to be absolutely unprepared to counter the putsch.

On the whole, the road to solving the Cyprus question is seen as follows:

The question must be solved by peaceful means, on the basis of inter-Cypriot talks. The talks and any international conference to discuss and settle the international aspects of the problem should be held under the auspices and within the framework of the United Nations. The settlement must be democratic and just, while taking account of the interests of both the Greek and Turkish population of the island. The settlement should result in a truly independent,

sovereign, non-aligned, territorially integral, demilitarized federative republic comprising two communities. The Turkish and all other foreign troops must be withdrawn. The refugees must return to their homes. The fate of the missing persons must be cleared up. It is essential to study and provide, under U.N. auspices, strong and stable guarantees of independence, sovereignty, non-alignment and territorial integrity for the Republic of Cyprus.

AKEL continues to hold that the creation of a civilian, representative government is an imperative necessity and a prerequisite for waging a successful liberation struggle, inasmuch as such a government, apart from enhancing confidence both in and outside the country, would approach all issues from positions of the greatest advisability and with full responsibility.

Our party has no intention of giving up efforts aimed at creating a civilian, representative government.

We will judge the present government on the basis of its deeds and the policy it will follow in resolving the Cyprus question. We will support all its positive steps and criticize all its negative actions.

First of all, we must bear in mind the secret subversive plotting of the imperialists headed by U.S. imperialism, who have for years used every available opportunity to dismember Cyprus and to draw it into the NATO orbit.

Second, we should not forget the junta's double-dealing to the detriment of our people.

A third significant factor was the negative role played by Turkey and the Turkish-Cypriot leadership. It will be recalled that ever since British colonization the reactionary Turkish leadership has nurtured the idea of partitioning Cyprus, alleging that the Greeks and Turks could not coexist peacefully on the island.

Fourth, the Greek-Cypriot side deviated, under the pressure of the Enosis idea and terror, from the independence policy proclaimed by Makarios in 1968.

The fifth factor is that the state failed to change its attitude toward the Turkish Cypriots, despite the insistent demands and efforts of our party and other left organizations.

All these factors negatively affected the negotiations between the communities and hampered their successful conclusion.

In the struggle for a peaceful, democratic settlement of the Cyprus issue an extremely important part is played by efforts aimed at its internationalization.

Our party and all the popular organizations had an exceptional role

to play in internationalizing the question and in the success of their demonstrations. Thanks to their close ties with other fraternal parties and organizations and their political experience, they made a decisive contribution to the struggle for internationalization.

The further all-round internationalization of the Cyprus issue at the state, parliamentary and popular level should culminate in an international conference under UN auspices and on the basis of the UN mandate for solving the international aspect of the question.

The key sources firmly supporting our liberation struggle are the socialist community countries, particularly the great country of socialism — the Soviet Union, the non-aligned states and the democratic, progressive movements in the capitalist countries.

The UN remains, despite its shortcomings, a powerful instrument in waging a struggle for a peaceful, democratic solution of the Cyprus issue.

The sudden death of President Makarios in August 1977 was a heavy blow to Cyprus and its people's liberation struggle, for, thanks to his protracted struggle and valuable experience, he had acquired international prestige. Inside the country he was the key figure in uniting the patriotic forces, rallying the broad popular strata for the liberation struggle.

AKEL deputies play a major role both in and outside Parliament in advancing solutions to numerous complex questions of the country's development, in the struggle for progressive legislation.

Our party has come out since its inception for full democratization of the country's political and public life. Ever since the proclamation of Cyprus's independence, AKEL has waged a struggle for the democratization of education, the cooperative movement, municipal, rural and other bodies, for a more democratic electoral system based on proportional representation, and for the electiveness of all without exception public, school and other leading bodies.

The imperialist plotting, as witnessed by recent events in Hilton Hotel and Larnaco airport, is continuing and will undoubtedly intensify, for imperialism has not abandoned its attempts to ruin the state of Cyprus and to subordinate the country to the interests of the imperialist North Atlantic bloc.

Therefore patriotic vigilance and a stronger internal front are an earnest of the security of our state and the liberation struggle of our people.

A change in the attitude of our state and people toward our Turkish-Cypriot compatriots by adopting practical measures for a

stage by stage restoration of cooperation between the Greeks and Turks on the island would be a decisive step in strengthening our internal front and stepping up the anti-imperialist struggle.

The people's disagreement — of Greek and Turkish Cypriots alike — with what is happening shows that there are grounds for drawing closer. But this requires time, enormous efforts and sacrifices.

Reality shows that AKEL, which over its half-century existence and activity has won high prestige among the people and gained enormous experience by participating in all the people's battles, as well as making the greatest sacrifices in the name of the interests and cause of the people, now represents the biggest and most serious political force in Cyprus.

AKEL is a party that is not only guided by the invincible theory of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, but — and as is evident from its deeds — is also correctly implementing this scientific theory in practice.

From the very beginning of the tragedy, our party worked along with the people, doing everything to alleviate the suffering of the refugees and for the urgent solution of serious socio-economic problems of the working people. At the same time it began drafting a concrete program of action geared to the obtaining situation, a program of restoration and activitization of production, satisfaction of the primary economic and social requirements of the people.

AKEL's second "Emergency Economic Action Plan" for 1977-1978 was presented to the government in June 1977. In drafting the plan, the party proceeded from the new economic, political and social conditions and took account of both the merits and shortcomings of the first emergency program.

AKEL proved capable not only of healing the wounds of its organizations, but will have by the 14th Congress a larger membership than at the previous Congress. In all without exception fields of organization work the party has achieved the charted goals, thanks to which it has grown stronger and greatly enhanced its influence among the people.

The imperialist circles are doing everything to mislead the working people and to bring about a split in the international communist and working-class movement.

Their target is the great country of socialism, the Soviet Union, which has successfully built socialism and is now rapidly laying the material base for communist society.

This offensive, which is accompanied by a distortion of the ideals

of socialism and communism and slander against them, is not fortuitous. It stems from the fact that the balance of forces between socialism and imperialism is ever more decisively favoring world socialism, frustrating the militarist plots of the imperialists, while at the same time ever more clearly demonstrating the superiority of socialism in the economic field.

The 25th Congress of the CPSU (February 1976) was an event of world-historic significance. From the point of view of the Soviet Union and its people the congress will occupy a special place in the history of the CPSU, for it concretized the tasks linked with the conclusion of building the material-technical foundation for transition to the highest stage of socialism, to communism. Also of exceptional importance in the life of the Soviet people was the adoption by the Supreme Soviet of the new Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the USSR on October 7, 1977.

The significance of these historic events for the Soviet Union extends beyond the borders of that country, acquiring a worldwide scale.

To ensure a lasting and strong peace throughout the world détente should become an irreversible process and an inviolable norm in relations between states, and political détente must be complemented by détente in the military sphere.

The historic objective which the peace-loving forces of the world and the communists in the first place are committing themselves to in our epoch is the struggle to deliver humanity from the danger of a thermonuclear war, the threat of the neutron bomb, and through general and complete disarmament to remove war for all time from the life of humanity.

Over the past four years a struggle has been waged throughout the world between the progressive, peace-loving, democratic and patriotic forces, on the one hand, and the forces of imperialism and reaction, on the other.

The progressive forces fighting for national independence, democracy and socio-economic progress the world over have made significant headway in that period. The communist and workers' parties and the national-liberation movements are in the van of this struggle.

In Europe, the fascist-dictatorial regimes that existed in Portugal, Spain and Greece have been swept away by the democratic forces, restoring democracy in these countries.

In the Middle East, the the Arab people are waging a persistent struggle against imperialism, Zionism and the expansionism of the

Israeli ruling circles. The primary aim of this struggle is the liberation of all the Arab territories from Israeli occupation and the recognition of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to set up their own state.

In Africa, with the victorious conclusion of the valiant liberation struggle of the peoples of Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, the Cape Verde Islands and Angola the last remnants of Portugal's colonial empire have collapsed.

The racist regimes in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and South Africa are coming up against the growing opposition of the popular masses.

A persistent struggle for freedom is being waged by the people of Namibia under the leadership of the SWAPO liberation front.

On the other hand, imperialism is skillfully using in its interests the disruptive and anti-Soviet policy of the Chinese leadership.

Undoubtedly the successes of the socialist community countries and their impact on international affairs would be even greater and more notable, had not their unity, the unity of the world working-class and communist movement been undermined by the nationalistic, dogmatic, sectarian policy and tactics followed by the new leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and the People's Republic of China. This policy is damaging to the cause of socialism and peace and to the peoples' struggle for independence, democracy and social progress. It serves only the self-seeking aims of the Chinese leadership and favors imperialism.

As distinct from the steady development and progress of the socialist community countries, the past four years have been years of severe trials for the capitalist countries, particularly the industrially developed ones.

In the economic competition between the socialist world system and the capitalist system, as well as in the competition in all spheres of human activity, the future belongs to socialism.

Abridged from *Haravghi*, March 19, 1978

TO THE NINTH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF SPAIN

Dear comrades,

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union sends fraternal greetings to the delegates of the Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of Spain, to all Spanish communists and wishes them success in their work for the good of their people.

Your congress is convened at an important period when Spain is eliminating the fascist heritage, establishing democracy and forming its present-day political features. The changes taking place in Spain are the result of almost half a century of heroic struggle of the Spanish communists, all working people and democrats against fascism. At the same time these changes became possible as a consequence of international solidarity with the Spanish democrats, as a result of deep-going favorable changes on the international arena and the changing balance of forces in favor of socialism and peace.

The Soviet people are well aware of the enormous responsibility devolving on the Spanish communists at this stage of the country's political and socio-economic development. The historical experience of the international working-class movement clearly shows that the chief guarantee of democratic transformations and successful struggle for social progress is the existence of a strong and efficient Communist Party which is guided in its actions by the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism and comes out as the genuine vanguard of the broad working masses.

As the Spanish communists are well aware, for the Soviet people the problem of overcoming the regime of exploitation, class and national oppression has long since become history. Crises and inflation, high cost of living and unemployment have irreversibly receded into the past. In the Soviet Union, a developed socialist society has been built and is being continually improved, socialist democracy has been established which ensures the real rights, freedoms and interests of the working people, their effective participation in managing all the affairs of society, from top to bottom.

Our achievements are the result of the heroic efforts of our working class, collective farmers and intelligentsia, the historic creativity of the masses, the vanguard role of the Soviet communists in socialist and communist construction.

In the foreign policy sphere, the Soviet Union concentrates its

attention on the struggle for peace, for the security of the peoples, against the arms race, on eliminating the hotbeds of war. At the same time the Soviet Union supports the just struggle of the peoples for national independence and social progress, rebuffing imperialist aggression.

Now that the most aggressive imperialist circles have stepped up their attempts to tilt the balance of world forces in their favor, to hamper mankind's social progress and continue to impose the arms race, it is particularly important to strengthen in every way the unity of the communist and workers' parties, of all democratic, anti-imperialist forces in the struggle against the main enemy of the peoples — imperialism, to firmly rebuff all attempts to undermine or weaken the positions of socialism.

The party of Lenin, the Soviet peoples have always manifested a fighting solidarity with the courageous struggle of the Spanish communists and democrats for a new Spain. The Spanish communists can rest assured in the CPSU's firm fidelity to the principles of internationalism, now as well as in the future.

The Soviet communists cherish the traditions of friendship and cooperation between our parties, sealed by the joint struggle against fascism and reaction, and consider it imperative to safeguard and multiply them in the interests of the peoples of the USSR and Spain, in the name of peace and security. The CPSU continues to come out for friendship with the CPS, for fraternal relations with it on norms and principles inscribed in the document of the 1976 Berlin Conference and in the joint communiqué of the two parties of October 16, 1974.

We wish the Communist Party of Spain success in its struggle for the vital interests of the working people, in strengthening ties with the working class, with all progressive forces, for democracy in Spain, for the triumph of the ideals of peace and socialism.

Long live friendship between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of Spain!

Long live friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union and Spain!

Long live the invincible teaching of Marxism-Leninism!

Central Committee
Communist Party of the Soviet Union
Pravda, April 19, 1978

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

FOR A SPEEDY MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING TO PUT AN END TO FASCISM

Statement by the Communist Party of Chile

The crisis of the fascist regime in our country is growing more acute. New prospects are opening up in the struggle for freedom. The entire people is rebuffing the tyranny. The slogan "Chile si! Pinochet no!" unites the majority of the nation. Pinochet's January 4 farce wrought no change in the course of events. Ultimately, the fraud is working against the regime. Its decline has become obvious to the entire country and the world. Once again resorting to desperate repressive measures, the regime is further aggravating its position. Neither deceit, chauvinism, nor fascist terror nor anything else can impede the development of profound tendencies which are emerging in our country and which will become ever more concrete and dynamic as we contribute to the explanation of reality.

The success of the struggle and unanimity of all the forces opposing the tyranny are changing the course of events in favor of Chile. This opens up new prospects in the anti-fascist struggle. Pinochet finds himself in isolation in the country as well as internationally.

The working class and trade union movement of Chile are increasingly occupying the center of the anti-fascist struggle. Pinochet's intention to legalize fascism has been rejected by the majority of the population. Pressured externally and internally, Pinochet attempted to find a way out through a fraudulent plebiscite. But this maneuver only intensified the polemics, causing a split even in the ranks of the Armed Forces. A new situation is emerging. In the circumstances, Pinochet is still capable of dealing blows, but today his strength is not the same any more.

Pinochet had the impertinence to invoke such concepts as homeland and national sovereignty. He, of all people, has the least right to speak of these fundamental concepts. He betrayed the constitutional government, came out against his own country, usurped power,

launched a bloody terror and declared open war against his own people, unlike any other ruler in Chilean history.

This "war" became the basic direction of Pinochet's policy and was converted into the official doctrine of his regime. Even the investigations of the U.S. Senate have proved that the fascist coup was financed by the CIA. It is also obvious today that Pinochet's economic policy is directed from outside, by the economists of the so-called Chicago school. His inept foreign policy has isolated Chile from the international community and has resulted in the country's worst relations with its neighbors in the present century.

In these conditions the danger of a conflict threatens the peoples of the southern cone of Latin America. In the face of this danger it is a patriotic duty to promote peace and mutual understanding between our peoples, to come out against fascist adventurism, for genuine national security, and to thwart imperialist plots.

The country has been suffering from fascist oppression for more than four years. During the entire period emergency measures have been in effect in the country. In particular, martial law (in some districts) and a curfew have been imposed.

The fact that some 2,500 persons are listed as missing is one of fascism's most atrocious deeds. The entire world is concerned over their fate. The successive hunger strikes of their families have dramatically appealed to both Chilean and international public opinion. The United Nations has demanded that the tyrant disclose their whereabouts. So far no answer has been forthcoming. Instead of releasing the political prisoners who have disappeared into the DINA dungeons, Pinochet has extended the repressions to the Christian-Democratic Party.

It is imperative to liquidate the martial law zones and revoke all other emergency measures, liquidate the DINA (now renamed the National Information Center), achieve the release of civilian and military political prisoners, return the exiled and the missing persons. An end must be put to the violence and arbitrary actions, and respect of the rights of the trade unions and all popular organizations must be ensured.

Many ask: if the majority of the country is against fascism, if the tyranny is isolated both internally and internationally, why does not Pinochet fall? What should be done to this end? We hold that it is essential above all to expand the mass struggle and united actions; second, expand the areas of mutual understanding between all the anti-fascists and the non-fascist groups, civilian or military alike; and,

third, achieve mutual understanding on the state system that is to replace fascism, and also regarding a minimum socio-economic program.

Fascism is the principal obstacle to the solution of Chile's problems. It is enemy number one; without destroying fascism the road to resolving our problems cannot be opened. The liquidation of fascism is the basic requisite for the very life of Chile, for its independence and freedom, for its national security and realization by our people of their sovereign rights. This requires rallying of all forces interested in its final destruction. This is not a momentary task and certainly not a matter of expediency, but a fundamental issue linked with other present-day problems and the historical perspective.

To root out fascism requires above all putting an end to the Pinochet tyranny and eliminating the causes that led to its emergence. This objective is a way to a profound democratic renovation; its realization is a great democratic and patriotic duty. To fully implement this objective, liberate the country from the present horrors, and eliminate the danger of ever reverting to them, it is essential to use every opportunity, to release all the energies of our people.

As for the need to end the tyranny, there is a broad consensus among the democratic forces, a striving for a common goal proceeding from the grass-roots level. New political and human relations are taking shape among the people.

We communists realize that the unitary process will be a prolonged one. But it is already obvious that there exists as a whole a consensus of opinion required to reach mutual understanding, to terminate the four-year long suffering of the people and to meet the demands of the majority of the population. In this sphere decisive importance now attaches to the subjective factors, the militant spirit of the masses, the will of each social and political group.

In relation to this we welcome as a significant step forward the Christian-Democratic Party's statement "A Homeland for Everyone." This appeal includes some points that are an important factor in stepping up joint actions. In our view it is essential to advance further in that direction, seeking accord on vital problems that still await their solution and which in one way or another hamper the achievement of unity.

In the struggle against the tyranny the positions of Popular Unity and the Christian Democrats have come closer. But it should be acknowledged that there still is a lack of understanding on both sides, an incomprehension of each other's positions, a degree of distrust and

even real differences, stemming from the different class positions of each of these groups. We are aware of the prejudice toward the communists. We once again declare our readiness to discuss all questions on what we seek today and our plans for tomorrow. We invariably adhere to this stand in relation to our Popular Unity allies: the Socialist Party, the Radical Party, the Left Christians, MAPU, and the MAPU Worker-Peasant Party. At the same time we are interested in learning more about the positions of other groups, particularly the Christian Democrats. We are not asking anyone to modify their principles, just as we are not modifying our own principles. The rallying of Chileans will be real and effective only if it is based on the genuine participation of all those who set themselves similar patriotic goals. There naturally are certain differences between the various trends opposing the tyranny and they will continue to exist, though hopefully in the framework of mutual understanding. Neither we nor the Chilean people in general want a war between the two main trends of civic thought — Popular Unity and the Christian Democrats.

Indeed, we see that a large number of Chileans are opposed to Pinochet or, at least, disagree with him; at the same time they are not yet actively taking part in the struggle to change the situation. The fact is that many are asking themselves: and what next? They have no wish to simply revert to the former situation. Some Chileans still do not clearly see what is to replace Pinochet. They have every reason to ask themselves: who will rule the country? What will happen? We are convinced that these questions must be answered without delay.

We communists believe that this incomprehension is surmountable. More, we hold that the common interests of the majority should and can prevail over the lack of understanding. The principal contradiction is that between the interests of imperialism and the monopoly oligarchy, on the one hand, and the interests of the Chilean nation, on the other. There are also differences in approach, which, naturally, are not easily eliminated. But what is really important, and should be emphasized, is the coincidence of views which stems from the fundamental contradiction, from the fact that we have a common enemy. We communists advocate unity based on mutual accord. We are prepared to discuss any point on which opinions differ, which may be due to real causes, or simply to insufficient dialogue.

Each side should frankly and clearly state what it wants after the fall of fascism, and above all agreement should be sought on this question. This will infuse new energy in the anti-fascist movement

and provide opportunities for new elements to join it, which could be a determining factor for victory.

What should be done further? We hold that two ways are open to the democratic forces of Chile:

(a) overthrow the tyranny, and then separate, so that each party can advance its own political plan; this plan should be discussed by the Chilean people on a democratic, sovereign basis;

(b) together to overthrow the tyranny, maintain unity and on the basis of a single political plan advance the objective of creating jointly a broad-based democratic representative government.

In a statement made by our party in September 1976 we advanced three proposals: to act in unity to overthrow the fascist dictatorship, reach an agreement enabling the creation of a new democracy and to form a government in which all the anti-fascist forces would be represented. We declared that if there were agreement on even one of these proposals, it should be concretized. However, we communists favor all three proposals. In our view facts show that these proposals took account of the real requirements.

There is also another problem. After the overthrow of Pinochet, a de facto government, in whatever form, should be set up whose task will be to lead the country toward the creation of a new lawful government, establishment of a democratic system and the formation of organs of power elected by the people.

Not a single person, not a single civilian or military institution, not a single party or even group of parties that is not supported by a majority can take over leadership of the country in this period, because it lacks the support required to avoid a return to even greater political instability than the country experienced in 1931. In these circumstances, the most rational and patriotic solution, the only sensible, democratic and realistic way out of the situation is that which the Popular Unity proposed already several months ago: for all of us to reach agreement on the formation of a provisional government.

In our view such a government will be viable only if all the democratic forces, all non-fascist forces, civilian and military who seek to re-establish national sovereignty and to build a new democracy will be represented in it.

If the provisional government's principal task is to lead the country from a fascist dictatorship to a lawful state, it will have to implement a deep-going process of eradicating fascism and of general democratization, beginning with the convening of a Constituent Assembly, which will draft a new political Constitution, and culminating in democratic

elections, at which the people will elect their lawful bodies of power. Moreover, some urgent measures must be taken to restore the economy and improve living standards. Therefore, in exercising its functions this government must proceed from the minimum program envisaging economic and social measures that will ensure the country's return to the road of progress.

Is it possible to reach agreement on these issues? Is it possible to find coinciding points in the programs of the civilian and military forces so as to act concertedly during the period of reconstruction? Is it possible to reach agreement on urgent tasks of democratization? These questions are posed by life itself, and the people await their solution. Therefore our proposal of rallying all Chileans pursues the aim of establishing new creative and fruitful relations of a positive character between all democratic forces. The insistence on such an agreement is not a whim, and certainly not a political maneuver or a purely tactical aim. Nor is it the result of a superficial analysis, but reflects the imperatives of Chilean reality. And should it become possible tomorrow, after the provisional government has fulfilled its objectives — and we believe that is possible — to continue acting in common in a prolonged process of transformation, virtually indefinitely, that of course will be all the better for the country.

It is essential to take account of the real situation: the Popular Unity parties and Christian Democrats are decisively influencing the working class, the popular masses of town and country, the middle strata, the Chilean intelligentsia, the universities and cultural circles. Equally, account must be taken of the following: the Armed Forces know fascism from their own experience, and the majority of the military see that Pinochet has led the country into a morass. They see the baneful consequences of his economic policy, and denunciation of the arbitrary actions both at home and abroad, deterioration of national security and are aware of the need to find a way out of the present situation.

The main commitment in the framework of such an agreement should be full respect in our country for individual and social human rights, as well as realization of the sovereign decisions of the people. We communists advocate this most vigorously. Today the Chileans clearly see that it is better to live with democratic rights observed than without them. The general decision, the insistent demand of the overwhelming majority of Chileans is to put an end to the activity of DINA, liquidate it, and not only formally, but to totally disperse that organization. It is necessary to expose all its crimes and to punish the

guilty. We are not proposing vengeance, but we demand justice. The criminals must be brought to trial and take their punishment. It is essential to re-establish freedom of the press, radio, television and cinema, and the banned press organs must again be able to come out, so that the people can learn the truth and express their opinion. Recognition of the working people's rights is of primary importance.

Everything should be done for the return of the millions of Chileans now living abroad. It is essential to re-establish university autonomy and the free activity of the municipalities, neighborhood councils, mothers' centers and all mass organizations. The people themselves, and not the fascist leaders, should determine who will occupy one or another leading post.

The agreement reached between the major trends must be expanded to jointly establish new, more democratic institutional norms; vigorously conduct a policy of economic development; re-establish the process of transformations bearing in mind the mistakes and shortcomings of the past as well as the new situation; raise living standards; restore the country's potential in the sphere of production; fully restore the progressive gains of our people; liquidate the economic base of the emergence of fascism; put an end to dependence on imperialism; put an end to monopoly domination, and ensure a sustained political, social, economic and cultural progress and effective national security.

The principles shared by the overwhelming majority of Chileans, their ideological positions and social character enable reaching an accord on the basis of the new, jointly created institutions. It will be possible to effectively defend human rights and to democratize the country. Thus an even more real democracy can be created in Chile than what existed previously. This presupposes formation of a new Parliament, elected on the basis of universal suffrage, and the existence of a judiciary and a General Control system with a democratic structure and an equally democratic personnel. It also presupposes the working people's participation in managing the economy and the state, and the Armed Forces' participation in resolving the great tasks facing the country, fully identifying themselves with the people. We want to carry out democratization in all spheres, to let the people express their opinion and to endow them with power.

The party of Recabarren has gone through severe trials over these years. Beginning with September 11, 1973, fascism has uninterruptedly directed blows against the Popular Unity and all the democratic forces of Chile. Nor have Christian Democrats or the Catholic

Church escaped that fate. Ever since that day the Communist Party of Chile has tirelessly fought against the fascist enemy. It is working underground, fulfilling its duty as a party of the working class and the Chilean people. Leaning on its high moral authority, based on our invariably consistent actions, the Communist Party calls for new steps along the road toward unity, which responds to the aspirations of all Chilean patriots.

There is a growing convergence between the major anti-fascist trends. Contradictions are growing among the forces which support the Pinochet dictatorship, some of which are already known to the public. The tyrant is still standing on his feet, but he is already shaky. The people are overcoming their fear and are gradually adopting open forms of struggle. The time has come for unity, initiative, united actions, mutual understanding between the patriots. 1978 is the year of the 200th birth anniversary of Bernardo O'Higgins, the founder of the republic. We must see to it that 1978 will also become the year when we will fulfill the legacy of that fighter for freedom — fully restore national sovereignty and root out fascism.

Communist Party of Chile

Santiago, March 1978

Abridged

STATEMENT OF THE FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY ON THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

The heads of state and government of the nine Common Market countries have reached agreement on setting the date for elections to the European Parliament for June 1979. In France these elections will be held on the basis of proportional representation.

The French Communist Party intends to take an active part in these elections.

In elaborating the program it will put forward in this connection to the people of our country, it will be guided, fully and completely, by the interests of the French working people and the country, as well as by the demands of international cooperation that are beneficial for the peoples.

As for the French working people, whether occupied in the ferrous metal or textile industry, shipbuilding or airplane construction, and as for the French farmers and all other victims of the present European

policy, the presence and activity of the FCP parliamentary representatives will serve as the best guarantee that their needs and aspirations will be taken into consideration in the European Parliament. The FCP parliamentarians will demand broader representation of the working-class and peasant trade union organizations in the institutions of the Community. They will demand that social legislation must be brought in line with the most favorable national system among the EEC member-countries. They will advance constructive proposals aimed at combating the domination of the financial oligarchy and the activity of the multinationals.

The communist parliamentarians will seek to defend and expand democratic freedoms in the EEC countries and will oppose all forms of political, religious, cultural or any other discrimination, any form of authoritarianism.

They will come out for genuine cooperation on the basis of equality and mutual benefit not only between the EEC members but between the EEC and other countries of Europe and throughout the world. The Europe that the communists are working for will not aggravate the division of the world into blocs, but on the contrary, will seek rapprochement between the peoples and facilitate détente, peace, disarmament in conditions of security. The communist parliamentarians as steadfast defenders of national independence will do everything to maintain France's freedom of action within the EEC framework. The French law forbids — thanks in particular to the efforts of the communist deputies — any extension of the European Parliament's prerogatives or subordination to any foreign body. The FCP representatives will see that this law is scrupulously applied in the European Parliament.

The French communists intend to promote the broadest unity of European workers and democratic forces in the name of implementing their common or coincident aims. At the same time, contrary to other parties who have already virtually become branches of foreign parties, the French communists intend in any circumstances to proceed from the national interests, and are fully resolved to define and conduct an absolutely independent policy.

Faced with a Europe of unemployment, a Europe of the finance oligarchy which bars progressives from certain professions, the French Communist Party will advance the constructive alternative of a Europe of the people, a Europe of social progress and democracy, independence and peace.

Paris, April 7, 1978

L'Humanité, April 8, 1978

FROM THE PRESS

THE MOST DYNAMIC FORCE IN THE WORLD

Development of the CMEA Member-Countries in 1977

The bourgeois press is using up reams of paper in an effort to smear the new social system, to slander and cast slurs on the achievements of real socialism, play down its successes in developing the economy and culture, in raising the people's living standards. As everyone knows, the best reply to the anti-communists is to cite facts.

We have at our disposal materials prepared by a collective of scientists of the International Institute of Economic Problems of the Socialist World System that have appeared in the organs of the Central Committees of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) member-countries, materials dealing with the results of the socio-economic development of these countries in the past year (1977), with the key factors of the stable and dynamic growth of their national economies.

As is known, two fundamental sources ensure the economic advance of the socialist countries. First, the internal resources of the countries, the efforts of the peoples themselves. Having freed man of exploitation and oppression, and opened up opportunities for creative labor, socialism has awakened powerful vital forces in the masses. Add to this the planned, scientific management of the economy on the part of the communist and workers' parties and the result will be the chief accelerator of the processes of economic and social development under socialism, which determine the superiority of the new system over capitalism.

Another source, which complements the first while serving as a catalyst of the accelerated advance of the economy of the socialist countries, a source which is becoming increasingly fruitful with every passing year is the cooperation of the CMEA countries, their joint planning and economic activity, which is continually being expanded and improved.

What does this activity consist of? Above all, coordination by the fraternal parties, of the socio-economic policy of their countries, expansion of mutually beneficial exchange of goods and scientific-technical information, development of effective international specialization and cooperation in production, the pooling of resources of individual states in solving economic problems which separate countries could not cope with, etc. All this taken together makes up the component parts of integration in the framework of the community, that is, mutual penetration of the national economies, their ever closer organic economic interaction.

The objectives of promoting cooperation and integration have been posed, as is known, in the jointly elaborated Comprehensive Program of socialist economic integration, adopted by the CMEA countries in 1971. The program, as evidenced by the material printed below, is being successfully fulfilled. And more, it is continually being complemented by new details, particularly by original forms of joint planning and economic activity that are unique in international practice. Now, for instance, the elaboration of long-term goal-oriented programs of cooperation (LGPC) is making successful headway in the CMEA, in other words, programs of integration of individual branches of production.

The materials printed below are based on data printed in *Pravda*.

Realization of the program of socio-economic development of the CMEA countries was continued in 1977; its basic directions were defined by the congresses of the communist and workers' parties. The economic results of the year created a solid basis for the fulfillment of the five-year plan targets.

The economic potential of the fraternal socialist states increased significantly, and the pace of scientific and technical progress was stepped up. The communists and all working people focused attention on enhancing the efficiency of the economy. The steady development of socialist production served as the basis of further raising the well-being of the population.

The CMEA countries' share in the world industrial production now amounts to approximately one-third.

The steady advance of the national economy, and higher living standards of the citizenry clearly demonstrate the superiority of real socialism against the backdrop of the persisting difficulties experienced by the capitalist states. Thus industrial output in the Common Market countries, which had hardly reached the pre-crisis level at the

beginning of 1977, fell sharply in the following months and as a result increased by only 2 per cent. Unemployment is running at a high level, and the cost of living has gone up.

CMEA's international prestige is mounting with every passing year. Various countries show an interest in the work of the Council, in cooperation with it. In 1976 and 1977 delegations from Angola and Laos took part in the CMEA sessions as observers. Work continued on realizing the agreement on cooperation between CMEA and Finland, CMEA and Iraq, CMEA and Mexico. At present the Council maintains ties with more than 60 international economic and scientific-technical organizations. It has proposed concluding agreement on the principles of mutual relations between CMEA and the European Economic Community (Common Market).

The past year showed once again that socialism is on the historic offensive, that its impact on the course of events is growing steadily. The fraternal countries are advancing in the van of the forces coming out for peace and international cooperation, for the freedom and independence of the peoples.

SCALE OF GROWTH

In 1977 economic growth was ensured in the CMEA countries. The effectiveness of production was increased. The levelling of economic development of the fraternal states continued. There was a substantial increase in national income, which is a general indicator of economic development. As a whole it grew by 5.1 per cent in the CMEA countries. Higher productivity of social labor accounts for about four-fifths of the overall growth.

National Income for 1977

	(Percentage of 1976 and 1970)							
	Bul- garia	Hun- gary	GDR	Mon- golia	Po- land	Ruma- nia	USSR	Czecho- slovakia
1976 = 100	106.3	108	105.2	107.1*	105.6	108.6	104.5	104.5
1970 = 100	165	151	142	146	180	208	146	143

*1975 = 100

Successful fulfillment of investment plans enabled the CMEA countries to start a large number of new enterprises, expand existing ones and to substantially increase housing and cultural construction.

Investment in 1977

	(Percentage of 1976 and 1970)							
	Bul-garia	Hun-gary	GDR	Mon-golia	Po-land	Ruma-nia	USSR	Czecho-slovakia
1976 = 100	113	113	105.4	116.2	102.5	111.5	103	107.1
1970 = 100	172	159	143	282	244	208	151	165

In the CMEA countries new facilities have been started for the output of electricity — more than 12 million kilowatts; for mining coal — around 50 million tons; for smelting steel and pig iron — more than 11 million and more than 5 million tons respectively.

Industry has developed at a rapid pace. The annual growth of output amounted to 6.4 per cent.

Industrial production in 1977

	(Percentage of 1976 and 1970)							
	Bul-garia	Hun-gary	GDR	Mon-golia	Po-land	Ruma-nia	USSR	Czecho-slovakia
1976 = 100	106.8	106.8	105.4	104	108.6	112.5	105.7	105.7
1975 = 100	175	151	155	173	195	231	150	154

The structure of the CMEA countries' national economies continued to improve. Branches ensuring scientific and technical progress, above all electrical power output, the machine-building, electronics, chemical and petrochemical industry developed at an especially high rate. Thus the rate of growth of a key branch of industry — machine-building and metal-working — is 50 per cent higher than that of industry as a whole.

As a whole more than 350,000 machine tools, 759,000 tractors (including self-propelled chassis), 902,000 trucks and 1,978,000 automobiles (not including specialized ones) were produced by the fraternal states.

The chemical industry forged ahead dynamically. The increase in its output amounted to 12 per cent in Bulgaria, 6.9 in Hungary, 4 in the GDR, 6 in Poland, 14 in Rumania and to 7 per cent in the USSR and Czechoslovakia. Altogether 5,555 thousand tons of plastics and synthetic resin, 35.3 million tons of mineral fertilizers (converted into 100 per cent fertilizer value) were produced, which is respectively 10.5 and 3.8 per cent higher than in 1976.

The CMEA countries coped successfully with the tasks of raising the efficiency and quality of work in all branches of the economy.

Productivity of labor in industry increased in 1977 in Bulgaria, by 6.5; in Hungary, by 7.2; in the GDR, by 5.2; in Mongolia, by 2; in Poland, by 8.3; in Rumania, by 9.8; in the USSR, by 4.1; in Czechoslovakia, by 4.7 per cent. This accounted for the whole growth of industrial output in Hungary, for almost the whole growth in Bulgaria, and for a substantial share of the growth in the other countries: more than 90 per cent in the GDR, 97 in Poland, 79 in Rumania, more than 75 in the USSR, 83 in Czechoslovakia.

Much was done to introduce the achievements of science and technology into practice.

Like the previous one, 1977 was not a favorable year for agriculture in a number of countries, which negatively affected the output of certain products. However, thanks to the measures adopted to raise the level of mechanization, the use of chemicals and land reclamation, the impact of the weather factors was greatly reduced. As a whole, in the CMEA countries gross agricultural output grew by 3 per cent. Its average annual output over the first years of the current five-year period went up by 7 per cent compared with the previous period. Thus the average annual crop of grain and legumes amounted to 289 million tons, an increase of 33 million tons compared to the previous five-year period. In 1977 the CMEA states produced 25 million tons of meat, 131 million tons of milk and 86 thousand million eggs.

The material and technical base of agriculture has grown stronger. Some 459 thousand tractors and 116 thousand grain combines were delivered to this branch of the CMEA countries. The rural workers received more than 28 million tons of mineral fertilizers (converted into pure units).

Broad measures were implemented for the construction, expansion and modernization of railroads and highways, stations, ports, and to supply transport with new equipment.

Foreign trade played an important part in ensuring the dynamic economic development of the fraternal states. Its total volume amounted to 158.9 thousand million rubles, an increase of 11.7 per cent compared with 1976.

The results of the year 1977 have shown once again that the CMEA countries are consistently implementing the decisions of the congresses of the communist and workers' parties on building up the economic potential, raising the effectiveness of social production, on accelerating scientific and technological progress.

INTEGRATION IN ACTION

Economic integration is an important manifestation of the overall

process of the gradual drawing together of the socialist states, which has now become a definite pattern of development. The CMEA countries' successful fulfillment of their 1977 economic and cultural development plans are inseparably linked with the deepening of their economic and scientific and technical cooperation and pooling of efforts in resolving major problems.

The Central Committees of the communist and workers' parties, governments of the socialist states, CMEA bodies and international economic organizations have done much for the realization of the Comprehensive Program of socialist economic integration, adopted at the 1971 CMEA session. The first coordinated five-year plan of multilateral integration measures of the CMEA countries for 1976-1980 is being successfully fulfilled.

Much attention was paid to jointly satisfying the growing needs of the CMEA countries in fuel, energy and raw materials.

By joint efforts Bulgaria, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Poland, Rumania, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia successfully continued developing the Orenburg gas-condensate resources and construction of the "Soyuz" gas pipeline (from Orenburg to the western border of the USSR). In 1977 the overall length of welded pipes amounted to 2,547 kilometers. This pipeline, which will be put in operation in 1978, will annually carry 15.5 thousand millions cubic metres of gas to the Europea CMEA countries.

With the participation of Bulgaria, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Poland, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, the construction of the Vinnitsa (USSR)-Albertirsa (Hungary) 750-volt transmission line is continuing apace. This line will increase twice over the capacity of the joint energy system of the CMEA member countries.

In Cuba, through the efforts of the CMEA countries the capacity of the nickel-cobalt production is expanding. When they are fully operational Cuba's annual nickel output will amount to more than 130,000 tons.

The Erdenet copper-molybdenum ore-enriching plant in Mongolia, which is being built by the Mongolian People's Republic and the Soviet Union will be among the ten largest in the world. Here the main buildings of the combine have been erected, a town is being built, as well as a highway, railroad and a 220 kv power transmission line.

The international specialization and cooperation among the CMEA countries in the sphere of production has deepened. At present more

than 100 multilateral and around 1,000 bilateral agreements on cooperation in this sphere are being implemented.

The long-term trade agreements between the CMEA member countries for 1976-1980, concluded as a result of the coordination of economic plans, have created important prerequisites for promoting mutual trade and deepening production ties on a long-term coordinated basis. Mutual deliveries of goods in 1977 amounted to 93 thousand million rubles, an increase of 17.7 per cent over 1976, and 31 per cent over 1975.

Scientific and technical cooperation has deepened and expanded, and its effectiveness has increased. Substantial headway has been made in many fields of science and technology, and a number of major theoretical and practical tasks have been solved. Through joint effort 1,500 new types of machines, mechanisms and instruments and more than 1,300 new types of materials, products, preparations have been developed. More than 1,200 technological processes have been elaborated and improved.

More than 750 scientific-research projects devoted to environmental protection have been completed. Some 200 of them are already in use.

Around 2,200 scientific, research, planning and designing organizations and higher educational institutions take part in the cooperation of the CMEA countries. Some 1,600 of them have worked on a multilateral basis on more than 800 projects.

The organs of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance have approved 431 CMEA standards in 1977.

The multilateral program of cooperation in the study and use of outer space, Intercosmos, has been implemented. Preparations were made for the participation of citizens of Czechoslovakia, Poland and the GDR in international crews of cosmonauts. In the spring of 1978 the scientific-research complex Salyut-6 — Soyuz-27 — Soyuz-28 was set up with an international crew including a Soviet cosmonaut and a Czechoslovak space research worker.

The socialist economic integration of the CMEA countries is carried out on the basis of sustained development and improvement of joint planning. Of special importance in this relation is the elaboration of long-term goal-oriented programs of cooperation (LGPC) up to the year 1990.

In accordance with the decisions of recent CMEA sessions enormous work has been carried out in 1977 in the fraternal countries and in the bodies of the Council to prepare the draft LGPC on vital spheres

of material production: fuel, energy and raw materials, agriculture and the food industry, machine building and transport. These programs will also substantially facilitate the economic development of Cuba and Mongolia.

The LGPC plans envisage drawing up general and specific agreements on cooperation in resolving major economic problems. In 1977 a general agreement on cooperation in long-term (up to 1990) development of joint electric power systems of the CMEA countries was signed.

The past year also witnessed joint planning along other directions. Thus, at the 31st CMEA session a program of coordinating the economic plans of the Council member-countries for 1981-1985 was adopted. This important document will enable the organic linking of coordinated plans with preparations for the implementation of long-term goal-oriented cooperation programs.

THE HIGHEST GOAL IS THE GOOD OF THE PEOPLE

The achievements of real socialism create ever broader opportunities for the satisfaction of the material and spiritual requirements of the working people, the all-round development of human creativity. In the past year the socialist states have allocated substantial means and resources to raise wages and salaries, improve the working, living and recreational conditions of the people, development of health care, education and culture.

In 1977 the growth of per capital income in the CMEA countries amounted on the whole to 4 per cent. The average monthly wage of blue- and white-collar workers increased in Bulgaria by 2, in Hungary by 8, in the GDR by 3, in Poland by 7, in Rumania by 6, in the USSR by 3 and in Czechoslovakia by 4 per cent. The incomes of the lower brackets were consistently raised. The system of remuneration was improved.

Payments and benefits from public consumption funds, which make up approximately one-third of the material benefits and services of the population, grew in Bulgaria by 5, in Hungary by 10, in the GDR by 7.8, in Poland by 8.7, in Rumania by 5.9, in the USSR by 4.7 and in Czechoslovakia by 4.9 per cent. Measures were adopted to improve the pensions schemes. Expenditures on pensions increased in Bulgaria by 13, in the GDR by 12.5, in Poland by 22.8, in Rumania by 11.4, in Czechoslovakia by 3.6 per cent. In the Soviet Union additional benefits were introduced in the pension scheme for certain categories of workers in a number of branches.

Special concern was shown for the mother and child care. Kindergartens were built in Bulgaria, with 13,000 places; in Hungary, with 16,000 places; in the GDR, with 18,200 places; in Rumania, with 19,700; in Czechoslovakia with 57,000 places. In the Soviet Union 13 million children regularly attended pre-school institutions.

In the past year the output of the textile industry of the CMEA countries increased by 4.4, of clothing by 5.1, of leather goods, furs and footwear by 4.8 per cent. The output of durables was expanded.

Progressive changes continued in the structure of consumption. Consumption of high grade food products such as meat, milk, butter, eggs, fruit and vegetables has grown. More durables were bought by the population.

Housing construction continued on a substantial scale. More than three million new flats were built in the community countries in 1977: in Bulgaria, 76.5 thousand; in Hungary, 93 thousand; in the GDR, 163 thousand (including modernization); in Poland, 231 thousand (excluding the rural housing); in Rumania, 144.3 thousand; in the Soviet Union, 2.2 million; in Czechoslovakia, 133.4 thousand. In Mongolia 134.6 thousand square metres of living space was built.

New successes have been achieved in the sphere of culture and the arts. The number of books and pamphlets put out last year amounted to 57 million in Bulgaria, 133 million in the GDR; 155 million in Poland; 1.8 thousand million in the Soviet Union, and 80 million copies in Czechoslovakia. There has been a substantial increase in the number of theatres, concert halls, cinema houses, clubs, museums and libraries.

Allocations have increased for the organization of medical services and recreation of the working people. In the USSR 29 thousand new specialists complemented the medical profession, the places in sanatoriums, recreation centers and tourist bases increased by 70 thousand.

In the CMEA countries the entire able-bodied population had jobs.

The results of the second year of the five-year period in the CMEA countries is evidence of the consistent implementation of the policy of the communist and workers' parties, whose highest goal is the good of the people.

Abridged from *Pravda*, April 14, 1978

THE ISRAELI PEOPLE OPPOSE THE POLICY OF AGGRESSION

Interview with Meir Vilner, General Secretary of the CPI

Q. How do you assess the present situation in the Middle East?

A. The situation is extremely grave and is fraught with many dangers. The two aims of the Israeli invasion of southern Lebanon were to exterminate the Palestinian people and to provoke Syria to join the conflict. These aims were not achieved. The separate talks between President Sadat of Egypt, Israeli Premier Begin and U.S. President Carter, far from leading to a peaceful settlement of the Middle East problem, served only to give Begin free rein to perpetrate aggression against Lebanon and to exterminate the Palestinians.

Q. The people are exerting pressure on the Begin government, as evidenced by the recent massive demonstrations demanding an end to the military actions, and by the present strike movement. What is your view of the situation?

A. The policy of the Begin government evokes profound discontent among the popular masses, broad public strata and political circles. Recently more than 300 reserve officers appealed to the population under the slogan "peace immediately" to gather in the center of Tel Aviv. Some 40,000 people responded to the appeal. The opposition political organizations, including the CPI of course, supported this action. Its scale surpassed the expectations of its organizers. These men and women came out together against the annexationist policy of the government. They protested against the aggression, against the barbaric extermination of numerous settlements, which resulted in the death of many Palestinians and Lebanese. About 100 young Israeli officers and men were killed or wounded. These men and women demonstrated their resolve to act in support of peace and security.

This is clearly a new and important factor, characterizing the political situation in Israel, which the government cannot ignore. Another factor is the spreading strike movement. It has involved the crews of the merchant marine, the national aviation company "El-Al," teachers, the press, radio and television. This is a struggle for the satisfaction of demands. It shows that the popular forces refuse to make any more sacrifices in the name of military efforts, which, Israel claims it is forced to make to ensure its "defense."

The working people are becoming convinced that never before has

our country found itself in such isolation. This unprecedentedly broad strike movement demonstrates opposition to the policy that is increasing the danger of a new war.

L'Humanité, April 12, 1978

POLITICAL BANKRUPTCY OF MAOISM

By Er : Bert

The political bankruptcy of Maoism is depicted starkly in a series of three articles in the American weekly *Guardian* by Irwin Silber, its executive editor.

The indictment is impressive. The fact that this bankruptcy is shouted abroad from the *Guardian*, makes it doubly notable, for the *Guardian* has been, for years and years, the sounding board of Maoism to the U.S. left.

The *Guardian's* reason for publishing the exposé emerges gradually. A peculiar feature of the indictment of Maoism, is that Maoism is never mentioned, in person, so to speak. Instead, the target of the onslaught is "China." The omission of Maoism, by name, is strange since the *Guardian* has been, to this time, a notorious mouthpiece for Maoism, not for "China."

The indictment of "China" includes the following:

Its international policy bases itself on a U.S.-Soviet war: "China sees war between the U.S. and the USSR as inevitable," and "sees the Soviet Union as the chief source of that war."

"For some time now, China has been signalling that between the two superpowers, it sees the Soviet Union as far more dangerous, the imperialist 'power on the rise' as opposed to the 'declining' U.S." The *Guardian* calls this "pretty shocking."

"In the last few years, China ... increasingly ... speaks of the virtual inevitability of war between the U.S. and the Soviet Union." It is a war, according to the Maoists, "in which the Soviet Union will legitimately be the target of the world proletariat and the third world countries." Maoism, thus, looks forward to an anti-Soviet war.

The *Guardian* finds, as a "disturbing piece of evidence" of Maoism's lack of integrity, "China's objective alliance with the U.S. and South Africa in Angola" and emphasizes "China's support for NATO, backing of reactionary Third World governments,

encouragement of neo-colonial relations between the West European imperialist countries and their former colonies, and the ... drift toward a tactical anti-Soviet alliance with the U.S. ..."

Describing the change in the course of Maoism's line the author says, "China's main emphasis up until 1969 was on the threat posed to the world's peoples by U.S. imperialism."

"In fact, the main criticism of the Soviet Union then was that it allegedly tended to conciliate and appease U.S. imperialism by downplaying the significance of national-liberation struggles and making peaceful coexistence between itself and the U.S. the principal strategic aim for the entire international revolutionary movement."

After 1969 the "Chinese Communist Party began to speak more and more of the 'two superpowers' as the enemies of the world's peoples without significantly differentiating between them," Silber says. "In the period 1972-1973, the emphasis began to change again, with greater stress placed on the danger of Soviet imperialism."

The Maoists intensified their anti-Sovietism at a time, the paper says, when "movements in opposition to U.S. domination and aided by the Soviet Union might come to power." It is "overwhelmingly obvious" that Maoism's "real view," behind the avowed "strategy of the 'united front against the two superpowers' ... is of a united front against the Soviet Union. Rarely is U.S. imperialism mentioned any more by China except in the most general and perfunctory terms," the *Guardian* notes.

Inescapably, the question arises: why, during all these years, did not the *Guardian* call attention to Maoism's anti-Soviet bias? Could it not read the "signals" right? Why did it go along with this Maoist anti-Soviet war mongering?

MAOISM'S SUBSERVIENCE TO REACTION

Then the *Guardian* goes on to examine Maoism's so-called "theory of three worlds," allegedly "in the light of the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism," pointing out that "the struggles of the various social classes — particularly the struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie — are accorded very little importance."

"In its actual workings out," the *Guardian* says, Maoism's "three worlds theory is based on directing the main blow against the Soviet Union," and "some upholders of this theory" have seen a "greater need to expose and attack (socialist) Cuba than (Pinochet's) Chile."

"What a distorted view of reality all this is," the *Guardian* exclaims. The "fundamental differences between socialism and

capitalism, national liberation and neo-colonialism, are ignored and obliterated."

In truth, "what a distorted view of reality" it has been, for the *Guardian* to ignore, in fact, the "fundamental differences" between the Soviet Union and imperialism and, instead, to direct its main Maoist fire against the USSR.

Maoism's anti-Sovietism in the international arena is paralleled by its pro-imperialism in the international working-class movement.

The "struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the advanced capitalist countries is relegated" by Maoism "to a completely subsidiary position." That arises, directly, from its anti-Sovietism, the *Guardian* says.

"Unity of interest between worker and capitalist in the struggle against the superpowers — particularly the Soviet — is seen as principal at this time."

The *Guardian* writes: "the European working class is urged by Maoism 'come to the forefront' today in demanding that their bourgeois governments arm more extensively, develop closer ties with the U.S. and in general strengthen their state apparatus — including the repressive state apparatus."

Maoism's betrayal of the working class in Western Europe is expressed, the *Guardian* suggests, by the "new, pro-Chinese (pro-Maoist) communist parties of western Europe," which are not "trying to lead the proletariat of their countries in an assault on the capitalist class," but "have carved out a special niche for themselves which consists of providing 'left' support for the most ardently reactionary circles among the monopoly capitalist bourgeoisie throughout Western Europe."

As a result a contradiction arises between the avowed policy and aims of some of Maoism's "most faithful supporters in the U.S.," whose "reason for being is supposedly to intensify the struggle against U.S. imperialism."

The contradiction between the *Guardian's* Maoist views and the struggle against U.S. imperialism is no less evident.

After quoting a paragraph from the *People's Daily* of Peking about the "threat of bullying, oppression and aggression by Soviet social-imperialism," the *Guardian* comments that, "gone from China's appraisal of events is any concern with the bullying, oppression and aggression of U.S. imperialism in Western Europe."

It is suggested that, in Maoism's eyes, "defense of the 'independence' of western Europe clearly requires a greater reliance on U.S.

military power, a strengthening of NATO, more advanced weaponry to the western European capitalist governments." This Maoist position parallels the policy of U.S. militarism and imperialism.

How to "account for China's refusal to join in the UN condemnation of the Chilean junta," the "Pinochet regime, sired to power by the CIA," exclaims the *Guardian*, except by anti-Sovietism?

Indeed, how to account for the *Guardian's* peddling of Maoism through the years, in the light of the betrayals described?

WHY SAY "CHINA" WHEN THE FACTS SAY MAOISM?

Maoism's "theoretical" justification for its anti-Soviet war incitement is that the USSR has gone capitalist. "Proponents of (Maoism's) 'three worlds' theory argue that once the assumption of a capitalist restoration is accepted, the rest follows inevitably," says the *Guardian*, and adds a single word sentence: "Perhaps."

"Perhaps" what? "Perhaps" a war against the Soviet Union "follows inevitably" from acceptance of the "assumption of a capitalist restoration" there?

Or, "perhaps" support of war against the Soviet Union does not follow inevitably from acceptance of the "assumption of a capitalist restoration" there.

The common essence, which the *Guardian* supports, is that there is "capitalist restoration" in the Soviet Union. Maoism picked that up from Trotskyism, and the *Guardian* has picked it up from Maoism.

"That communists (i.e. Silber and Peking — *E.B.*) should even have to be debating the relative dangers emanating from the U.S. and the Soviet Union" shows, says Silber, that the USSR has taken the capitalist road. That is the keystone of Maoism's anti-Soviet policy.

The paper parrots Peking on "the backward path travelled by the USSR since the consolidation of revisionism in the late 1950s"; repeats Maoism's line that "the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, like its relations to communist parties throughout the world, is based on the precepts of national chauvinism and super-power hegemonism."

Maoism's shameless attempts at collaboration with the most reactionary forces, in pursuit of its anti-Soviet policy, has alienated most of those on the left who once supported what they thought was a revolutionary line. The *Guardian* has suffered losses of support, in consequence.

Now the paper offers, in place of Peking's Maoism, a crypto Maoism, cloaking its anti-Sovietism in 'moderation.' It says, for

instance, that the "Soviet leaders orchestrate their international line — backing a liberation movement here, conciliating U.S. imperialism there — strictly on the basis of the proposition that what's good for the Soviet state is good for the world." That line, about Soviet subversion of international solidarity to the interests of the Soviet state is not original with the *Guardian* either. The bourgeoisie and Trotskyites have been peddling it for six decades.

Why does the author, in his series, persist in ascribing to "China" or "Peking" the "theoretical principles" of Maoism? He wants to absolve the *Guardian* from complicity in the reactionary "practical implementation" emanating from Peking. He would have his readers believe that the reactionary "implementation" by "China," which he has laid out starkly, is not Maoism, but something else.

The basis of the "theoretical principles" of Maoism, and of the "practical implementation" which the *Guardian* ascribes to "China" or "Peking," is anti-Sovietism.

The *Guardian* shares that platform. Its indictment of "Peking's" collaboration with imperialism, its betrayal of the working class in the capitalist countries, and of the national-liberation movements — all in the cause of anti-Sovietism — makes its own persistence in that outrage more shameful.

There is no way of reconciling anti-Sovietism with allegiance to the working class, struggle against imperialism, support of the national-liberation movements, or with the struggle for peace. Anti-Sovietism is incompatible with social progress, and the essence of Maoism, slice it how you will, is anti-Sovietism.

Abridged from the *Daily World*,
March 18, 21, 22, 1978

AKEL LETTER TO THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

The Central Committee of the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus (AKEL) addressed a letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on the question of the CPC's relations with the communist and workers' parties and normalization of relations between China and the Soviet Union.

"As you know, the U.S. imperialists are about to start the produc-

tion of the neutron bomb, thereby greatly endangering all humanity. Along with this, imperialist provocations in Africa, the Middle East and in other regions continue to threaten the freedom and independence of the newly-free countries.

"In view of the gravity of the international situation and the threat to world peace and security, we are convinced that the time has come to normalize relations between the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union. We firmly believe that such a step will serve not only the vital interests of the peoples of both countries, but the interests of world socialism as well.

"As a party of the working class fighting against imperialism and for the liberation of our country from foreign occupation and oppression, we appeal to you to renounce your negative stand in relation to us and the other fraternal communist and workers' parties and act in unity with the international communist and working-class movement in the name of the great ideals of peace and communism."

A representative of PRC Embassy in Nicosia, to whom Dr. Christofinis, head of the International Department, CC AKEL, had handed the letter and who had discussed the matter with the leadership of the embassy, returned the letter unopened, saying that "we have no relations with you."

Haravghi, April 11, 1978

SLANDEROUS CONCOCTIONS

A few days ago the federal government issued document No. 8/1640 in answer to the so-called "little inquiry" of the CDU/CSU in the Bundestag. The document came out under the horror-title "Infiltration of the Orthodox Communists into Political and Public Organizations Through the Policy of Alliances." Both the "little inquiry" and the federal government's reply should be qualified as a slanderous concoction. Refusing to take a realistic approach to us, communists, the CDU/CSU — the authors of the inquiry, and the federal government have flagrantly distorted GCP policy, making a caricature of its policy of alliances.

The authors of document 8/1640 carefully avoid any mention of the GCP's program statements, or the draft program of our party. They prefer resorting to anti-communist falsifications in discussing the policy and practical activity of the GCP.

The CDU/CSU, by its provocative inquiry, and the federal government aver that "the strategic aim of the GCP's policy of alliances is to facilitate the spread of communist ideas," which they claim "run counter to the Constitution."

Had the gentlemen in Bonn even once glanced at the draft program they would have learned that in the GCP's opinion alliances between various public forces are determined by a profound contradiction between a handful of big capitalists and the overwhelming majority of the people. The gentlemen in Bonn would have realized that the GCP sees its fundamental objective in championing the interests of the overwhelming majority of our people — the working class, farmers, intelligentsia and other working people — against the onslaught of big capital and its drive for profit. Thus, the GCP's policy of alliances pursues the sole aim of jointly representing the common interests of the working people. This corresponds to the Constitution and, moreover, is an urgent necessity.

The CDU/CSU deputies in the Bundestag are clearly still in thrall to the cold war practices. They ask: is not the GCP's policy of alliances an important factor of "political subversion and political infiltration of the CPSU and the SUPG, which are aimed against the existence of the Federal Republic of Germany?"

The federal government could think of nothing better than to crown its own anti-communism with the senseless anti-communism of the CDU/CSU. It notes that the GCP's policy of alliances also follows the "strategic and tactical course of the CPSU and the SUPG."

The Bonn politicians are incapable of comprehending the simple fact that the need and possibility of broad alliances is determined by the social and material position of the working class, farmers, intelligentsia and middle handicraftsmen.

As a whole we consider the "little inquiry" of the CDU/CSU and the federal government's answer as confirmation of the correctness and efficacy of our policy of alliances. The objective opportunities for creating broad democratic alliances is broader today than ever before. A growing number of working people and other democratic forces realize the need for such alliances, and this is something that no "little inquiry" or big anti-communist lie can stop.

Unsere Zeit, April 1, 1978

MESSAGE FROM THE PLENUM OF THE CC CP OF COLOMBIA TO THE *WORLD MARXIST REVIEW*

The plenum of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Colombia, sends the journal *World Marxist Review* (*Problems of Peace and Socialism*) fraternal revolutionary greetings on the occasion of its 20th anniversary. All these years the journal has served the cause of creative development of Marxism-Leninism, many-sided and correct generalization of the experience of the world communist movement.

The *WMR* is a living link between the communist parties. It gives a broad coverage of the struggle waged by the world proletariat, the outstanding achievements of the socialist community countries headed by the Soviet Union, and the sustained struggle of the national-liberation movement against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

Today, when the ideological, political and military pressure of imperialism is intensifying, when imperialism is resorting to ever more cunning maneuvers designed to undermine the revolutionary forces of the world, the journal is fulfilling its role of defender of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, firm unity of the world communist movement, universal peace and champion of the liberation struggle of the peoples.

Bound up with the journal since its inception, the Communist Party of Colombia wishes it further successes in its work, in which it is guided by collective decisions adopted at international conferences on the work of the journal. These decisions proceed from the need to always adopt a clear stand in relation to real socialism, of which Cuba is an embodiment on the American continent, from the need for irreconcilable ideological struggle against imperialism and the various leftist deviations, for instance Maoism and Trotskyism, whose defeat will bring nearer the final victory of socialism throughout the world.

Voz Proletaria, April 6, 1978
