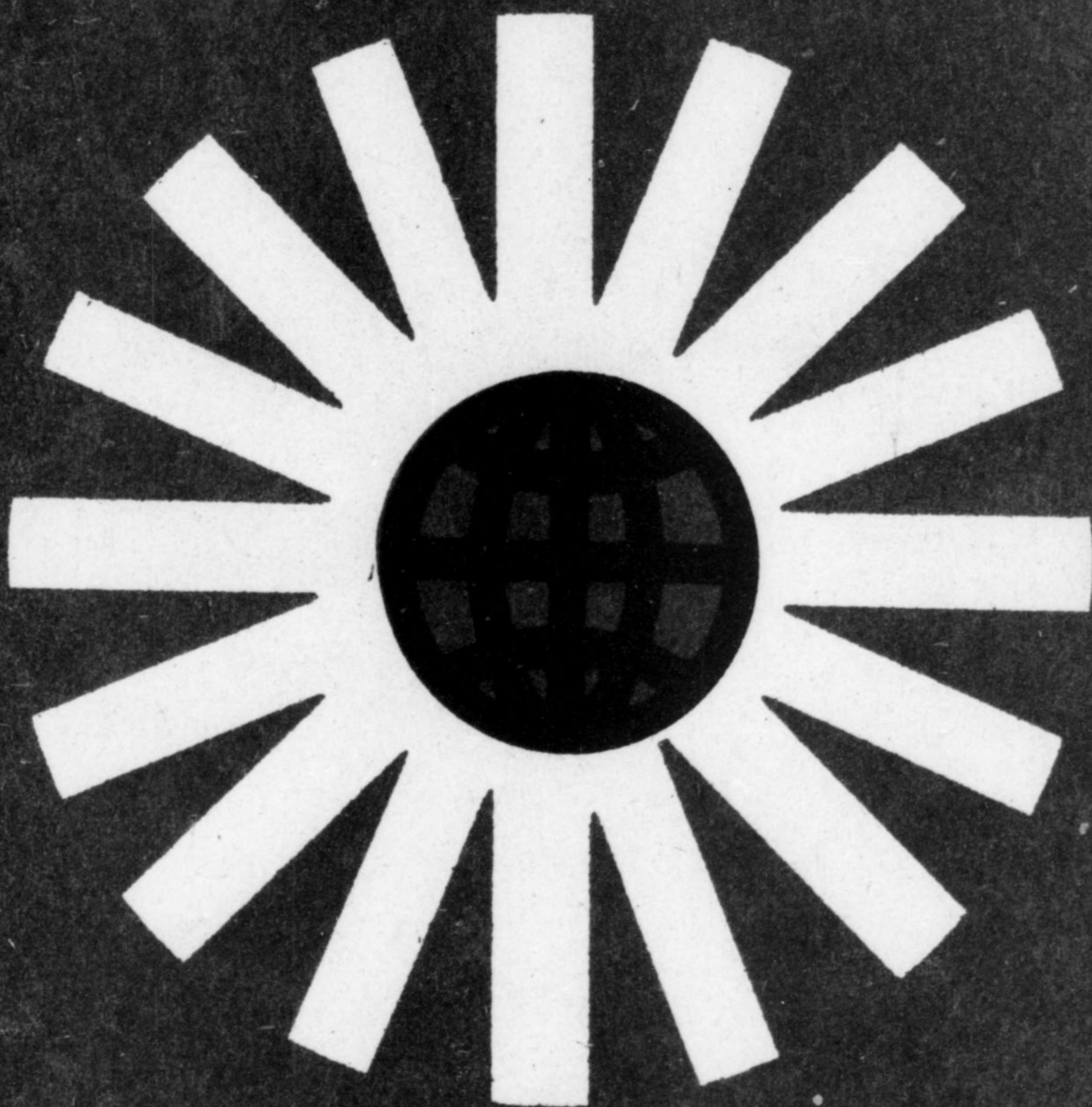
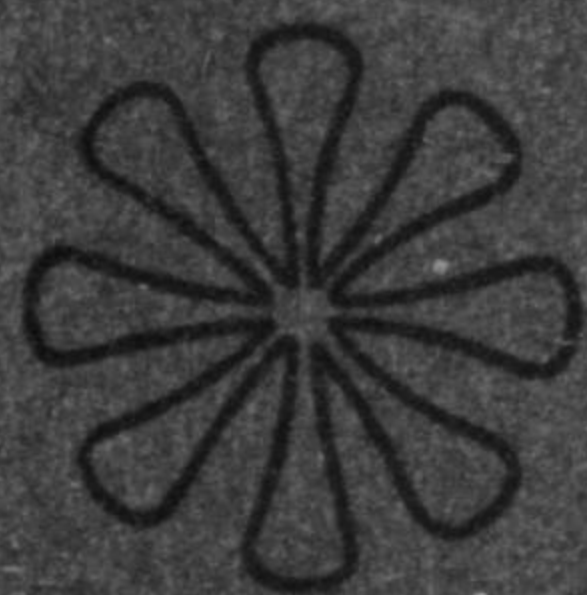


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**MEETING OF
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TO SECURE A LASTING AND STABLE PEACE IS THE AIM OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY

Excerpts from speech by Leonid Brezhnev at the 18th Congress of the All-Union Lenin Young Communist League.

In his speech to the delegates of the 18th Congress of the All-Union Lenin Young Communist League Leonid Brezhnev emphasized that the Soviet youth of the present day is growing up with communist convictions, and is deeply faithful to the cause of the party and the great Lenin. It is working with enthusiasm on all sectors of the front of communist construction.

Leonid Brezhnev noted that the battle for efficiency and quality is no transient campaign but a course taken by the party in all earnest and for a long time. It is not only the key task of the current five years, but also the determining factor in our economic and social development for many years ahead. He cited capital construction and transport, above all, as decisive sectors in the battle for efficiency and quality. A tremendous example characterizing the construction projects in the USSR is the economic development and settlement of the Tyumen Region in Western Siberia, a territory of one million square kilometres, equalizing the combined area of Spain, Italy and Britain.

On behalf of the party Leonid Brezhnev highly assessed the selfless labor endeavor of the Soviet youth, which is actively participating in communist construction.

Then the CC CPSU General Secretary dealt with international issues. Addressing the delegates, he said:

The youth of your fathers passed in the firing lines of the Great Patriotic War. This has truly been, as the poet said, "a fight not for fame but for life on earth." Decades have passed. Today, more than half the population of our country knows about the war, its hardships and suffering, only from the stories of their elders, from books and films. But today, too, under different conditions, the fight is going on for life on earth. To secure lasting and stable peace — that is the aim of our foreign policy and of its fundamental principles of peaceful coexistence and detente.

Today, detente is neither theory, nor slogan, nor wishful thinking. It has to its credit quite a few good, perfectly concrete and tangible, deeds. In Europe it has laid the groundwork for relations between states and has extended to various fields of their life. For all the ups and downs in Soviet-American relations, these, too, have a new appearance, more favorable to peace. The policy of detente has been recognized and is supported by the peoples as the only sensible policy in our troubled times.

The most essential and urgent task today is to secure a further easing of the war danger and to check the arms buildup. All peoples are conscious of this, and most governments recognize it as well. This is also borne out by the fact that, for the first time in history, a session of the UN General Assembly specially devoted to arms limitation and disarmament will open in a few weeks. We wish it success, which we shall actively promote.

We are in favor of general and complete disarmament. It is not our fault that the talks on this problem, now nearly 20 years old, are deadlocked. And yet agreements on arms limitation in certain fields have been concluded during this period. And talks are under way on a number of questions.

The central goal of our struggle for peace in the present conditions is to reduce the menace of another world war and of mass extermination of nuclear weapons. For this purpose the Soviet Union has undertaken a number of major actions. One of these is the negotiations with the United States on the limitation of strategic offensive arms.

U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance has just visited Moscow on President Carter's instructions. There was a thorough exchange of opinions. As a result, some progress was made in working out an agreement on strategic arms limitation. Not all problems by far have yet been resolved. We can by no means accept certain positions of the American side. I believe, however, that by reciprocal efforts based on sensible and realistic compromise we can complete the drafting of an agreement that will justly take into account the security interests of both powers. This will enable us substantially to bridle the arms race and will also help to strengthen peace.

For a number of years the Soviet Union has been pressing for an agreement on the general and complete banning of nuclear weapons tests. We are negotiating with the United States and Britain on banning tests in all media (i.e. including underground tests). And it is gratifying to note that definite progress has been made in these talks

of late. Hopefully the matter will be brought to completion and a treaty will be signed in the near future. This will be an appreciable achievement in the struggle for peace and international security.

Along with other peace forces in the world, the Soviet Union is taking active steps to prevent the development of the neutron bomb, which is a new, especially inhuman weapon of mass annihilation. Our stand on this issue is absolutely clear and radical: to conclude, before it is too late, an agreement between the countries concerned, reciprocally renouncing manufacture of this weapon. And may mankind be delivered from it, once and for all.

Unfortunately, the United States, which is poised to develop the neutron bomb, has not yet agreed to our proposal. President Carter has recently declared, however, that he has put off a final decision on beginning the manufacture of neutron bombs. This, of course, does not settle the matter and is at best a half-measure. But I can inform you that we have taken the President's statement into account and that we, too, will not begin production of neutron arms so long as the United States does not do so. Further developments will depend on Washington.

In line with its fundamental policy aimed at reducing the nuclear war danger, the Soviet Union has also decided to accede in due manner to the international Treaty banning nuclear weapons in Latin America. Under this Treaty, the Soviet Union, like the other nuclear powers, will assume the commitment not to assist any Latin American state in gaining access to nuclear weapons, and not to use such weapons against the states party to the Treaty.

So, as you see, the work for peace is continuing, and our Motherland is taking ever new steps to this effect.

We intend that my coming visit to the FRG should also help not only to determine the prospects for further broad, mutually advantageous cooperation between our two countries (which is important in itself), but also contribute to the consolidation of detente and universal peace, especially in Europe.

Of late, the opponents of detente and disarmament in the NATO countries — all these politicking generals and hawkish politicians — are continuing the propaganda barrage and spreading fabrications about an allegedly imminent military superiority of the Warsaw Treaty states over the NATO bloc in Europe, about alleged Soviet aggression intentions in Europe, and the like. Needless to say, all this is nonsense. Not harmless but malicious nonsense, however, because it serves to justify and camouflage actions that are really dangerous

and potentially aggressive: precipitating another round in the arms race, building up military forces, and poisoning the international atmosphere with the fumes of fear, suspicion and hostility.

The Soviet Union, which suffered the greatest ravages in the Second World War, wants more than any other country that peace in Europe should never again be violated and that Europe will become for all time a continent of lasting peace and peaceful cooperation. And, in all likelihood, no other state has done more for this than our country.

We have been working for some years, at the talks in Vienna, for a considerable reduction of the armed forces of the West and East in Europe — without prejudice to the security of either side — but have so far only encountered Western attempts at changing the balance of power in its favor. True, a few days ago in Vienna the Western countries submitted some slightly refurbished proposals. They take account of the standpoint of the socialist states in some respects, though the general imprint of a one-sided approach has clearly remained. Well, this means that the work will have to go on. We are prepared to do everything in our power to find mutually acceptable solutions and to relieve military tension in a region of the world where it is especially great and dangerous.

Everybody ought to know that, far from harboring any aggressive designs and building up any “strike forces” in Europe for action against the West, the Soviet Union has always done and will continue to do everything it can to relieve tensions and facilitate agreement. Unlike the NATO countries, we have not been enlarging our armed forces in Central Europe for a long time, and do not intend — this I want to stress most emphatically — do not intend to increase them by a single soldier, by a single tank.

And we call on the Western states to follow this salutary example.

In an effort to distort the meaning and goals of Soviet foreign policy, imperialist propaganda maintains that there is a contradiction between our policy of detente and peaceful coexistence and our relations with countries that have thrown off the colonial yoke. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries are being falsely accused of interference in the affairs of young states. Our opponents go to the length of imputing to them an “expansionist policy” and “stoking up of tension.” All this, of course, is sheer fabrication with no basis in fact.

We want friendly cooperation with these countries on a basis of complete equality. We support their independence and their develop-

ment on the road of peace and social progress. The Soviet Union invariably advocates strict respect for the sovereignty of these — and all other — states, non-interference in their internal affairs, and the inviolability of their frontiers.

It is the imperialist powers that continuously interfere — quite overtly or with but slight camouflage — in the affairs of independent newly-free states. They interfere in order to obstruct their progressive development. They infringe on sovereignty in order to secure the selfish interests of their monopolies or the plans of their military strategists.

As a rule, such interference leads to violence and encroachments on the rights of the peoples. This occurs either in the home life of the countries concerned, as, say, in the case of Chile, or in the form of undisguised external aggression, as in the case of the brazen conduct of the Israeli rulers.

The facts show that the peoples of the young states defend their independence and vital interests all the more successfully, the more solid their unity and solidarity, and the more solid their friendship with the countries of the socialist world, on whose support they can rely in their just struggle.

Here too, there are many examples. It was thanks to the solidarity of the progressive forces that the attempts of the imperialists and their puppets to overthrow people's power in Angola and to dismember revolutionary Ethiopia were foiled.

Peace, non-interference in internal affairs, respect for independence and territorial integrity, equality, and mutually beneficial cooperation — all these are indispensable and vital elements of detente and lasting peace. Such is our policy in Europe, and it is the same in Africa, Asia, Latin America, and everywhere else in the world. And if anyone thinks that the Soviet Union can be diverted from this course with slander and threats, then he is deeply mistaken.

Comrades, analyzing the world situation, we have arrived at the firm conviction that it is high time that thought should be given to putting a *complete stop to any further quantitative and qualitative growth of the armaments and armed forces of states with a large military potential*, and therefore create conditions for their subsequent reduction. Specifically, we are putting up for discussion a program of the following measures, to be put into effect within a definite time limit:

- to stop manufacturing all types of nuclear weapons;
- to stop manufacturing and to ban all other types of mass destruction weapons;

— to stop developing new types of highly destructive conventional arms;

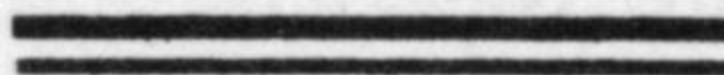
— to renounce expanding the armies and increasing the conventional armaments of the permanent members of the UN Security Council and countries associated with them under military agreements.

Certainly, it is no simple matter to agree on these things. Probably, we could first tackle some one angle — say, the termination of nuclear arms manufacture, as we have already proposed. The main thing is that the problem as a whole is made easier to solve by the fact that these steps will not upset the balance of strength prevailing at present between states. Nobody would be the loser.

We must not, nor have we the right to forget that the nuclear peril is still hanging over the world and rousing alarm among nations for their future. Obviously, joint efforts of all the nuclear powers are needed to remove this peril. And each of them can and must do its bit. For its part, the Soviet Union declares unambiguously: we are against the use of nuclear weapons; only extraordinary circumstances, an aggression against our country or its allies by another nuclear power, can compel us to resort to this extreme means of self-defense. The Soviet Union is doing, and will continue to do everything to prevent an atomic war, so that the nations should not fall victim to atomic strikes — neither a first strike nor subsequent ones. This is our firm line, and we shall act accordingly.

To preserve our earth and to hand it over to the rising generation with all its wealth and beauty, unblemished by a nuclear holocaust — this, as we see it, is the goal to which the thoughts of humanity should be directed. The Soviet Union is doing everything in its power to maintain and consolidate peace. We trust, our dear young friends, that your future will be one of happy free work on a peaceful planet.

Pravda, April 26, 1978



AGAINST IMPERIALISM, ZIONISM AND REACTION

STATEMENT OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES OF THE ARAB COUNTRIES

A meeting of the communist and workers' parties of the Arab countries has issued a statement entitled "For the creation of an effective progressive patriotic front of the Arab world to fight against imperialism, Zionism and reaction, to thwart to capitulatory plans, to liberate the territories occupied by Israel, to ensure the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine, to consolidate independence, for democracy and social progress." It says in part:

"It is being increasingly confirmed today that our epoch is the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism. The balance of world forces is continually changing in favor of peace, liberation, democracy and socialism.

"Imperialism, espceially in recent years, has stepped up its activity in the ideological sphere, particularly by fomenting nationalist sentiments, setting people and various forces against each other, inciting religious and communal discord, spreading anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, resorting to subversion of and attempting to split the national-liberation movement. Undoubtedly, Carter's proclaimed 'human rights' slogan is only a ploy for spreading the campaign against socialism and to hamper the process of detente. By dividing the world into the 'poor and the rich,' 'North and South,' imperialism and Maoism pursue the aim of slandering the socialist system and eroding its relations with the national-liberation movement.

"Contingents of the communist movement highly assess the role of the CPSU — the glorious party of Lenin, the outstanding achievements of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The New Constitution of the USSR reflects the enormous and inspiring successes achieved by the peoples of the Soviet Union in building mature socialism and in deepening socialist democracy, in advancing toward communism and in the struggle for a stable universal peace.

"World developments confirm the decisive role played by the world communist movement and its successes in the struggle for peace, freedom, democracy and socialism. . Strengthening the unity of the communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism

and proletarian internationalism is a crucial factor in fulfilling its objectives. It is essential to safeguard the purity of its theory, to wage a struggle against any attempts at its distortion, to rebuff all attacks on the experience of building real socialism, wherever they may come from.

"The present Chinese leadership is following the former Maoist policy, proceeding, both on the state and party level, from the policy of hostility toward the Soviet Union and the world communist movement, intensifying international tension, supporting imperialism's attempts to return to the cold-war policy, encouraging imperialist military blocs and subversion of the national-liberation movements.

"The Chinese leadership rejected all the principled and sincere efforts of the Soviet Union, including its recent initiative, to normalize relations between the two countries on the principles of peaceful coexistence and good neighborliness.

"The communist and workers' parties of the Arab countries reaffirm their condemnation of this anti-Marxist policy that runs counter to the peoples' aspirations to freedom, independence, progress, peace and socialism, serving only the interests of imperialism and its puppets in various countries. They appeal to the Chinese leadership to renounce this course, which is inflicting enormous harm to the interests of the Chinese people themselves, the interests of their further development, and to respond to the Soviet initiative to normalize relations between the two states."

The section, "Situation in the Arab World," says in part:

"The Arab national-liberation movement has won substantial successes in the courses of its struggle, as witnessed by the winning of political independence, establishment of progressive patriotic regimes in a number of Arab countries, by the many political, economic and social gains that serve as the basis for moving forward along the road of economic justice and the gradual elimination of dependence on the world capitalist market.

"The present stage of the Arab national-liberation movement is essentially a stage of national democratic revolution, which is proceeding in new circumstances when the objectives of national liberation and social progress converge and their solution is becoming increasingly vital and complex in view of the aggravation of the class struggle.

"An important feature of the present stage is the deep-going process of political and class differentiation in the Arab national-liberation movement. Certain forces seek to block the movement's further

development in solving general national problems, as well as in the social and economic spheres. This poses a threat to the Arab liberation movement, for a stoppage of the struggle is tantamount to retreat. There are forces, moreover, that are abandoning the Arab liberation movement and inasmuch as their interests coincide with those of neo-colonialism, are adopting a hostile stance toward the movement. On the other hand, there are forces seeking to deepen the development of this movement, invigorate its national anti-imperialist aspects, and to deepen its economic and social content while relying on the popular masses and their enhanced activity. That is the goal of the working class, peasantry and working people in general, the communist and workers' parties of the Arab countries, the revolutionary democratic circles and movements.

"The process of differentiation varies depending on development levels and objectives facing the country concerned. It grows deeper with the sharpening of the class battles around the issue of the prospects of socio-economic development, and with the intensification of the struggle against imperialism and reaction.

"The major achievements of the Arab national-liberation movement in the political, economic and social spheres, the deepening of its patriotic and progressive content, expansion of its ties with the world revolutionary movement have led to the activization and expansion of the offensive of the forces of imperialism, Zionism and reaction, which resort to ever more varied and brutal methods and rely increasingly on the reactionary and ultra-right forces in the region in planning and carrying out this offensive, which is aimed at restoring full American control and domination over the Arab world, a major economic and oil-producing center, with great strategic significance.

"U.S. imperialism is out to overthrow the progressive national regimes or to bring them under its influence. To this end it uses the stick and carrot method and various forms of subversive actions in these countries, seeking, in particular, to split the unity of the national contingents, to effect economic penetration, to harness the economies of these countries to the chariot of the imperialist monopolies, and to conduct subversive activity in the sphere of culture, information and education.

"Imperialism and its allies in the Arab region are out to deal blows at Arab-Soviet friendship and cooperation in the political, economic, cultural and military spheres so that the Arab liberation movement would find itself facing the plots of imperialism, Zionism and reac-

tion without the support of its true and powerful ally, to isolate it from the world revolutionary movement.

"Sadat's visit to Israel and his capitulatory course, which represents an open challenge to the national and patriotic sentiments of the Arab peoples, was the culmination of the retreat in the political, economic and social spheres that has been in evidence in Egypt over the recent period.

"Settlement of the Middle East crisis is the key link in the struggle waged by the Arab national-liberation movement against imperialism. Zionism, and reaction for economic and social progress.

"As before, this struggle here is developing between two basic tendencies, between national liberation and the reactionary, pro-imperialist, capitulatory trends.

"The national-liberation trend places the emphasis on an overall settlement of the Middle East problem on the basis of full liberation of the occupied territories, ensuring the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including the right to return to their home and to set up an independent state on the West Bank of the Jordan and in the Gaza Strip. This trend holds that a just and stable Middle East peace can only be reached on such a basis, through persistent struggle against imperialism and by strengthening the alliance with the USSR and other forces of progress and liberation throughout the world, while using various means, opportunities and methods of struggle.

"During the drafting and signing of the Sinai agreement an armed struggle broke out in Lebanon, launched by the forces of internal reaction in fulfillment of the plans of imperialism, reaction and Zionism.

"In the conditions resulting from Sadat's visit to Israel and the failure of his capitulatory line, as well as the continuing U.S.-Zionist plot, the struggle broke out anew in Lebanon, and the extensive Israeli aggression in the south of Lebanon rendered it even more dangerous.

"Solution of the key national task at this stage requires the overcoming of contradictions and narrow interests and the establishment of relations of close cooperation between Syria, the Palestine resistance movement and the national movement in Lebanon with the aim of banishing the Israeli occupationists from southern Lebanon, of thwarting of the Zionists' plans and of solving the Lebanese crisis on a basis ensuring that country's independence and Arab character, as well as safeguarding the forces of the Palestine revolution.

"The Palestine resistance movement occupies an important place

in the ranks of the Arab national-liberation movement as a key contingent in the struggle being waged in the region against imperialism, Zionism and reaction, in obstructing the implementation of subversive plans.

"The communist and workers' parties of the Arab countries consider that a firm unity of interests and common aims unite the Arab and African peoples, who in varying forms are together countering the aggressive policy of imperialism and reaction.

"The events in the Horn of Africa represent a dangerous plot against the African and Arab liberation movement, particularly against the revolutionary regimes in Ethiopia and in Democratic Yemen.

"The highest interests of the Arab national-liberation movement require that these plans be frustrated and that a stop be put to imperialist and reactionary interference.

"The imperialist offensive would have been less effective and the true face of Arab reaction less pronounced had not a number of negative aspects, that have emerged in the recent period, prejudiced the Arab national-liberation movement.

"It is essential to consistently follow a line of relying on the support of the masses, to provide conditions for the manifestation of their creative energies and initiatives, and to ensure democratic freedoms, above all, the freedom to set up political and trade union organizations, freedom of expression and the press. Failing this, it will be impossible to defend and develop the progressive gains, counter the plots of imperialism, Zionism and reaction, to safeguard national independence and sovereignty.

"In the face of the expanding onslaught of imperialism, Zionism and reaction it is imperative to ensure the active participation of the broadest social strata in defending and developing progressive gains, safeguarding national sovereignty and in rebuffing the plotting of imperialism, Zionism and reaction.

"The struggle against the economic offensive of international organizations and monopolies, against the policy of 'economic liberalization' propagandized by the reactionary circles in the Arab world plays an important part in organizing a rebuff to imperialist pressures. It is essential to display vigilance and not to permit subordination of economic and trade relations to the world capitalist market, to step up the struggle against the plunder of national wealth, above all of oil, and to see to it that the oil revenues are not used to alleviate the crisis of world capitalism, subvert the Arab and African

progressive patriotic regimes, and establish domination over other countries of the region.

"In countering the imperialist onslaught vital importance attaches to the struggle in defense of the state sector, for its expansion and improved management, for averting the efforts of the hostile elements aimed at undermining it, to deepening the socio-economic changes in various fields.

"In this connection the importance of strengthening economic and commercial cooperation with the socialist community states as a way of achieving economic independence and resolving the objectives of economic development, is becoming increasingly clear.

"The popular masses in the Arab countries hail the formation of a front of staunchness and resistance as a major gain in the struggle against the onslaught of imperialism and Zionism, for thwarting the capitulatory policy. The results of the Tripoli summit and the People's Congress represent an important step in that direction. These results were consolidated and developed at the summit meeting in Algiers. A statement adopted at this meeting emphasizes the need to wage a resolute struggle against imperialism and Zionism, against the course followed by the Egyptian regime, to strengthen friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and all forces of progress and socialism across the world.

"Life has confirmed the need for the patriotic and progressive fronts that have been set up in a number of Arab countries. They consist of national and progressive parties, including the communists, which reflects objective reality. Cooperation in the framework of these fronts has ensured successes in the political, economic and social spheres. They had a role to play in mobilizing the masses for the struggle against imperialism and its henchmen."

The concluding section of the document entitled "Vital Objectives of the Struggle," says:

"The program of struggle against imperialism, Zionism and reaction, to thwart the capitulatory course, for the liberation of the occupied Arab territories and to ensure the national rights of the Arab people of Palestine presupposes the implementation of the following objectives:

"1. Formation of a broad progressive patriotic front on the scale of the entire Arab world, comprising all progressive patriotic forces and streams, built on the basis of a realistic concrete fighting program and leading to the expansion and cohesion of the base of staunchness and resistance, with the aim of effecting the necessary changes in the

situation of the Arab national-liberation movement and of raising it to the level of the tasks of the present stage while simultaneously developing and strengthening Arab solidarity in the name of launching a joint struggle against the overall plans of imperialism.

“2. Defense of the progressive patriotic regimes against attempts to overthrow or subvert them, enhancement of their role in the struggle against imperialism, Zionism and reaction.

“3. Strengthening the front of staunchness and resistance, by eliminating all its weak points, enabling it to counter the increasingly serious attacks, to resolutely reject the capitulatory course of Sadat, while following a consistent line of struggle against imperialism, U.S. imperialism first of all, Zionism and reaction, and rebuffing their various plans and maneuvers in the region.

“4. Creation of political, material and military prerequisites to ensure the staunchness of the Syrian front in face of the Zionist enemy, formation of close fighting relations between Syria, the Palestine resistance movement and the progressive patriotic movement in Lebanon.

“5. Full political, material and military support to the forces of the Palestine revolution on the basis of safeguarding their independence in adopting political decisions expressing the independent national identity of the Arab people of Palestine, which will help to maintain and strengthen their present potential in the struggle for the right of the Arab people of Palestine to return to their home, for self-determination, setting up an independent national state and to full restoration of their legitimate national rights, in the struggle conducted under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole legitimate representative of that people.

“6. Support for the struggle of the Lebanese national movement and all forces seeking to safeguard the unity and Arab character of Lebanon, against Israeli aggression and for the unconditional banishing of the occupationists from the southern regions of the country, against the isolationist Zionist plans that are designed to deprive Lebanon of its Arab identity and to turn it into a racist communal formation.

“7. Support for the national democratic movement in Egypt in its struggle against Sadat's line, so that Egypt can once again take its natural position in the Arab front of struggle against imperialism and the Israeli occupation.

“8. Intensified struggle to thwart the plans to set up new military blocs and to dismantle the military bases in the region of the Persian

Gulf and the Arabian Peninsula which serves aggressive purposes, for the withdrawal of foreign troops and to maintain the independence of the states of this region, to ensure freedom of navigation in accordance with the rules of international law.

“9. Ensurance of the broadest democratic freedoms for the masses, the popular movements and progressive forces to display their initiatives, renunciation of any manifestations or forms of restricting the activity of these forces, abrogation of the repressive anti-communist laws still in force in a number of Arab countries.

“10. Enhancement of the effectiveness of the national fronts and alliances, enrichment of the content of their activity, and increasing the role and activity of their participants, as well as the role of the mass popular organizations for the maximum and more effective mobilization of forces and opportunities in the face of intensified imperialist, Zionist and reactionary plots.

“11. Deepening of the democratic socio-economic transformations, strengthening economic independence, satisfaction of the demands of the popular masses, consolidation of their role in resolving the fates of their country with the aim of ensuring a stable material foundation and mass base for the struggle against the alliance of imperialism, Zionism and reaction.

“12. Steadfast strengthening of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union in all spheres in the interests of the struggle against imperialism, Zionism and the capitulators, in the interests of the development and progress of our peoples.

“13. Promotion of relations of cooperation and solidarity with the revolutionary movements and regimes in Africa, support for their struggle against the plots of imperialism and reaction, for the just struggle being waged by the peoples of South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia and their revolutionary organizations against racial discrimination and for national liberation.

“14. Invigoration of the struggle to consolidate the unity of the world communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

“15. Invigoration of the struggle against all anti-communist and anti-Soviet trends and tendencies.”

Jordanian Communist Party, Socialist Vanguard Party of Algeria, Sudanese Communist Party, Syrian Communist Party, Iraqi Communist Party, Lebanese Communist Party, Party of Progress and Socialism of Morocco, Egyptian Communist Party; Mid-April 1978, Abridged.

CONFERENCES

THE KEY STRATEGIC OBJECTIVE

A national party conference was held in Sofia at which BCP First Secretary Todor Zhivkov delivered a report "On Improving the Socialist Organization of Labor and Planned Leadership of the Economy." Addressing the conference, Todor Zhivkov said:

In the two years that have passed since the 11th Party Congress the processes of further change in the correlation of class and political forces in the international arena in favor of democracy, progress and socialism, continued to develop. The socialist countries are building up their economic potential at a fast and stable rate.

The main content of international life in this period is the struggle for detente and to establish a firm peace throughout the world. Notwithstanding the efforts of the opponents of detente there is a growing awareness of the fact that there is no other rational alternative. Detente, as a firm international factor, as a reality is increasingly influencing the course and character of world events.

International developments over the past two years have reaffirmed the correctness of the Leninist foreign policy line of the socialist community states. Its fundamental principles and goals — to make detente, peaceful coexistence and mutually beneficial cooperation an irreversible process, to establish a firm and democratic peace throughout the world — meet with the approval and support of ever broader masses across the world.

While noting with satisfaction that detente remains the determining tendency in relations between states, we cannot overlook the fact that the international situation has in some respects become more complicated and that these difficulties stem primarily from the actions of reaction and the militarist forces, above all the military-industrial complex of the USA and other NATO countries. These forces are continuously expanding military budgets, creating new kinds and systems of weapons, including such mass extermination weapons as the neutron bomb. They are engineering international conflicts in various countries and interfere in the internal affairs of

sovereign states. The forces of reaction are transcending the boundaries of ideological struggle, transforming it into psychological war against socialism.

While ignoring real mass-scale violations of human rights in the capitalist countries, they are demagogically clamoring for defense of individual renegades in some socialist countries who have betrayed their people.

The most important and urgent task now is to stop the arms race, and to extend detente to the military sphere. To attain this objective, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, including the People's Republic of Bulgaria, have advanced a number of new realistic and constructive proposals in recent years. We hope that the forthcoming special UN General Assembly session on disarmament will be businesslike, marking an important stage in the preparations for a world disarmament conference.

The struggle for peace and security, for mutual understanding and cooperation between the peoples is a top priority, a vital strategic objective.

The ensurance of peace and security is of universal, global significance. Words are of no avail here, what is required is deeds. That is why the recent speech in Vladivostok by Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU and President of the USSR Supreme Soviet, was met with approval by the world public. We would like to believe that in the West realism and wise statesmanship will prevail, thus enabling adoption of concrete measures to curb the arms race, measures in the interests of peace, the destinies of the present and coming generations.

True to its revolutionary traditions, the BCP is focusing attention on promoting the vitally important friendship and drawing together of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Soviet Union in all spheres. The Bulgarian party and government delegations' visit to the USSR in May-June 1977, the negotiations with Soviet party and state leaders and with Comrade Brezhnev personally, marked a new step forward in developing Bulgarian-Soviet friendship. New broad opportunities for bilateral cooperation are opened up by the general plan of specialization and cooperation in material production for the period up to 1990 now being drafted by the two countries.

From the rostrum of the national party conference we firmly declare: the Bulgarian Communist Party will in future too give priority in its party-political, ideological, economic, cultural and defense activity to constant concern for strengthening and deepening fraternal

Bulgarian-Soviet friendship. The BCP will work tirelessly for Bulgaria's ever fuller, organic drawing together with the great Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The world communist and working-class movement is on the upsurge, and it has an increasing impact on international policy, on the present and future of humanity. In recent years, despite certain differences in approach, it has established itself even more firmly as the vanguard of the struggle for peace, security and cooperation in Europe and the world as a whole, as an influential political force of our time.

The festive celebration of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution developed into a powerful demonstration of the force of real socialism, the world communist, democratic and progressive movement.

We regretfully note that the present Chinese leadership is continuing the fight against detente and disarmament. They are following a frankly anti-Soviet line, expanding political, economic and even military ties with the most reactionary imperialist circles, seeking to form a political alliance with right revisionism in the struggle against the world communist movement. This policy runs counter to the interests of progressive world development, the interests of the Chinese people themselves. The normalization of relations between the Chinese People's Republic and the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries will be welcomed by all progressive and peace-loving forces.

The Bulgarian Communist Party builds its relations with the fraternal parties on the principles of unity, independence and equality. We have always seen internationalism as the dialectical unity of responsibility of any party to the working class and people of its country with responsibility to the common communist cause.

The task of strengthening the unity of the world communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism is now acquiring enormous importance, for it is essentially a struggle for the future of our movement.

The past two years have witnessed substantial quantitative and qualitative changes in building a developed socialist society and creating conditions for the consequent transition to communist construction. Industry is increasingly coming to the fore as a leading sector of the economy in which at present more than half the production facilities are concentrated. The crucial sectors, the prime movers of technical progress — engineering, electrical engineering and

electronics, chemicals, power, etc. — are growing at a fast pace. The relative share of high-quality products is growing.

The national income and productivity of labor have grown further. The high rate of economic development and Bulgaria's active participation in the international division of labor have led to a rapid increase in the country's foreign trade. The successes in socio-economic development provide a sound basis for fulfilling the party program of raising living standards.

These achievements are largely due to the July (1976) CC BCP plenum, which mapped out practical ways of consistently implementing the Leninist principles in the sphere of social policy, and strict regime of economy and effective use of labor, material, financial and currency resources, and called on the entire party and the whole people to uncompromisingly criticize shortcomings. The BCP is a Leninist party, and it sees criticism and self-criticism as a powerful instrument and effective method of continually improving the life of society, the collective and the individual.

Whatever we have achieved is but a good beginning. In assessing the past period, we should bear in mind not only the successes, but the shortcomings, unsolved problems and difficulties as well. It should be clearly said that both at the center and in the localities work does not always and everywhere meet the demands of the July plenum decisions.

As a result of weaknesses and shortcomings, owing primarily to subjective causes, a number of contradictions have emerged in economic development. Enormous, decisive importance now attaches to exposing and surmounting the contradictions that have arisen between the rapidly developing economy with increasingly complex ties in the production and non-production spheres, on the one hand, and a certain lag in the sphere of organization of labor and planning, on the other.

That is why the CC BCP decided to convene a national party conference to thoroughly, in a communist way, and with party exactingness discuss the problem of improving the socialist organization of labor and planned guidance of the economy as decisive factors in intensifying production, raising the people's well-being, in the further construction of a mature socialist society in Bulgaria.

Heading the struggle of the working class, the rural workers and intelligentsia, the BCP is successfully implementing the political line charted by the party program and party congresses. On January 1, 1978, BCP membership number 817,000, united in 29,000 primary

organizations. Some 42 per cent of the Bulgarian communists are workers, women account for 28.2 per cent, and young people below 30 account for three-fourths of those admitted to the party after the 11th BCP Congress.

A high standard of personal performance everywhere and in everything, constant ideological and concrete political and organizational work among the working people are now required of every member of our party. The exchange of party cards must be used to this end.

A leader is liable to make a mistake. Though we have no intention of encouraging those who continually make them, we must at the same time bear in mind that only he who does nothing never makes mistakes. Creative work involves taking risks and we are for leaders who take reasonable creative risks. What we are against is the irrational "risk" of the adventurer.

The decisions of the national party conference will create favorable opportunities for every primary organization to become a real political leader at enterprises, scientific institutes, and institutions. The party committees and leading cadre, primary organizations and each communist should constantly expand their ties with the working people, relying on them in their work, show concern for their needs and interests.

The national party conference will undoubtedly give a new impulse to realization of the 11th BCP Congress decisions.

Abridged from *Rabotnichesko Delo*, April 26, 1978

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

FOR NATIONAL UNITY, TOWARD A RENOVATED DEMOCRACY

Statement by Argentinian communists

President Videla's March 29 message represents a step forward compared to his speech in the Chamber of Advertisers, which we saw as a positive step at the time, for it reaffirmed a tendency toward a dialogue with a view of democratizing the country. Both the general program directions and concrete goals were more clearly defined in the latest message. In particular, it mentioned an early dialogue "with prominent political figures" and said that some top government posts would go to civilians after the power structure had been defined and changes made in the composition of the military junta.

But we should point out that many important political, economic and social problems remain unsolved. The message itself does not propose a single concrete political solution. It only puts forward general principles for such a solution.

What, in our view, is the import of the President's message?

It opens up prospects for advancing to a new stage of the political process now in train, a stage of fruitful exchange of views between the military and civilians regarding the immediate and long-range future of the country.

Though we disagree with some aspects of the message, particularly its assessment of the economic policy, we hold that it poses important problems.

The central idea of the message is an accord between the civilians and the military. We vigorously reaffirm our support for such an accord. We see it as an historic necessity. The facts show that for Argentina — with its burden of problems that have accumulated over the decades — the only option is to reach an accord that will ensure the formation of a broad civilian-military democratic coalition government. It is to be a transitional government on the road toward a genuine, pluralistic and stable democracy. . . . Only in this way can a stop be put to the practice of periodically substituting weak civilian

governments by apparently strong military governments, and vice versa.

In our view, enormous importance attaches to the fact that the Armed Forces show a willingness to contribute to the establishment of a pluralistic democracy and to the conduct of an independent foreign policy. Also important is their rejection of corporative methods and the statement that "they fully realize that they cannot alone resolve all the problems facing the country" (Videla's interview to *Clarín*, January 30, 1977).

In one of his speeches the President spoke of the "right to different views" and said that "the time of silence is now past." That is as it should be in building a new democracy. We well remember the response engendered by the President's June 18, 1977 Salta speech. He then said that the political proposal of the Armed Forces should be complemented by a "contribution that can be made by the civilians participating in the dialogue" and that this dialogue "will be more than an ordinary talk" or simply an exchange of views. In his words, the army is convinced that "it is not the sole bearer of the truth. It is simply searching for the truth *together with the people*" (emphasis ours). If this search will actually take place, its logical conclusion will be an exchange of views aimed at working out a common program of the military and civilian forces and achievement of democratic accord between Argentines, which will provide a solid basis for national unity.

For the dialogue to be fruitful, it should not be limited to political functionaries, however eminent they may be. It is essential that the working people, the workers, laboring peasantry, progressive employers, intelligentsia and their political and public organizations take part in it. In the 20th century it would be foolish to see the people as an ossified mass. Without their active support and participation all plans, projects and proposals, however well intended, would be unavailing. That, in our view, should be the content of the activity of the proposed national public movement.¹ This movement cannot be a substitute for the political parties, which must be allowed to function regularly.

The message makes no reference to the crisis or the recession, as it is now called. As Martinez de Hoz² said, there is no recession now, only an "insignificant temporary crisis linked with the restructuring of the economy." In 1976 he promised an upsurge in 1977. On December 31 of last year he promised a "triumphant march" in 1978. In October Martinez de Hoz declared on two occasions that

"we have overcome the recession." These repeated declarations, promises, amendments and postponements show that his plan is coming up against enormous difficulties, above all, the persistent inflation, rising cost of living, unemployment, bankruptcy of small and medium entrepreneurs, a sharp restriction of the domestic market, etc.

The present crisis of the Argentinian economy is developing on the basis of a structural crisis and coincides with the new cyclic crisis of the world capitalist economy.

Undeniably the gap is widening between high and low income groups, wages are absolutely inadequate and the new rent law is leaving tens of thousands homeless. Nor can it be denied that the high cost of medical treatment and the deterioration of hospitals is seriously worsening the medical services and the closing of schools affects the poorest strata of the population.

Obviously some people seek to develop the economy for its own sake or for their profits, at the expense of social progress. Such a conception is both inhuman and utopian. Certainly it benefits only the big latifundists and monopolies. At the same time this conception leads to restriction of consumption. Can a powerful agriculture and independent industry be built on such a precarious base?

The overwhelming majority of the urban and rural population question the economic policy. It is essential to change it. A dialogue of views could reveal new concepts of an economic policy which the country needs and awaits.

We should not close our eyes to the existence of dark forces that endanger the tranquility of the country and the establishment of a renovated democracy. While repudiating the terrorism of the ultra-left, we simultaneously point to the danger posed by the fascist gangs and reactionary circles, who are conspiring to establish an outright dictatorship. They have a powerful ally in the sinister CIA.

The witch-hunters are seeking to throttle freedom of opinion. Never anywhere has a police state been able to resolve acute social problems. The time of fascism is now gone. Dictatorships that have considered themselves omnipotent are now crumbling under the blows of the peoples.

We share General Videla's opinion that Argentina does not tend toward nazism and that a distinction should be drawn between subversive actions and those that belong to the sphere of political thought in its different scientific and ideological manifestations. Therefore it should be noted that his March 28, 1977 message, published in

Vision, did not allude to the prisoners and the missing persons, an extremely serious problem which, if it remains unsolved, will hinder the process of constitutional normalization of the country.

We believe in genuine democracy, freedom of speech, the press, organization, association and the right to strike.

We believe in the ability of the democratic political parties to renovate their line in accordance with present needs of the nation.

We believe that normalization of the situation in the trade unions on the basis of democracy and independence will effectively contribute to the process of national reorganization.

We believe in social justice, which presupposes equitable wages and prices, corresponding to the results of the peasants' work. We believe in the necessity of a tax policy based on the principle — who has more should pay more. We also believe in prices control.

We believe in the need for profound agrarian transformations aimed at raising agricultural production and strengthening the policy of developing the interior of the country and the border regions.

We believe in the possibility of forming a transitional government on the basis of a broad democratic coalition of the military and civilians.

We believe in an independent peaceful foreign policy, based on non-interference in the internal affairs of other states and in settling outstanding conflicts through direct negotiations, as in the case of the Beagle Canal dispute.

We believe in the need to convene a Constituent Assembly on the basis of proportional representation to update the country's Constitution.

We believe also in a renovated Argentina, in the broad opportunities that democratic national unity will open up before the country.

Rodolfo Ghioldi, Rubens Iscaro, Pedro Tadioli,
Jorge Pereyra, Irene Rodriguez,
Fernando Nadra, Oscar Arevalo
Buenos Aires, April 8, 1978
Abridged

1. The government proposes organizing this movement with the aim of winning support for its program. — *Ed.*

2. Minister of the Economy in the Videla government. — *Ed.*

FOR UNITY AND SOLIDARITY OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

The Ninth World Trade Union Congress was held in Prague, Czechoslovakia over April 16 to 22. Taking part were some 1,000 delegates, representing 356 national and international trade union organizations from more than 140 countries.

The congress was held under the slogan "For unity and solidarity of the working people and trade unions in the struggle for the interests of the working people at the present stage, for a future in conditions of peace and independence of all the peoples, well-being, freedom, and socio-economic progress."

At the congress 17 new trade union centers were admitted into the WFTU, including the African Congress of Zimbabwe Trade Unions, National Union of Colombian Workers, the trade union centres of Ethiopia, Guinea-Bissau and Angola.

The international trade union forum attracted the keen attention of the world public. More than 200 messages of greetings were addressed to it from outstanding public and political figures and many trade union centers across the world.

The congress demonstrated the high authority of the World Federation of Trade Unions, uniting trade unions of the socialist, capitalist and developing countries. Characteristically, of the 357 trade union organizations represented at the forum, 243 organizations were non-members of the WFTU, 92 are affiliated to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and 5 to the World Confederation of Labor.

The enormous role of the WFTU as a universal, class, genuinely democratic organization of world trade unions was once again clearly confirmed. The congress results reaffirmed that the international trade union movement is on the upsurge. The world working class is an important motive force of the world revolutionary process on whose unity of action — particularly the unity of action of trade unions of various orientations and directions — greatly depends the success of the struggle of all progressive forces of the earth against imperialism and reaction, for peace, democracy, national independence and social progress.

At the concluding session the delegates unanimously adopted a number of resolutions and declarations, including the "Document on Orientation and Action," "General Declaration of Trade Union

Rights," and the "Appeal of the Ninth World Trade Union Congress to the Working People and Trade Union Organizations of the World."

The congress elected the General Council of the WFTU, and a new WFTU Bureau. Sandor Gaspar was elected Chairman of the WFTU and Enrico Pastorino as General Secretary.

Below we print the speech by Sandor Gaspar, General Secretary of the All-Hungarian Council of Trade Unions, who was elected Chairman of the WFTU at the Congress.

Dear delegates,

Throughout the world, trade unions are tackling complicated, difficult tasks. This is also the case with the member organizations of the World Federation of Trade Unions. The many-sidedness and scale of our tasks and concerns is evident from the fact that we have member unions whose main concern is the struggle against unemployment, elsewhere it is the organization of peaceful life after a war, and still other member unions have to concentrate on the first steps in the independent existence of their countries. And there are member unions which already take part in building a new society.

Thus the activity of the trade unions belonging to our World Federation is now colorful, many-sided and complex. The question may well be asked whether it is possible, in the work of trade unions functioning on such a wide scale, to find the common denominator which holds them together and makes our World Federation still more united and strong. There can be and there is such a common denominator. It is that their goal is always and everywhere to sincerely serve the workers, the working people, their efforts to ensure a better, more humane, more cultured life, to work for the cause of social progress.

Dear delegates,

The most important among the tasks facing us is strengthening of our efforts for unity which have begun to develop in recent years. We often find, however, that not everyone understands the concepts of the strengthening of relations, of unity, in the same way. There are people who interpret these concepts only as bilateral, periodical contacts. There are also people who believe that it will be possible to achieve a certain organizational unity too. Still others feel that it is difficult to achieve unity and cooperation with trade unions in socialist countries, for the latter are integrated into the state, into the socialist power.

In the great melting pot of international politics, the international trade union movement plays the role of a source of energy and an alloying element and is an important factor of international political life. It influences world politics and is influenced by it. At the same time it is increasingly recognized that workers' interests are the same all over the world, and that realizing them is our common concern and responsibility.

The worldwide struggle of the working class for a better life, for the realization and observance of their rights is so complex that without learning each other's experience the trade unions find it much harder to wage this struggle. Exchange of views, the harmonizing of conceptions and interests have become indispensable for further achievements, for qualitatively higher and more purposeful representation and defence of the workers' interests on both the national and the international level.

But is it possible for proper cooperation to develop between trade unions following different trends? Yes, it is possible, indeed indispensable.

For us it is completely understandable that trade union unity came about first of all among trade unions operating in countries with an identical social system, for here the identity of interests is the most obvious. But common interests are now evident on a continental scale and worldwide.

A problem common to all trade unions is to seek new paths. The trade unions of the socialist countries have not yet reached the height of their historic tasks, and the trade union movement in capitalist countries has not yet overcome the new problems of today's capitalist world. The one-time useful patterns can no longer be used today. They have become rigid dogmas which limit trade unions' capacity for action.

The possibility of cooperation can develop if all trade unions of the world seek new and better ways in their work.

Together we can seek more effective methods of involving workers in managing society and production, for workers' democracy, the means for the cultural development of the workers, the improvement of labor safety and of the environment. Trade unions working for unity of action and relying on the strength of hundreds of millions of organized workers can take a much more effective part than now in preserving peace and security in our continent and in the whole world.

It is possible to hold discussions on the basis of patience and objec-

tivity. This is natural, almost inevitable. It is even possible to compete with each other to see who carries out his task better, more expediently, but as we see it there is no loser in this competition and the real winner is the international working class. It is no longer possible to live as though there were no other people on the globe. We can only be guided sincerely and honestly by the interests of the struggle for the cause of the working class, of all working people.

We must represent our cause with greater humility, with less self-conceit. We must give up the notion of being infallible. Service to the working class is incompatible with national narrow-mindedness and selfishness. We must seek the common denominator. The less we know of each other's experience, the poorer we are, and the poorer we shall remain.

Dear delegates,

Dear friends,

The trade unions in the socialist countries are often criticized because the trade union movements of our countries appear to be rather trouble-free. Well, if we don't know how to present ourselves, our life and work realistically, this is our own fault.

Anti-communists and reactionary propaganda attack the socialist countries, belittle their achievements, exaggerate their problems, trying to discredit their cause at any cost. In this way not only do they attack socialist society, but also try to play down the struggle for the progressive transformation of society in capitalist countries.

The people's power that has developed in the socialist countries means that the proper political conditions exist for satisfying the interests of the working masses. These factors promote — indirectly — the work of the trade unions to a great extent. They do not have to realize the workers' interests in confrontation with a strong and experienced exploiting class and its state power. It is not people who feel insecure, living under police repression and terrorism, but without proper law and order enforcement, people withdrawing within their own shell which they think protects their private lives, whom they have to organize. They do not have to work under constant attacks of the capitalists' mass media and their state apparatus.

On the contrary! In conditions of socialism nothing restricts the free organizational work of the trade unions. The trade unions have become social organizations of socialist society endowed with powerful political, legal and material means. They have developed into important and influential partners of the economic and state leadership. In consequence that attitude of the trade unions to the socialist

power, the socialist state, which are friendly to them, help them and cooperate with them, had to be changed.

If the nature of the power changes, if a workers' state is set up which works for aims concurring with the trade unions' aspirations, the trade unions cannot retain their opposition stand irrespective of anything and at all costs. If they did so, they would be turning against their own base and would cease to serve that class which created the trade union movement and keeps it alive.

In the new social conditions the slogan of the independence of the trade unions is applied in a special manner. Trade unions can never be the mere instrument of a given government or party policy. So it is just and understandable that the revolutionary trade union movement in capitalist countries strives to put into effect its slogan of independence from the state and the political parties. In this case the slogan of full independence of the trade unions means that the trade unions want to preserve complete freedom of action for the working people, in the face of the capitalist order.

But what, in practical terms, would be the meaning of the trade unions' independence of the socialist state?

Should they perhaps refrain from participating in decision-making and in the active settlement of affairs of society and in its supervision? Should they reject cooperation with the socialist state and the other socialist forces, with the broad popular masses? Should they give up their present practice of having a say in managing society's affairs not just from the outside through criticism or pressure — i.e. indirectly — but also from within, directly, from state positions?

The constructive stand of the trade unions in regard to the problems of society follows precisely from the fact that they recognize the character of the socialist society and the specific interests of the workers stemming from and determined by that society. Thus, as the real representatives of the workers' interests, they take part in solving problems, and at the same time they share the responsibility of government.

The trade unions in the socialist countries must also take into account that certain forms of trade union struggle in capitalist countries, like boycott, strike, which are generally used and have proved useful there, are not expedient under socialism, in fact they can do a lot of damage. This is quite understandable. In socialist society communism's level of development of the economy has not been reached yet, and not all requirements can be fully met. In satisfying just

interests certain priorities and objective proportions have to be taken into account.

This may create an impression that in socialist society the relations between the trade unions and the socialist economic or state leadership are idyllic, that there can be no debate or conflict between them.

But there is! Only the way of solving them is totally different and much more fruitful for the workers than under capitalism. This is the crux of the matter. This is why the trade unions in socialist countries identify themselves with the social situation, with the power, for they consider these as their own, and it is only natural.

Dear friends,

I would like now to deal with the fact that critics of our society keep trying to put an equal sign between the worries and concerns of workers living in capitalist countries and those living in socialist countries. In doing so they are trying to conceal the basic differences between the two social systems and to distort reality.

The problems in Hungary result basically from the fact that we have not yet carried out — and indeed could not have carried out — all the tasks of building a socialist society. To put it metaphorically, we cannot expect the rising sun to shine on us with the heat of the midday sun. We have been building socialism for only a few decades, whereas capitalism has a centuries-old past. The troubles of capitalist society stem from the fact that because of its nature it could not, cannot and does not want to solve the workers' problems — because, if that happened, there would be no capitalism.

Whether our critics and monopoly owners like it or not the tree of socialism is growing and spreading and is already bearing fruit. Its attraction is also growing not only among our fellow-workers living in capitalist countries but also among other progressive-minded people. What makes socialism attractive for the working man is above all the fact that it offers everyone security and a life worthy of man.

We, too, have our worries of course. We are well aware that in building socialism we did not always immediately find the correct methods. This led to mistakes and sometimes even to conflicts. After all we too are only human. Red tape often retards the solution of our tasks.

Of course the tree of socialism does not yield its fruit all at once. Its branches are steadily growing and have already become productive. And though many promising initiatives wither early, more and more fruit goes into the basket of the gatherers.

In our country there are no major political or ideological obstacles

preventing the working man from shaping his own destiny and the history of his homeland, and this follows from the nature of our society. We are searching for and developing opportunities for everyone to exercise his democratic rights and make the best use of the cultural and educational facilities available. The question may rightly be asked whether this problem has already been solved in Hungary, whether all obstacles have been removed from the path of the many-sided development of human activity. We must say plainly that we have not been able to achieve this yet. It is true that in our social system the working class is the owner — the factories and enterprises belong to it, though in everyday life this is not always fully appreciated. This is so because we have not been able yet to create a situation in which this would be understandable to all. Many things have still to be done so that the workers would see public ownership as the basis of their well-being. It will be a long time until all workers come to understand and feel — on the basis of their everyday experiences in the factories and enterprises — that they are the owners of all that has value in our country.

The working man does not see socialist democracy as something he can acquire like a new suit which he tries on, buys, then wears. Socialist democracy is not a ready and completed situation but a developing process, a process which is closely connected with the development of society as a whole. Both its contents and level depend on the state of development of the economic and political relations, political awareness of the people as well as on the historical traditions.

We pursue such a policy and practice socialist democracy so that the worker knows and feels that he has a say, that his ideas, criticism and proposals are really needed.

Dear friend,

All those present here remember four or five years ago the spokesmen of capitalism were loudly proclaiming that the nature of capitalism had changed. They were talking about a welfare state, a consumer society, and heralded peace among the social strata. And what is going on today? Today we can see the naked reality — the general crisis of the capitalist system with all its characteristic features.

This is why great efforts are made to put an equal sign between the crisis of the capitalist system and the problems of the socialist system. But the difference is that our system is a young, dynamically developing social system, while theirs is an aged society plagued with chronic and unsolvable contradictions. Our troubles are the natural children's diseases of a young society which can be overcome, but an outdated

society cannot be cured even though today so many are working on that. As the old saying goes: there is no medicine for death.

Dear friends,

Guided by these ideas we are confident that our cause is just, we believe in the strength of the organization of our society which enjoys the support of the workers and all working people, and we are sure that we will succeed in attaining our goals.

IN THE INTERESTS OF DETENTE

*Speech by Boris Ponomaryov at the Conference of
the Socialist International*

Addressing the Conference of the Socialist International on Disarmament in Helsinki, Boris Ponomaryov, alternate Political Bureau member and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet, called for cooperation in the struggle against the arms race and for disarmament.

In accepting the invitation to this conference, Ponomaryov noted, we proceeded from the fundamental, immutable stance of our party, which regards the establishment of lasting peace and the prevention of another world war as the paramount task of our time. Our party continues to advocate cooperation with the social democrats, above all, in questions of peace and detente. This guideline is entirely in keeping with the conclusions of the 1976 Berlin Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties. The main forces operating in the working-class movement have the special responsibility of collectively achieving a tangible turn in the struggle for military detente, for an end to the interminable build up of armaments.

The arms race has assumed a global scale in the true sense of the word, and become a danger unparalleled in the history of mankind. It imperils every country, all nations, and future generations. Today it is practically impossible to characterize the actual threat hanging over mankind with, say, the conventional yardstick of the past world war. Just the two atom bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki carried away hundreds of thousands of lives, and to this day people are dying from the effects of those explosions. According to figures cited by the UN Secretary-General, the present nuclear arsenal is equal in power to more than 1,300,000 bombs of the Hiroshima type. The tac-

tical nuclear arms deployed only on the European continent have an explosive force that is scores of times greater than that of all the weapons used during the six years of the Second World War.

Today the world is on the threshold of a new stage, of a new spiral of the arms race, a spiral that may upset even the relative stability now existing in the military sphere, and thereby increase the danger of war.

In particular, there is a clear trend toward the development of types and systems of arms that tend to erode the boundary between nuclear and conventional war. In the USA technical and military thought is working intensively in this area. Moreover, with the aid of propaganda about the "merits" of miniature "pure" means of mass destruction efforts are made to put over the absurd idea that some form of nuclear weapon can be used without triggering total nuclear war. Thereby efforts are made to blunt mankind's vigilance. Also, today there is increasing talk about the prospects for developing weapons systems that would whip up fear about the possibility of a so-called "first," pre-emptive strike. Lastly, weapons systems are being developed that may result in the arms race getting out of control and defying regulation by political means. All this increases the danger of a nuclear war.

In short, the situation is becoming critical. Indeed, time does not wait. If no change is achieved today, then tomorrow not only will existing arms limitation agreements be emasculated but it will be hard to achieve new agreements in this field.

Today it is hard to find a responsible political leader who would venture to deny the danger posed by the arms race. The circles that want it to continue are looking for some kind of justification, their main argument being the mythical "Soviet menace."

Nobody who remembers the events of the past 30 years can deny that the NATO countries, chiefly the USA, are the initiators and pace-setters of the arms race.

In August 1945 atom bombs were exploded over Japan. The Soviet Union proposed the renunciation of that terrible new weapon. But this was rejected by the West. We could draw only one conclusion, namely, that this weapon was being perfected and stockpiled against the Soviet Union. Four years later, atomic weapons were developed in our country as well.

In April 1949 the North Atlantic Treaty Organization was set up directly against the Soviet Union and its friends. Six years later came a forced response — the signing of the Warsaw Treaty.

In the early 1960s an analogous campaign was started in the USA over a "missile gap." It, too, was soon officially declared to have been unfounded. Meanwhile a further leap had been taken in the arms race: the USA had deployed more than a thousand inter-continental strategic missiles and a large fleet of missile-carrying submarines. Naturally, the Soviet Union had to take retaliatory measures.

Let us consider what is happening today — once again under cover of a vociferous campaign over the "Soviet menace." They are developing a large range of new types and systems of armaments — Cruise missiles, neutron bombs, Trident submarines, MX missiles, and so on.

China is speedily stockpiling all kinds of armaments, including nuclear weaponry. The accelerated militarization of that country is particularly dangerous in view of China's territorial claims on its neighbors and its policy based on the doctrine that another world war is inevitable. While arming itself, Peking openly urges an intensification of the arms race everywhere and strives to torpedo any international actions aimed at curbing the arms race. Having refused to accede to the treaty banning nuclear tests in three media, China continues tests in the atmosphere over the protests of many countries.

We have heard statements to the effect that our armed forces are much too large for solely defensive purposes. But the authors of these statements ignore, for instance, the great length of our frontiers, or the fact that far from all the countries along these frontiers are friendly to the Soviet Union. Do they take into account the fact that we have to ensure security not only in the European but also in the Asian part of our country?

We cannot ignore the fact that during the past ten years the NATO countries spent the colossal sum of 1.3 trillion dollars for military purposes. Half of this money was spent during the past four years, when the political conditions for limiting armaments and reducing military budgets had taken shape.

These truths cannot be by-passed if one is to answer the question of why the Soviet Union has had to give serious attention to its defense. The Soviet Union has powerful armed forces, is improving them, and maintaining their combat capacity at the level of present-day requirements. However, our armed forces — land, air, and naval — are designated exclusively for defense needs. We see the cardinal solution of the question of our security, the security of our allies, and

the security of all the nations of the world not in an arms race but in the normalization of the international situation, the consolidation and deepening of detente, and the restructuring of the entire system of international relations on the principles of peaceful coexistence. The Soviet people lost 20 million lives in the war against Hitlerite fascism when they defended themselves and the whole world against the fascist invasion. We do not want any further losses.

At the 24th and 25th congresses of the CPSU the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Leonid Brezhnev put forward the Peace Program, one of whose central provisions calls for efforts to end the arms race.

"The Soviet Union will never start aggression, it will never raise the sword against other nations." These words were spoken by the leader of our party and the head of the Soviet state Leonid Brezhnev, a man whose entire work constitutes an invaluable contribution to the maintenance of international security, a man who has done and is doing much to achieve a turn toward detente, toward the promotion of international cooperation.

When we marked the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution, the Central Committee of the CPSU, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and the Soviet government called upon the peoples, parliaments, and governments of all countries "to do everything to halt the arms race, prevent the development of new means of mass destruction, and embark upon a reduction of armaments and armed forces, upon disarmament." The Soviet Union's vital interest in maintaining and consolidating peace, and its course toward ending the arms race, toward general and complete disarmament are recorded in the Constitution of the USSR, and this legislatively guarantees their immutability and stability.

The sum-total of our official proposals directed to bridling the arms race and to disarmament are the most graphic factual evidence that the charges of a Soviet military threat are totally groundless. They contain concrete and fully realizable constructive proposals.

The Soviet concept of disarmament is based on the following essential principles.

Our approach is of a comprehensive, all-embracing nature. Our ultimate goal is general and complete disarmament. But we are realists and we understand that it will take much time and effort to reach this goal. While urging the most radical steps, we are also looking for ways of securing partial or provisional measures.

As Leonid Brezhnev put it, "there is no type of weapon, and

above all no mass destruction weapon, which the Soviet Union would not be prepared to limit or ban, and subsequently to withdraw from its arsenals, on a reciprocal basis by agreement with other states.”

We are convinced that negotiations can be effective and arms limitation and reduction agreements can be viable only on the basis of the principle of equality and equal security, and if no attempts are made to gain unilateral advantages.

We are in favor of strict international control and attach no less significance to it than the West. Furthermore, we hold that control must promote mutual confidence among states and not breed any additional fears and suspicions.

We consider it important to involve in the process of disarmament a large number of states, and first of all the nuclear powers and other states with powerful armed forces.

Many different negotiations on questions of disarmament are under way at the present time. However, it is alarming that talks launched long ago and agreements that have long been in preparation have not yet been concluded.

For understandable reasons, the Soviet-U.S. talks on limiting strategic offensive arms have attracted universal attention. Conclusion of such an agreement would be a real turning point on the way to military detente, and would put the solution of many other disarmament problems on a practical plane.

U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance recently paid a visit to Moscow. During the ensuing talks there was a certain drawing together of the positions of the sides in relation to still unresolved issues. Cyrus Vance was received by Leonid Brezhnev. Their talk focused on the state of things in preparing a new agreement between the USSR and the USA on the limitation of strategic offensive arms. Leonid Brezhnev stressed the need for both sides to exert vigorous efforts to find mutually acceptable solutions to the still unresolved questions.

Both sides expressed the resolve to work for an early completion of the elaboration of an agreement on limiting strategic arms to enable concluding it without any delay. This would meet equally the security interests of the USSR and the USA and of strengthening universal peace and international security.

For some years now negotiations have been going on in Vienna on reducing armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. We base ourselves on the actual state of affairs in Europe today. And this is that here NATO and the Warsaw Treaty have approximately equal

forces. This is also confirmed by the figures submitted by each side. For this reason, we consider that the only acceptable and fair reductions are those that do not give either side any unilateral advantages.

Take note of the following fact. As far back as 1974 the USSR suggested that the participating states should agree not to increase armed forces in the region concerned for the duration of the talks. If this proposal had been accepted, there would have been no build up of military power in a region where two world wars had erupted. Yet, the very quarters that are clamoring over the growth of Soviet military power in Europe torpedoed our freeze proposal and, as we have already shown, are seeking an ever greater quantitative and qualitative increase of NATO forces. This is graphic evidence of who is really opposed to building up armaments and who is stubbornly seeking to step up armament.

At the recent Belgrade conference we advanced an action platform in the field of military detente. Regrettably none of these proposals were discussed in substance, though there was more than enough talk in Belgrade about the need to strengthen mutual confidence.

The same is also true of our proposal for the mutual renunciation of manufacturing neutron weapons. The danger of their being manufactured and stationed in the territory of other states has caused legitimate and deep alarm in the world. It is safe to say that never before have such broad sections of the public involved themselves in deciding on the manufacture and stationing of a new type of nuclear weapon. This has evidently affected the decision of the U. S. President. But this decision does not remove the danger; moreover instructions have simultaneously been issued to prepare carriers of this warhead on a mass scale, that is, to correspondingly modernize the Lance missile and the eight-inch howitzer.

Nobody should, or can, evade responsibility in the matter of the neutron weapon on the excuse that the decisions are being taken overseas. After all, the matter concerns the future of nations, the future of world peace.

Is it possible to stop this disastrous race to the abyss of war?

We hold that it can be stopped, because there are powerful peace forces. They are the Soviet Union, the socialist community, the international working-class, democratic and national-liberation movements, the non-aligned countries, and broad sections of the world public, democratic mass organizations, and realistically-minded political quarters in capitalist countries.

Of late communists and social democrats have formulated very similar standpoints concerning the struggle for disarmament.

We see things realistically. There are ideological differences between communists and social democrats. But life calls for agreement in resolving the most burning problem of our time in which all mankind has a stake — deliverance from another world war and an end to the stockpiling of armaments.

Our party appreciates its own tremendous responsibility in the struggle to deliver mankind from the nuclear war threat, and for the promotion of disarmament. And hopefully this sense of responsibility will strike deep root in the ranks of social-democratic parties, their leaders and functionaries.

Life imposes the cooperation between the communist and social-democratic parties in matters of political and military detente.

On the instructions of the CPSU Central Committee and of Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU and President of the USSR Supreme Soviet, an invitation has been extended to a representative delegation of the Socialist International and its President, Willy Brandt, to visit Moscow to discuss at summit level the problems of ending the arms race and subsequent disarmament.

It was also proposed to hold a *Pravda*-sponsored meeting of representatives of the communist and social-democratic press to discuss the question of counteracting the arms race; to promote contacts between the communist and social-democratic parties to exchange information and coordinate actions on disarmament questions; to facilitate the success of the special UN General Assembly session on disarmament and an early convocation of a world disarmament conference; on holding a day or week of solidarity actions against the arms race. May the voice of the masses resoundingly demand a stop to the arms race, a race leading to war!

In conclusion Boris Ponomarev stressed that the Soviet Union, the CPSU and its Central Committee headed by Leonid Brezhnev, outstanding fighter for peace and the security of the nations, which follow the consistent, stable and peaceful Leninist course, are prepared to exert every effort so that the issue of military detente would at long last be transferred to the plane of practical decisions in the interests of achieving real disarmament. That is our principled stand. It is prompted by responsibility and concern for the future of the Soviet people and all peoples of the earth.

Pravda, April 26, 1978

FROM THE PRESS

FOLLOWING THE SAME OLD MAOIST LINE

GANGED UP WITH PINOCHET

*Statement by the Central Committee
Communist Party of Uruguay*

True to its consistent and repeatedly declared stand, the Communist Party of Uruguay expresses concern over the present relations between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. This situation seriously prejudices the socialist countries, the world communist movement, the national-liberation movement and the cause of peace, democracy and socialism.

Developments over the past several years have shown that this is the result of the conduct, ideological orientation and policy of the Chinese leadership.

Recently we hailed with hope the initiative of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, which made a proposal to the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of China to issue a joint statement on the principles of normalizing relations between the two countries. The content of this highly constructive proposal meets the aspirations and hopes of the peoples of the USSR and China, the interests of all the peoples.

It envisaged that both countries should declare their readiness to build their relations on the principles of peaceful coexistence, equality, mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference and non-use of force in solving disputed issues or differences.

The Soviet Union thus took a new concrete step along the road charted in recent years in the documents of the CPSU congresses, statements of the CPSU leadership and particularly by Comrade Leonid Brezhnev.

The Chinese side adopted a negative attitude to this initiative. At the same time it once again intensified its attacks against the Soviet

Union, advancing unacceptable reasonable conditions for the resumption of negotiations. The Chinese side thus sought to impose on the Soviet Union and the Mongolian People's Republic renunciation of their sovereignty, laying claim to huge areas of their territory, as well as other demands which were obviously unacceptable.

Such actions run counter to the fundamental norms in relations between socialist countries, impede the progress of detente, and create dangerous situations in the present-day world. The response of the Chinese leadership fully coincides with the actions of the most aggressive imperialist circles in Asia and Europe, corresponds to the PRC's foreign policy line, declaring the USSR enemy number one while expanding ties with aggressive circles.

The Chinese leadership's response has earned the dubious honor of being met with applause by fascist circles in Uruguay, which at the same time refuse to recognize the PRC and uphold close relations with the Taiwan regime.

It is this line that resulted in such actions of the Chinese leadership as slanderous attacks against the Cuban revolution, against its splendid internationalist fighters and great friend Fidel Castro. At the same time it led to cooperation with the fascist Pinochet regime and to joint actions in Africa with the South African racist regime against Angola and other revolutionary peoples.

Our party reaffirms its support for the declaration adopted at the Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties of Latin America and the Caribbean. In it they denounced such actions and came out for positive changes in favor of the cause of socialism, democracy, national liberation and peace.

Central Committee,
Communist Party of Uruguay
April 1978

WEST EUROPEAN MAOIST ORGANIZATIONS — TOOLS OF PEKING'S SPLITTING ACTIVITIES

The post-Mao leadership of the Chinese Communist Party has repeatedly declared its loyalty to the ideological principles of Maoism and Mao's political line, manifested primarily in the Maoists' splitting activities in the world communist movement. In this, Peking assigns a special role to the Maoist "parties" and groupings abroad.

The present Peking leaders are intent on uniting the dispersed

ranks of foreign Maoists, on halting the deepening crisis in the Maoist groups and the growing contradictions between them and the new Chinese leadership.

Most of the Maoist groups and "parties" sprang up in the mid-sixties. After the publication of June 14, 1963, of the so-called "proposal regarding the general line of the international communist movement" (so-called "25 points") Mao Tse-tung openly embarked on a course of splitting the international communist and working-class movement.

The Chinese leadership's attempts to strengthen the ranks of its supporters abroad and unite their organizations in the framework of a Peking-led international "Left Marxist-Leninist movement" designed to counterpose the world communist movement, suffered a failure at the time. Interest in Maoism began to diminish, and a crisis set in in the Maoist organizations.

The majority of the tiny pro-Maoist groups consisting of only 15 to 20 members, claim to be "Marxist-Leninist parties." Most of them have drawn up "programmes," hold congresses, elect leaderships, that is, copy the big parties.

Recently Peking has obviously given instructions on enlarging the memberships of the pro-Mao groupings. The present Chinese leadership is interested not in small, isolated and illegal organizations, which flaunt their extremism or engage in senseless theoretical discussion with the other Maoist groups, but in those that are capable of actions on a national scale, are prepared to recruit new supporters, conduct joint actions with other opportunistic organizations, cooperate even with reactionary forces on the basis of anti-Sovietism, struggle against local communist parties and against detente.

In view of the fact that Peking has set the Maoist organizations the task of playing the role of "genuine" Marxist-Leninist parties, they, capitalizing on Marxist-Leninist phraseology, claim to come out in defense of the rights of the working people, against imperialism and the exploitative classes, for freedom and democracy. But in practice, however, they merely resort to empty verbiage or carry out individual extremist actions, or show no interest whatever in the class struggle. In all these cases the Maoist organizations work, in the final analysis, against the interests of the working class and other strata of the population, generating divisions and distracting them from the primary aim of the struggle, providing the bourgeoisie with a chance to restrict this struggle and to deal blows at the working-class movement.

The extremist Maoist organizations act both independently and through all kinds of "militant" organizations and "fronts" set up or influenced by them. The threat posed by these organizations to the world communist and working-class movement lies not in their strength or influence, but in the provocative character of their actions.

A more serious threat comes from another form of Maoist "party" which Peking is encouraging at present and which is aimed at more flexible subversive actions against the world communist movement.

Peking is continuing its efforts to consolidate the Maoist movement abroad. This process is developing with a varying degree of success in different countries, but the overall result is this: no serious unity of the Maoist forces has been attained either within a separate state or on the international scale.

Despite the Peking leaders' efforts to reverse or to stop the process of differentiation in some Maoist organizations, it has developed rapidly in the recent period. The growing influence of existing socialism and international developments and the increasing awareness of the working people in the capitalist countries facilitate the intensification of this process after Mao-Tse-tung's death; the other factors promoting this process are the principled approach of a growing number of West European communist parties on the question of Maoism; the inability of Maoism to offer a real alternative solution to the capitalist world's problems, and the direct relationship between the crisis in the Chinese leadership and in the West European Maoist groups.

The unabating power struggle between the rivaling groupings in China often confronts the Maoist organizations with the problem of adopting a "principled" stand on unprincipled events, to renounce the evaluations formerly imposed on them.

The Chinese leadership has exerted strong pressure on the Maoist organizations over the past year and a half. As a result, many of them (some after a period of vacillation) have expressed their fealty to Hua Kuo-feng, accepted the rehabilitation of Teng Hsiao-ping and come out in support of China's foreign and domestic policy.

However, a number of Maoist organizations are openly coming out against the new Peking leadership. Thus, the "Spanish Communist Party (internationalist)" sharply attacks the present Chinese leadership, including Hua Kuo-feng.

The crisis in the ranks of Maoist followers is a fact, and is showing

signs of intensifying. The present Chinese leadership's pragmatic foreign policy, which is subordinated to the Maoist great-Han aspirations, unmask Maoism and debunks the myth of its revolutionism.

In recent years, ever more contingents of the world communist movement in the West European countries are criticizing the theory and practice of Maoism, its splitting activity, and are stepping up the struggle against the Maoist groups in their own countries.

The consistent and determined policy of the USSR and the other socialist countries aimed at detente and ensuring peace and security in Europe and the world has a particularly strong impact on public opinion in the Western countries, and, consequently, also on the development of the process of differentiation among the Maoist organizations. The truth about the really peace-loving deeds of our parties and countries, about their efforts to implement these aims is reaching millions of working people in Western Europe and is the most powerful means of exposing the slander and falsification of Maoist propaganda, substantially narrowing down its sphere of influence.

Abridged from *Novo Vreme*,
No. 4, April 1978, Sofia

PEKING'S POLICY THREATENS OUR SECURITY

The present Chinese leadership which succeeded Mao has fully inherited his foreign policy. The strategic aim of this policy is to establish Chinese hegemony over the world.

In pursuing this far-reaching goal, the Chinese leadership totally renounces the class approach to international events. The Chinese leadership sticks to its negative stand on all crucial present-day issues affecting the fate of humanity. Peking is hostile toward detente and disarmament, opposing any positive step in that direction.

A key direction of Chinese foreign policy is aggravation of the basic world contradictions and intensification of the military-political confrontation between the two world systems. The Peking leaders would most of all like to see the Soviet Union and the United States engaged in military conflict.

The Chinese favor U.S. military presence in Asia and other regions of the world and the strengthening of the aggressive NATO bloc and seek to convince the West of the need to follow their Maoist course, which is extremely hostile to world socialism. At the same time the

Chinese leaders are intent on blunting the peoples' vigilance in relation to their militarist, expansionist policy of thwarting detente and provoking a world thermonuclear war.

The Chinese leadership is waging a struggle primarily against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, seeing them as the main obstacle in the way of their expansionist goals and China's world domination. Wherefore their virulent hostility toward the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. That is why Peking has raised anti-Sovietism to the level of state policy.

The recently adopted Fundamental Law of the PRC has finalized the provision that the USSR is China's "enemy number one" and envisages setting up a "broad international united front" against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

With the aim of creating an "international united front" of struggle against the USSR and other socialist countries, the present Peking leadership is openly colluding with the most reactionary imperialist forces. The same aim is served by the broadly propagated unscientific theory of "three worlds" and the sustained clamor about a "Soviet threat."

In connection with the growth of anti-Sovietism in Chinese foreign policy and in the country itself, the nature of Soviet-Chinese relations over recent years engenders serious concern among the progressive forces.

As distinct from the Chinese leadership, the CPSU and the Soviet government have been steadfastly conducting a principled policy aimed at promoting friendship between the Soviet and Chinese peoples, at setting up normal, good-neighbor relations with the Chinese People's Republic. The Soviet Union has once again displayed goodwill by putting forward a new initiative for the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations. In a message to the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress dated February 24, 1978, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet proposed issuing a joint statement on the principles of relations between the USSR and the PRC and holding for this purpose a meeting of representatives of the two sides on an adequately high level.

The Mongolian People's Republic sees the USSR's move to normalize Soviet-Chinese relations as a manifestation of its Leninist foreign policy aimed at strengthening peace and international security, at promoting good-neighbor relations between states.

The new Soviet proposal shows a genuine striving to normalize Soviet-Chinese relations, concern for peace and cooperation between

the peoples. However, the PRC leadership has once again rejected the constructive initiative of the USSR, Peking's negative response points to the gap between its words and deeds, the insincerity of its repeated assurances that China seeks to develop relations with other states, particularly with the Soviet Union, on the principles of peaceful coexistence. It also shows that the Chinese leadership intends to continue following a course hostile to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

Peking's reluctance to rectify and improve Soviet-Chinese relations is clearly revealed in its absurd, totally unacceptable demands to the Soviet Union as a preliminary condition. Among these is the demand for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the Mongolian People's Republic. This demand, put forward in Hua Kuo-feng's report to the National People's Congress and in the note of the PRC Foreign Ministry in answer to the message of the USSR Supreme Soviet, has clearly been sent to the wrong address. It signifies flagrant interference by the Chinese leadership in the internal affairs of a sovereign socialist state — the Mongolian People's Republic.

In a note to the PRC government dated April 8 this year, the MPR government gave a fitting rebuff to the Chinese leadership's unscrupulous interference in Mongolia's affairs. As is stressed in the MPR government note, the military contingents of the USSR, a true friend and ally of the MPR, are stationed in our country at the request of the MPR government and in accordance with the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance concluded between the MPR and the USSR in 1966. The stationing of Soviet troops in our country is a measure dictated solely by concern for the security of the sovereign Mongolian state.

The Mongolian people set great store by their friendship with the Soviet Union, a friendship that has been steeled in joint battles in defense of the freedom and independence of our countries. Internationalist friendship with the homeland of the Great October Revolution continues to serve as a firm guarantee of the sovereign, independent development of socialist Mongolia.

The MPR government note of April 8, 1978, cites the reasons for the presence of Soviet troops in our country. It is due precisely to Chinese policy toward Mongolia. The substance of this policy is the great-power expansionism of the Chinese leaders in relation to the Mongolian state.

Ever since the independence of the MPR, Chinese militarist circles have not concealed their great-Han, predatory designs to con-

quer the vast lands of Mongolia. As early as 1936, Mao Tse-tung said in a talk with the American journalist Edgar Snow that with the victory of the Chinese revolution the Mongolian People's Republic would automatically join the Chinese federation.

Later, in 1949, when China itself was the seat of a national-liberation war and the young people's power had not yet got on its feet, Mao inquired the Soviet leaders' opinion on integrating the MPR with China. Ignoring the independence and sovereignty of a socialist state that had existed much earlier than the PRC, the CPC leaders nurtured the idea of deciding the fate of the Mongolian people behind their backs, without the knowledge of their government.

Even after official diplomatic relations had been established Peking was anxious to annex Mongolia. During a Soviet delegation's visit to Peking on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the People's Republic of China, the Chinese leaders suggested reaching "agreement" on integrating the Mongolian People's Republic with China. Posing the question as though it were a mere trifle on which they could come to "terms," Mao demanded the annexation of the MPR, which had never been part of China.

In 1964, during a talk with a delegation of the Socialist Party of Japan, Mao once again referred to the question of integrating the MPR with China. Moreover, he attacked the Soviet Union, putting about the slander that the USSR wanted to turn Mongolia into its "colony."

The policy of annexing Mongolia gained in intensity in the following years, when Peking resorted to broad actions aimed at realizing its hegemonistic designs.

The failure of their attempts to annex the MPR prompted the Chinese authorities openly hostile actions against Mongolia. To step up the anti-Mongolian hysteria China resorted to all kinds of provocations on Mongolian territory, using for the purpose the Chinese citizens living and working in Mongolia. Beginning with 1962, they held 26 strikes lasting up to 14 days, and staged some 500 provocations and acts of disturbing public order.

During the years of the notorious "cultural revolution" the Maoists directed their anti-Mongolian attacks against the MPR embassy in Peking. A rampant crowd of thugs besieged the embassy building, committing outrages and excesses against the personnel and their families.

The organization of hostile subversive actions seemed inadequate to the Maoists in intensifying the anti-Mongolian hysteria in the

country. China began to build up tension at the MPR border, organizing subversive acts against it, and stepped up open military preparations. In the regions bordering on Mongolia huge troop contingents are being concentrated, and military-strategic installations are being set up.

Moreover, violations of our state border by Chinese servicemen and local residents have increased. Chinese officers and men penetrated sometimes up to 15-20 kilometres into Mongolian territory, making intelligence surveys and opening fire on cattle.

Faced with a real threat from the Chinese side, as confirmed by the hostile, anti-Mongolian actions, the MPR government was forced to take appropriate measures to build up the country's defense capability, to ensure its security, independence and the peaceful labor of the Mongolian people. At the request of the MPR government Soviet troops were brought in and together with the Mongolian People's Army they are reliably guarding the state independence and territorial integrity of the Mongolian People's Republic.

There can be no doubt that the entry of Soviet troops into Mongolia at the request of its government is our response to the Chinese leaders' expansionist policy toward Mongolia. Nor can anyone deny the fact that the decision to deploy Soviet troops in the MPR is a purely internal affair of our country, based on its inalienable right to defend its freedom and independence.

Whereas the Chinese leaders know well that after the triumph of the revolution in China, when the Chinese people opted for the socialist road of development, when relations of friendship and good-neighborliness were established between Mongolia and China, our country not only reduced its armed forces to the minimum but abolished its border guards, leaving only a few checkpoints to perform the usual formalities at the Mongolian-Chinese border.

The PRC leadership is continuing its anti-Mongolian policy, aimed at aggravating Mongolian-Chinese relations, weakening the ties of friendship and fraternity between the MPR and the USSR, and undermining our economy. A direct military threat from China is still hanging over Mongolia.

If the PRC consistently adhered to the positions of socialism and internationalism, if Mongolia were not threatened militarily by China, there would be no need for a Soviet military presence in Mongolia.

As stressed in the MPR government note, the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Mongolia hinges solely on the elimination of the causes

of their presence in our country. If the Chinese leadership renounces for all time its expansionist policy in relation to the MPR, if the PRC returns onto the road of friendship, cooperation and good neighborliness with the MPR and the Soviet Union, then the question of the Soviet military presence in our country will disappear by itself. Such is the logic of events.

As for Mongolian-Chinese relations, our position on this issue is clear. It has been repeatedly expressed in official statements by the Mongolian side. At the 17th Congress of the MPRP it was stated unambiguously that the MPR will exert efforts to normalize state-to-state relations with China on the principles of peaceful coexistence, in the spirit of good-neighborliness and mutual understanding. It will firmly follow this policy. We are convinced that the aspirations of the Mongolian and Chinese people to live in peace and accord will ultimately triumph.

Abridged from *Unen*, April 20, 1978

"UNJUSTIFIED INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS"

Akahata printed an editorial under this title, a short recapitulation of which was circulated by the Japan Press Service.

When the delegation of the Municipal Council of the city of Gifu was about to leave for China, the Japanese tourist bureau refused to include a member of the Communist Party in the delegation. The bureau's decision was influenced by the stand of the Chinese. "Such interference in an independent decision of a local body constitutes a clear violation of the principle of respect for the sovereignty of a country and non-interference in internal affairs, which China alludes to at every opportunity and which are confirmed in the joint Japanese-Chinese communique."

The act of collective incursion of Chinese fishing boats into the territorial waters of Japan in the region of the Senkaku islands, "the methods practised by China of laying claim to these islands through a demonstration of force — in this case manifested by the presence of a large number of Chinese fishing boats in Japanese territorial waters, which proceeded to fish there — constitutes a violation of order and principles aimed at forcing Japan to recognize the Chinese claims. These actions are a violation of Japan's sovereignty and manifestation of hegemonism, threatening the country's territorial integrity."

"The two incidents mentioned above are separate questions, but what is common in these two incidents is the method through which China is seeking to implement its intentions, contemptuously violating the sovereignty of Japan, insulting its dignity, highhandedly interfering in the internal affairs of Japan from positions of great-power chauvinism, solely for the purpose of imposing its claims.

In the face of China's interference in the internal affairs and its violation of Japan's sovereignty, the Japanese government and the interested sides should adopt a firm stand on this issue.

The Communist Party of Japan resolutely demands that the government authorities of Japan and China adhere to the five principles of peace, inscribed in Article 6 of the joint Japanese-Chinese communique, follow a principled policy and prevent any violation of these principles, adopt a stand that will facilitate the establishment of genuine relations of peace and friendship, and to sit down at the negotiations table to discuss the question of concluding a Japanese-Chinese treaty on peace and friendship."

Abridged from *Akahata*, April 18, 1978

U.S. IMPERIALISM IN AFRICA

BLACK AFRICA IN THE BALANCE

During his recent visit to Nigeria — the first by a United States President to any country in black Africa — President Carter committed his Administration to strive for a continent "at peace, free from colonialism, racism and military interference."

Condemning Soviet and Cuban "intervention" in the Horn of Africa, he said: "Military intervention of outside powers or their proxies in such disputes too often make local conflicts even more complicated and opens the door to a new form of domination.

"We oppose such domination, such intervention. We must not allow great-power rivalries to destroy our hopes for an Africa at peace."

His fine words met with some scepticism from his hosts, who feel that U.S. practice does not always conform to its proclaimed policies. Significantly, President Carter rejected a request by the Nigerian leader that he support the imposition of economic sanctions against South Africa.

Why did Carter come to Africa in the first place? The answer is: to stake a claim for the right to influence developments on the continent comparable to that exercised by the former colonial powers.

At the end of the Second World War there were only three independent countries on the African continent — Ethiopia, Liberia and Egypt.

Today there are 50 — yet not one of those has managed to free itself entirely from ties of dependency on the imperialist countries, not even those which have openly chosen the road to socialism, although they have every intention of doing so.

In most of the Africa imperialism has been replaced by neo-colonialism — a device by which imperialists have found it possible to concede the exercise of political independence to Africans while preserving and extending their economic exploitation of the human and material resources on the continent.

Most African countries have achieved their independence since 1960, yet a report of the UN Economic Commission for Africa published last year showed that since 1960 there has been no marked improvement in the economies of many African countries. The report also said that independent Africa has succeeded less than any other region in the world in combating the effects of under-development.

Such has been the heritage of imperialism and neo-colonialism in Africa. As the former imperialist powers have been forced to withdraw from Africa, the United States has steadily increased its involvement. The United States private investment in Africa increased from 664 million dollars in 1957 to 4,000 million dollars at the end of 1976. The total is now probably in the region of 5,000 million dollars.

The average rate of profit on U.S. investments in Africa is 34 per cent, enabling American coupon clippers to suck out of Africa no less than 1.7 billion dollars a year. The U.S. is the main trading partner of both Nigeria and Liberia, the two countries selected for Carter's visit. Nigeria is second only to Saudi Arabia as the source of U.S. oil imports.

To back up its position in Africa, the U.S. Administration in 1978 proposed the largest military aid program for Africa in its history: a total of 67.8 million dollars in military support, military assistance programs and in military education and training, plus 135 million dollars in security supporting assistance, i.e. nearly 203 million dollars, which is twice as much as for the 1977 fiscal year.

Thirteen African countries are to be the beneficiaries, headed by Zaire and Kenya.

West Germany, France and Japan are also rapidly building up their trade with black Africa, whose enormous potential wealth is only now being uncovered. Nigeria has replaced South Africa as the main market for West German goods on the African continent.

At the Lagos anti-imperialist conference last August the Nigerian head of state, Lt. Gen. Abasanjo, warned that foreign countries with interests in South Africa would not be permitted to operate in Nigeria in the future.

Last month he ordered public agencies immediately to withdraw their funds from Barclays because of the bank's continued collaboration with the South African government.

Since then, a number of American banks and corporations like IBM and Polaroid have announced their decision to end or limit their operations in South Africa.

It is fear for the future of capitalism in Africa which induced Carter to visit Nigeria and Liberia, and to make proclamations about freedom. But the one freedom he did not specify is the freedom from exploitation, poverty and hunger which centuries of imperialist looting of African resources have left in their wake.

The Western "freedom crusade" takes place at a time when the peoples of Africa are realizing even more keenly that political independence of itself does not necessarily bring them the economic and social advancement they want.

It is no accident that the governments of Mozambique, Angola, Congo (Brazzaville) and Ethiopia, among others have embraced Marxism-Leninism in their political programs; nor that most liberation movements have openly proclaimed their socialist objective.

Nor is it an accident that in the struggle for the overthrow of the capitalist order in Africa, the people's revolutionary organizations should have found themselves opposed and obstructed at every turn by the imperialist powers.

At the same time assistance and encouragement has been given by the socialist countries, described by President Kaunda as the natural allies of the African liberation movements.

Neither the Soviet Union nor Cuba possesses anything nor seeks any profit in any country in Africa. Whereas Western aid to Africa is designed to promote the interests of imperialism and smooth the road for continued investment and profit-making.

More than 75 per cent of Soviet economic aid to Africa is directed

to building the industrial base of these countries to enable them to have genuinely independent national economies. With Soviet assistance 170 industrial and 70 agricultural enterprises have been completed or are being built in Africa.

The African revolution is everywhere supported by the might of the socialist world.

Abridged from *Morning Star*, April 18, 1978

CARTER AND AFRICA

The U.S. President's visit to Nigeria was his first official trip to Africa. Predictably, Jimmy Carter spoke enticingly of "respect for the sovereignty of the African countries," of "recognition of human rights." He declared in support of the principle of "African problems being settled by the Africans themselves" and alluded to a "new African policy" of the United States.

No one can remain indifferent to these words. But the real meaning behind them should be made clear.

Does a "new African policy" of the USA exist?

We on our part think that it is rather a matter of renouncing old methods and adopting a new tactic designed to avoid open interference in African affairs, direct recourse to violence and bloody repressions and open support for the racist and reactionary regimes. Washington now prefers not to resort, as formerly, to coups to replace undesirable regimes. It finds it more advantageous to entrust the role of gendarme to other countries. It finds it more advantageous to distance itself from the medieval, absolutist and segregationist regimes.

Actually we see no real change. As formerly, the USA is interested in the material and human resources of Africa, which it wants to continue exploiting to its own advantage while securing its own interests.

In this context, it should be recalled that the multinationals, which hold complete sway in the USA, have long and most advantageously been active in Africa. In the past quarter century, from 1950 to 1975, they invested \$2,250 million in Africa, which enabled them to transfer to the U.S. \$5,436 million in profit. To these fabulous sums should be added the \$2,000 million invested in South Africa, which, moreover, received another \$2,000 million in loans from American banks.

A "rightist policy" could prejudice these sources of profit. Contrarily, a new and more flexible tactic would create favorable condi-

tions for maintaining these privileges, for new investments, for the sale of enormous quantities of manufactured goods, food and arms, and for buying raw materials at low prices, in other words, for the growth of advantageous trade.

But they pursue another aim as well. The United States, by consolidating its economic positions expects to influence the domestic and foreign policy of some African states, so as to derail them from the non-capitalist road leading to socialism. Better a black Africa than a red Africa" — that is the motto of the Carter administration.

The outwardly liberal U. S. African policy is anti-progressive in its economic and ideological aspects. This should be made clear in order not to open the door to imperialist penetration.

The African continent, which has almost totally thrown off the colonial yoke, is suffering from economic and social backwardness. It is aspiring to total liberation, which is unthinkable in conditions of a new neo-colonialist domination, which, owing to its adroitness, is even more pernicious and dangerous than the previous one. The African continent must take the road of real independence, African unity and cooperation with those who respect its sovereignty and interests and treat Africa as an equal.

Ali Yata

Al-Bayan, April 10, 1978
