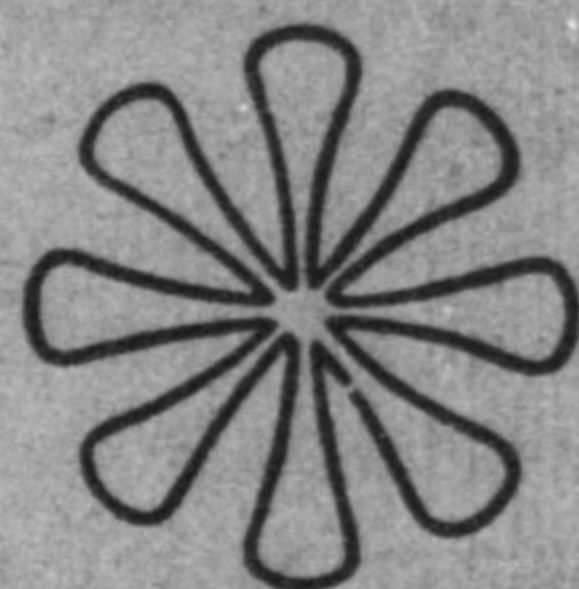


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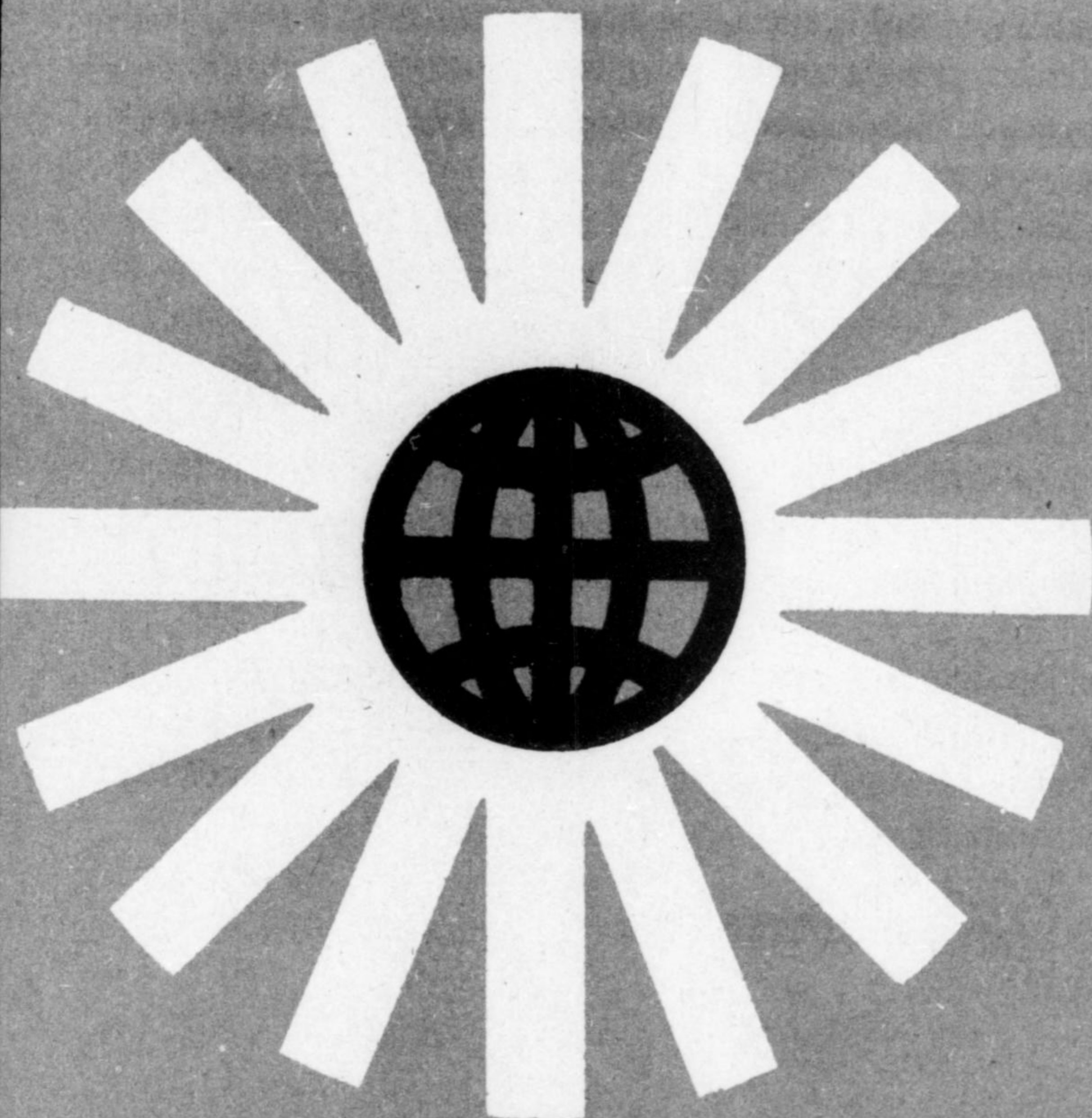
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IN THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CPSU

The Political Bureau of the CC CPSU has examined the results of the friendly meetings which took place in the Crimea in July and August 1978 between L.I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet; and Gustav Husak, General Secretary of the CC CPCz, President of the CSSR; Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the CC SUPG, Chairman of the GDR Council of State; Janos Kadar, First Secretary of the CC HSWP; Edward Gierek, First Secretary of the CC PUWP; Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of the RCP, President of the SRR; Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the CC BCP, President of the State Council of the PRB; and Yumzhagiin Tsedenbal, First Secretary of the CC MPRP, Chairman of the Presidium, People's Great Khural of the MPR. The Political Bureau fully approves of the work done by L.I. Brezhnev and considers that the meetings were of great importance for the further development of the fraternal friendship and all-round cooperation linking the CPSU and the Soviet state with the communist parties and peoples of the socialist-community countries.

The Crimea meetings showed convincingly that realization of the development plans drawn up by congresses of the communist and workers' parties of fraternal countries is accompanied by expanding relations between socialist countries in every important sphere of public life — political, economic and ideological. The arrangements reached in the Crimea provide a new spur for coordinated action in the short and longer term. In particular, they will help in ensuring that the forthcoming five-year plans of the socialist-community countries are drafted and carried out in the context of further, increasingly deep-going cooperation and specialization in production in the interest of the most effective growth of the economy of each country and the further strengthening of the world socialist system as a whole.

The Political Bureau greatly appreciates the fact that during the Crimea meetings the participants made an in-depth analysis of the present international situation and came, in the light of this analysis, to the conclusion that the socialist countries must continue their

active efforts and their interaction to consolidate and further détente as the leading trend in international relations.

Recent events, first of all the decisions of the Washington session of NATO on measures to build up armaments on a large scale and then the approval of a record military budget by the U.S. Congress reveal very clearly the real aims of those who have raised a hue and cry in the West over the "military threat" alleged to emanate from the socialist countries. The object is to create a propaganda smokescreen concealing imperialist policy, which runs counter to the aspirations of the peoples demanding durable peace and an end to the arms race. But this camouflage will mislead no one.

Relations between countries with different social systems are also affected by the sustained attempts of the USA and some other NATO countries to interfere in the internal affairs of the socialist countries under cover of hypocritical campaigns over so-called "violations of human rights" in the socialist countries. These attempts grossly violate universally accepted standards of international law and infringe the spirit and letter of the Helsinki Final Act.

The Political Bureau stresses the serious threat which the activities of China's present-day leaders pose to peace and socialism. Pursuing a great-power, hegemonist policy, Peking banks openly on stepping up international tension and uses every means to undermine the positions of the socialist community and the revolutionary, liberation forces of today. In an effort to gain access to NATO military arsenals, the rulers of China assiduously advertise their hostility to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and advocate an unrestrained arms race. This policy is all the more dangerous because it is supported by the most reactionary circles in imperialist countries.

The Chinese leadership does not hesitate even now to engage in outright expansionist activities. This is seen in China's gross chauvinist pressure on the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, its instigating role in Kampuchea's military provocations against the SRV and Peking's claims to territory belonging to neighbor countries.

The Political Bureau reaffirms the invariable solidarity of our party, the Soviet state and all Soviet people with the heroic people of Vietnam, who are staunchly defending the territorial integrity of their country, their independence and their right to carry on socialist construction in their country without any hindrance, threats or pressure from without.

The Political Bureau declares again that in today's more complicated international situation as well, the Soviet Union, prompted by

the decisions of the 25th Congress of the CPSU, intends to strive perseveringly and in common with its friends and allies for growing détente and more extensive mutually beneficial cooperation among states, primarily for an end to the arms race and the transition to disarmament.

The major issues involved in discontinuing the arms race are already an object of negotiations. It is important that the work done in their course should not be nullified and should produce tangible results. This applies, among other things, to the Soviet-U.S. talks on limiting strategic offensive arms and the Vienna talks on reducing armed forces and armaments in Central Europe.

The Political Bureau considers that today it is imperative to resist with the greatest determination every step likely to disrupt détente and turn international development back to cold war days. It is now more necessary than ever to adhere strictly to the principles of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, respect the right of all peoples to freedom and independence and step up efforts for the development of their peaceful cooperation, whose possibilities are clearly defined in the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, UN resolutions and other international documents.

The Political Bureau expresses satisfaction over the fact that during the Crimea meetings the participants reaffirmed the importance of furthering cooperation among the fraternal countries on the unshakable basis of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, of coordinating their activities in the interest of steady promotion of the cause of peace and social progress. The Crimea talks between L.I. Brezhnev and the leaders of fraternal parties and countries were an important step toward strengthening the socialist community and increasing all-round cooperation between the fraternal parties, countries and peoples in building socialism and communism; they created favorable conditions for the preparation of new steps to further this cooperation.

The Political Bureau of the CC CPSU has adopted a number of decisions on specific aspects of implementing the bilateral arrangements reached during the friendly meetings in the Crimea.



CONGRESSES, PLENUMS, CONFERENCES

THE MOST URGENT TASK: ACTIVELY TO DEFEND THE POLICY OF DETENTE AND PEACE

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece (CPG) held a meeting in Athens to discuss the political situation at home and abroad. Its resolution says:

The Greek people and the peoples of the whole world witness the dangerous efforts of the imperialists to worsen international relations and return to the cold war period, as evidenced by numerous world events. Instead of implementing the Helsinki accords in keeping with the wishes of all peoples, the ruling circles of the USA and NATO are planning the arms race for 15 years ahead. They have officially declared NATO an instrument of imperialist interference in African affairs designed to subordinate the countries that have cast off colonial yoke, and they have put up new barriers in the way of the arms limitation talks, in the way of détente. These circles are taking measures to apply economic pressure on the USSR and cut back cultural, scientific and other cooperation with it.

The imperialist circles of the USA and NATO, in pursuing their cold war tactics jeopardizing world peace, try to disguise their true intentions by loud phrases about an alleged "dangerous superiority" of the Soviet Union in armaments and by the hypocritical campaign in defense of human rights which, they claim, are violated in the socialist countries.

The coordination of the U.S.-NATO policies with those of Peking, officially announced recently by the Chinese leadership, is also spearheaded against détente.

In this situation it is becoming even more obvious that the most urgent task for the Greek people, as for the whole of mankind, is actively to defend the policy of détente and peace. Experience has shown that the struggle of nations, and the all-out effort of the

socialist countries and the peace-loving and anti-imperialist forces the world over can stop the imperialists' sliding onto cold war positions, stabilize détente and ensure its further progress. The Greek people want peace, said the Tenth Congress of our party, not only because the struggle for peace is closely linked in Greece with the struggle for national independence and democracy, but also because the danger to peace arising from the plottings of the U.S. and NATO imperialists is even more strongly felt in the Eastern Mediterranean.

The Greek communists, in close unity with the champions of peace and détente, must show to all Greeks the danger presented by the imperialist policies to détente and peace, so that every man of good will would realize that the cold war and anti-Sovietism are the harbingers of new disasters and dangers both for Greece and the rest of the world. For this reason the Central Committee calls on the working class and all Greek people to scale up the movement for peace and détente, to curb the cold warriors, for arms limitation, for general disarmament and for making the Mediterranean a zone of peace.

In an attempt to revive the days of the cold war the U.S. and NATO imperialists are stepping up pressure on Greece in a bid to restore and strengthen the south-eastern flank of NATO. They are anxious to settle the Cyprus issue, completely return Greece to NATO and resolve the dispute between Greece and Turkey — all that with the help of force.

To meet their ends, they resort to naked threats and pressure, wrangle over the question of Greece's entry to the EEC with a view to wresting from Greece concessions on domestic national problems, and are hatching a plot against the Republic of Cyprus.

The official lifting of the embargo on the U.S. weapon sales to Turkey is designed to step up the arms race in both Greece and Turkey at the expense of their peoples and in the interests of NATO.

The government's recent economic measures are in the interests of the international imperialist associations and the finance oligarchy. For the working people they mean tightening their belts once again. This policy aggravates the economic problems, shifting their burden onto the working people, and is opposed by the working class, peasantry and other strata fighting for their economic demands and trade union rights and freedoms.

A way out of this situation can be found in cooperation of all democratic forces of Greece, declared the Tenth Congress of the CPG. The Communist Party has urged these forces to join efforts immediately and at all levels.

FOR PEACE, NATIONAL LIBERATION AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

Resolution of the National Council of the Communist Party of India on international situation

In recent months, the international situation has deteriorated. Alarmed by the growing tide of the forces of détente, national liberation and socialism, the NATO powers, under U.S. lead, are making new far-reaching aggressive moves to resume the cold war, slow down détente and step up the arms race, strengthen and expand military bases all over the globe and intensify armed intervention against the national-liberation movements of the African continent. The new rulers of Maoist China have forged a common global front with imperialism and extreme reaction and aligned themselves fully with the NATO moves.

The aggressive moves of imperialism stem from its desperation at the tremendous advances made in recent years by the forces of peace, socialism and national liberation on the one hand and the growing worsening of the crisis of world capitalist economy on the other.

In cynical contempt of world public opinion and the efforts being made by the overwhelming majority of nations in the direction of détente and disarmament, the NATO at its recent summit meeting decided on a qualitative and quantitative step up of armaments build-up unprecedented in its history. It means an escalated arms race program amounting to 80 billion dollars covering new weapons of mass destruction, including nuclear weapons.

Schemes have been prepared for many more military bases of imperialist states all over the globe, as well as for setting up new military blocs such as the proposed South Atlantic Treaty Organization (SATO) linking up the U.S., the racist regime of South Africa and the fascist military dictatorships in South America.

The decision taken by the NATO powers to widen and intensify NATO intervention in the internal affairs of African states and to create for this purpose a so-called Pan-African force is fraught with the gravest consequences for the progressive states and for the national-liberation movements of Africa. It is an open plan for "Vietnamizing Africa," for making Africans fight Africans, in order to safeguard the interests of the Western monopolies in Africa (copper, cobalt, uranium, oil, diamonds, etc.), to bolster up reactionary cor-

rupt and venal regimes such as that of Mobutu (Patrice Lumumba's murderer) in Zaire, to work up coups against progressive regimes, to "re-colonize" Black Africa.

West German monopolies have turned Zaire into a missile-testing center and it is also closely linked to U.S. military apparatus directly serving some of the U.S. military projects like cruise missiles, space shuttles, etc.

These aggressive moves have been accompanied by a powerful sinister campaign opened up in the West to spread lies against the Soviet Union, Cuba and other socialist countries. President Carter himself inaugurated this campaign in his Annapolis speech.

A new version of cold war "roll-back" policy is being put into effect.

The U.S. thesis of "Soviet-Cuban intervention in Zaire" is nothing but a bare-faced lie. There is not a single Soviet or Cuban soldier in Zaire. But the great lie continues to be propagated in accordance with the imperialist technique of denouncing every liberation struggle as "foreign-inspired" in order to help the enslavers.

Similarly, the lie is being propagated that the Soviet armed strength in Europe is "endangering the safety" of the NATO countries, while the reality is that the Soviet Union has even today kept its armed forces in Europe at the 1976 level and is willing to reduce it, while the USA has increased its armed strength systematically both in 1977 and 1978.

The Soviet Union has no military base in the Indian Ocean, while the USA has several and is planning to expand them. The USA has broken off the talks with the Soviet Union on the Indian Ocean and stepped up aggressive activities on Diego Garcia.

The USA is pouring arms into the Persian Gulf area and operating through the Shah of Iran and Saudi Arabia to suppress national-liberation movements and subvert and overthrow progressive regimes in the region. The Shah has unleashed fascist repression on all democratic forces inside Iran, using the terrorist spy agency SAVAK. He has publicly come out as the spearhead of NATO aggression in this region.

The People's Democratic Republic of Yemen is now threatened with an open aggression by North Yemen and Saudi Arabia backed by Iran and the USA following the defeat of the reactionary coup planned by the former President of Democratic Yemen. The CPI expresses its fullest solidarity with People's Democratic Republic of Yemen and its revolutionary vanguard, the National Front.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India hails the victories of the democratic revolution in Afghanistan as a valuable contribution to the common cause of the progressive anti-imperialist forces of this whole region. The National Council is confident that the new leadership of Afghanistan will consolidate its role despite the slanders and conspiracies of international reaction.

The counter-offensives undertaken by U.S. imperialism and the NATO powers against the national-liberation movements, against the community of socialist states, against disarmament and against world peace are fully being backed up by the new rulers of Maoist China. Hua Kuo-feng and Teng Hsiao-ping have joined forces on a global scale with imperialism and extreme reaction. This alliance has been further strengthened in the course of the recent visit to Peking of arch-reactionary anti-communist Brzezinski, President Carter's National Security Adviser.

The Peking rulers have extended full support to the NATO interventionist plans against Africa, to NATO's "Pan-African" force, echoing imperialism's lies against the Soviet Union and Cuba. They have started giving military training to Mobutu's forces in Zaire and negotiating arms aid with them. This is quite in line with their earlier lining up behind the fascist butcher Pinochet in Chile and behind the CIA forces which were fighting a counter-revolutionary war in Angola against the MPLA.

After Brzezinski's visit to Peking, the policy of political and military cooperation between the NATO powers and Maoist China has been strengthened.

In their foreign policy program, the new rulers of China are laying more emphasis on the most negative aspects of Maoist foreign policy, specifically its anti-Soviet, militarist and great-power chauvinist-expansionist principles. The "theory of three worlds" put forward by Mao Tse-tung in 1974 (in logical continuation of the disruptive program the Maoists put forward in 1963 as their platform of "splittism" of the world communist movement) has now been concretized by Teng Hsiao-ping into a slogan of an all-out "united front of struggle against the USSR," a front including the USA.

Increased militarization inside China, preaching the theory that détente is an "illusion" and that "war is inevitable" goes hand in hand with a program of massive arms purchases from the West and increased military cooperation with the West.

The new Peking rulers have come out calling for strengthening of

NATO, for a continued U.S. military presence in Asia and in support of the infamous U.S.-Japan Mutual Security Pact.

The Peking rulers try to justify their massive militarization program by talking of the "threat from the North." But they have repeatedly rejected every attempt made by the Soviet Union in recent years to normalize relations, including the most comprehensive offer made in February 1978. The argument about "threat from the North" is nothing but a cover to serve its policy of great-power chauvinist and expansionist aims, primarily in South and Southeast Asia.

It is no secret that Maoist China has laid claims to extensive territories belonging to neighboring countries in South and Southeast Asia, amounting to nearly half the size of China.

The seizure by China in 1974 of the Paracel Islands and the laying of claims to some other islands in the South China Sea were in fact the first shots in the expansionist offensive opened up by Maoist China against Vietnam.

Today progressive mankind throughout the world is shocked by the all-out offensive launched by China against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

Fighting to a victorious conclusion a most glorious war of national liberation against barbarous U.S. aggression — a fight which has won worldwide admiration — the great Vietnamese people have started the arduous task of peaceful national reconstruction and construction of socialism.

Maoist China sees in the emergence of a strong independent Socialist Republic of Vietnam a powerful obstacle in its path of great-power expansionism and hegemonism in Southeast Asia. That is why Peking has egged on Kampuchea to attack Vietnam and has now followed it up by a full scale all-out offensive against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, utilizing for this purpose the compradore bourgeoisie of Chinese origin in Vietnam. China has withdrawn its technicians from Vietnam and cut off its aid to that country. On the other hand, it has strongly denounced Vietnam for its entry into the CMEA.

The imperialists and their Maoist collaborators have brought their dangerous aggressive machinations to the very borders of our country. The military dictatorial regimes in Pakistan and Bangladesh are not only cruelly suppressing their own people. They are working hand-in-glove with the U.S. imperialists, Saudi Arabia, Iran and the Maoists in the implementation of their international strategy. These regimes are being utilized by reaction to blackmail and pressurize

India to abandon the anti-imperialist content of our non-aligned foreign policy. They are increasingly becoming centers of reactionary conspiracies against India, directed against our national sovereignty and unity.

It is worth noting that even while putting out "feelers" for "friendly relations" with India, the new rulers of China have shown no desire to discuss and settle India-China border problems. They have not stopped providing arms and military training facilities to Mizo and Naga rebels. Inaugurating the Karakoram Road, the Chinese Vice-Premier virtually endorsed Pakistan's claim to Jammu and Kashmir.

Against the background of these dangerous developments in the international arena, the concrete proposals made by the Soviet Union at the current UN Special Session on Disarmament have been hailed by peace-loving and national-liberation forces all over the world.

The Soviet Union's proposals for ending all further quantitative and qualitative growth of arms and armed forces of states having big military potentialities, for ending the production of nuclear weapons of all types and a gradual reduction of their stockpiles up to their full liquidation, for preventing the creation of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction, for an agreement on mutual renunciation of production of the neutron bomb, for a successful completion of the talks on a complete and general ban on all nuclear weapon tests, for the conclusion of a treaty on non-use of force in international relations, on transforming the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace, etc. — these accord completely with what our country has been advocating all these years. They are fully in line with what the interests of our national sovereignty and independence and the interests of the peace-loving humanity all over the world demand.

The Soviet Union, in answer to NATO's challenge, has firmly reaffirmed its solidarity with the national-liberation movements of the African continent.

Confident that the positive achievements in the international situation, the victories of détente, can and shall be carried forward through the common efforts of the peoples, the World Peace Council has called on all peace forces to unite in a mass movement to defeat the conspiracies of U.S. imperialism and the most aggressive forces of the NATO. In all continents meetings and demonstrations are being organized to stop the imperialist intervention in Africa and against the NATO summit's decisions to step up the arms race.

Inside the USA itself and in the NATO countries, the protest

movement is assuming the largest proportions. Recent polls in the United States have shown that a large majority of the American people stand for strengthening of détente, for still further improvement in U.S.-Soviet relations and for the banning of the neutron bomb.

This mass movement has resulted in the intensification of the contradictions already known to exist among the imperialist powers and inside the U.S. administration itself.

The present international situation demands the strengthening of India's anti-imperialist role, the strengthening of India's role as an active fighter for disarmament and for world peace. At such a time, the Janata government, in the name of "genuine non-alignment," is weakening India's anti-imperialist role, India's role as an active fighter for world peace.

Reactionary trends are now appearing in the foreign policy of the Janata government. Although the basic policy of peace and non-alignment has not yet been abandoned, distortions and erosions of this policy have already begun. The anti-imperialist content of the foreign policy is being systematically weakened and even undermined. This portends serious danger not only to world peace but also to our national interest in the background of the sinister moves of the U.S. imperialists and the Chinese chauvinists in this sub-continent and on a global scale.

On the NATO interventionist plans against the African national-liberation movements, India's Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister have chosen either to keep silent or to make equivocal statements to the effect that the NATO powers were only reacting to the alleged actions of the Soviet Union and Cuba! They have not uttered one word of condemnation of the NATO plans for escalating the arms race, expanding military bases abroad and resuming the cold war. Under cover of glib talk of "the two superpowers," the fighters for peace are equated with the warmongers, the supporters of national-liberation struggle are equated with the colonialists, the aggressors are equated with the aggressed.

Within the non-aligned movement, the Janata government is reducing India's role to that of an "honest broker" for advocating "avoidance of confrontation" with the Western powers and for coming to "compromise solutions" with these powers.

The Janata government finds more rapport with reactionary pro-imperialist regimes than with radical anti-imperialist states.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India calls for an

intensive nationwide campaign to expose the new imperialist conspiracies against peace, against disarmament and against the national-liberation movements and to demand that India must play an active role in combating these conspiracies, together with the socialist states and the anti-imperialist nations among the developing countries. The present international situation precisely demands sharpening of the anti-imperialist edge of non-alignment. India must actively support the constructive proposals put forward by the Soviet Union at the Special UN Session on Disarmament, proposals which have been hailed by progressive non-aligned states. India must unequivocally condemn the NATO interventionist plans in Africa. India must extend all-out support to the national-liberation movements of Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa. India must demand the dismantling of Diego Garcia and all other imperialist military bases in the Indian Ocean.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India appeals to all patriotic anti-imperialist forces in our country to whichever party they may belong, to come together and unitedly campaign for these demands, in the interests of our own national sovereignty and security.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India calls upon all its units to intensify the campaign of political-ideological exposure of Maoism and its policy of alliance with imperialism and extreme reaction.

The "feelers" which are being put out by the present rulers of China for "good relations" with India cannot be viewed in isolation from their global foreign policy and, in particular, their recent moves in South and Southeast Asia which defy even the Bandung declaration. Our people definitely desire the normalization of relations between India and China and they will welcome every constructive effort taken in this direction. But only the return by China to the principles of the historic *Panch Sheel* agreement of 1954 can pave the way for the restoration of their traditional friendship, not only in the interests of our two peoples, but also that of the worldwide struggle for peace, national liberation and social progress which our country is pledged to continue in cooperation with the Soviet Union, Socialist Republic of Vietnam and other socialist states and indeed with all anti-imperialist forces the world over.

New Delhi, July 5-8, 1978

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

THE FUTURE BELONGS TO PROGRESS, FREEDOM, JUSTICE AND THE BROTHERHOOD OF NATIONS

In an atmosphere of tremendous political enthusiasm and cohesion round the Communist Party of Cuba and its Central Committee the working people of the Isle of Liberty marked a glorious date in their country's history, the 25th anniversary of the heroic attack on the Moncada barracks by a group of young revolutionaries led by Fidel Castro. The storming of that military citadel of the pro-imperialist Batista dictatorship marked the start of a new stage in the Cuban people's selfless struggle for their country's freedom and independence, a struggle which led to the victory of the revolution and the establishment of the first socialist state in the Western Hemisphere. Celebrations to mark National Uprising Day were held in the city of Santiago de Cuba, the cradle of the Cuban people's liberation and revolutionary battles. The participants in a mass meeting on the site of what used to be the Moncada barracks wholeheartedly greeted the leaders of the Communist Party of Cuba and the Cuban socialist state, and the guests of honor who arrived for the festivities from many countries. The celebrations were also attended by many young people from all over the world who had come to Cuba for the 11th World Festival of Youth and Students.

A speech at the meeting was delivered by Fidel Castro, First Secretary of the CPC Central Committee, Chairman of the State Council and the Council of Ministers. In his speech he said, in part:

“Our epoch, and the objective conditions which have taken shape in Cuban society and the world have turned us into Marxist-Leninists, internationalists, socialists and communists.

“The revolutionaries of our day owe the priceless fund of the ideas at their disposal to the creators of scientific socialism: Marx, Engels and Lenin. We can say with full conviction that without them our

people could not have carried out such a tremendous leap forward in its social and political development. . . . Cuba's genuine revolution was ensured by the combination of the specific conditions in Cuba's development, the Cuban people's traditions of struggle and consistent application of the universal principles which it is impossible to ignore.

"Some vain leaders have sought to nationalize and chauvinize Marxism. There are even some who believe themselves to be greater than Marx, Engels and Lenin, neglecting the precision and depth of their studies, and forgetting the incomparable modesty of the creators of our revolutionary doctrine, forgetting that it is not individuals who erect monuments to themselves for posterity but peoples and objective events that assign to each his niche in history.

"The fact that Cuba has been successfully building socialism close to the world's mightiest and most savage empire signifies a success for the international revolutionary movement and is an inspiring example for all the peoples, however hard the imperialists and the traitors to the cause of internationalism, who have now become lackeys and allies of the oppressors, try to ignore this.

"The Cuban revolutionaries won their victory through steadfastness, loyalty to principles, close ties with the masses and absolute confidence in the justice of their cause and the Cuban people's dedication and heroism, and thanks to the international solidarity and support from the world's progressive movement, the socialist community and especially the glorious Soviet Union.

"For that purpose the revolutionaries rejected opportunism, ideological compromises, narrow-minded nationalism and chauvinism, abuse of power, violation of principles, corruption, deification of leaders, and the ridiculous personality cult. We came out for solidarity among men, for Marxism-Leninism, for consistent anti-imperialism and proletarian internationalism, for the necessity of the vanguard party, for collective leadership and democratic revolutionary norms, for self-criticism and admission and correction of mistakes, for modesty, and for total dedication of one's life to the people. We admire and respect those who fought in the past to create our country as it is today. We stand for lasting gratitude to those who voiced solidarity with us and helped us to resist the aggression of imperialism.

"Our country is prepared to continue confidently advancing along the path of socialism; we have been working on our Second Five-Year Plan, and making a serious study of the perspectives for socio-economic and cultural development up until the year 2000.

"Mankind's key task today is to avert the danger of nuclear war. Never before in mankind's history have there been such devastating weapons as there are today.

"It is not the progressive and revolutionary forces that have produced the present dangerous and dramatic situation. It was Vladimir Ilyich Lenin who proclaimed the slogan of peace and peaceful coexistence among all the countries of the world at the dawn of the first socialist state. Socialism, whose main goal in the field of the economy is development of the productive forces and a fair distribution of the fruits of labor, has absolutely no need either of wars, of redivisions of the world, or of the manufacture of weapons. Planned economic development and man's basic needs do not at all require endless inputs of resources into the futile arms drive. It was not the world's first socialist state that raised the idea of war between countries with different social systems. It was the imperialist powers that decided to resort to intervention and blockade to wipe out the first workers' and peasants' state and simultaneously to stamp out the revolutionary movement in all the regions of the world.

"This policy produced fascism and led to the Second World War. Hitler Germany's crusade against the Soviet Union, which was prepared with the help of the imperialist powers, cost the first socialist state the lives of 20 million of its best sons. The peoples of the imperialist countries themselves had to pay a high price for their rulers' criminal anti-communist and pro-fascist gamble.

"Who can deny the obvious fact that it is the capitalist countries that bear the main responsibility for the outbreak of that war? Who can forget that it was socialism that prevented fascism from dominating the world? Is it not the United States that has now actually substituted for Hitler Germany to become the herald of anti-communism and world counter-revolution? Who has been pursuing a policy of strength and dotting the globe with military bases? Who has been fanning the arms race and developing the arms industry to solve internal economic problems and meet the interests of the powerful monopolies?

"Those who reproach the socialist countries for their defense programs forget the lessons of fascism, the historical reality which consists in the fact that it is imperialism with its policy of aggression, blockades and threats that has forced our countries to make large military outlays which are totally alien to the goals of the socialist system.

"The socialist countries have no intention to export revolutions, no

one exported socialism to the Soviet Union, and no one exported it to Cuba. Since the emergence of socialism, the imperialist countries alone have sought to export their system: capitalism, reaction, counter-revolution and fascism.

“The peoples have no need for the arms race. Mankind must secure a better destiny for itself. The pessimistic view concerning the necessity and possibility of peace on the globe, the similar stand taken by those who keep talking about the inevitability of war and even incite to it, apparently believing that they alone will survive it, is absolutely unacceptable and irresponsible.

“The U.S. government seeks to present itself as a ‘champion of human rights’ ... What moral right to talk about human rights have the rulers of a country in which millionaires and beggars live side by side, where the Indians are being wiped out, where the Blacks are being subjected to discrimination and women are prostituted?! How can they talk about human rights, these leaders of an empire in which the mafia rules supreme, where the CIA frames and executes subversive programs, and organizes espionage on a worldwide scale, and where the Pentagon fabricates neutron bombs?! How can they talk of human rights, those who represent the capitalist and imperialist society, which is based on man’s exploitation of man?!

“We would be dishonest if we denied that the revolutionary and progressive movement itself is going through some serious difficulties. The repugnant betrayal of the cause of internationalism by the Chinese leaders and their mad political stand and shameless alliance with the imperialist powers have dealt a heavy blow at the progressive forces of the world. Vietnam, Angola and Cuba, small countries which have won great and well-merited prestige in the world through their resolute and heroic struggle against imperialism, have now become the target of monstrous attacks, hostile acts, and slander on the part of the traitorous Chinese leadership. After nearly 20 years of hostile U.S. acts and aggressions against Cuba, which failed to force us down to our knees, we now have to face this incredible and disgraceful fact: the present Chinese leadership has justified the economic blockade of Cuba and the existence of a U.S. naval base on Cuban territory.

“There is now absolutely no difference between the imperialist news agencies and the Chinese: both use the same trite and treacherous language for their attacks on Cuba and spread foul slander about Soviet cooperation, which was decisive in saving and consolidating the Cuban revolution at its most critical moments. We Cubans will

never forget the crucial economic support which the Soviet Union has given us. Nor shall we forget that the weapons which we used to defend ourselves with during the Bay of Pigs imperialist aggression was made available to us by the Soviet Union.

"The United States was unable to effect a policy of genocide in Cuba through straightforward aggression largely because of the Soviet Union's solidarity and support. History cannot be so grossly crossed out.

"With respect to Cuba's internationalist policy, the boundless nobility of our people, whose sons have fought in Angola against the South African racists, and our militant solidarity with the Ethiopian revolution in warding off the external aggression organized by the United States, the NATO countries and Arab reaction, the Chinese leadership has resorted to a base and foul phraseology which is even worse than that used by imperialist propaganda.

"Internationalism is the finest expression of Marxism-Leninism and its ideas of the solidarity and brotherhood of nations. The Cuban revolution could not have existed without internationalism. To be an internationalist is to fulfill our duty to mankind.

"Ever since the time a mere mortal was set up as a god in the People's Republic of China, when the best party cadres were wiped out there in the period of the mad gamble with the cultural revolution, when the petty-bourgeois spirit and great-power chauvinism gained the upper hand and led to the betrayal of internationalism and the conversion of a socialist state into a nepotism-ridden satrapy, where the rulers' wives and in-laws have become members of the Political Bureau one could have expected anything. Is it so strange then that the government of China now supports Pinochet's fascist blood-stained regime and other repressive military governments in Latin America? Is it surprising that it collaborates with Mobutu and NATO's interventionist forces? It will not be surprising at all if it joins the Republic of South Africa against Angola, supports Egypt's treacherous and separatist policy, and unites with the conservative and reactionary forces of Britain and the FRG, with NATO in Europe and with U.S. imperialism all over the world.

"But China's hostile policy with respect to Vietnam is the most detestable of all its crimes. There is no doubt in anyone's mind that Maoism and the Chinese ruling camarilla are at the back of Cambodian extremism and the provocations against Vietnam, and that they are the architects of the artificial problem of the so-called huachiao. A wild chauvinistic propaganda campaign is being mounted in China

against Vietnam. Peking has stopped all economic cooperation with that country. Criminally and high-handedly, it has been undermining Vietnam's efforts to rehabilitate the country, which was devastated as a result of imperialism's savage war. The Chinese leadership's stand reminds us of the U.S. policy against Cuba.

"The heroic people of Vietnam is now a victim of China's treachery and aggression. Unless its criminal hand is stayed in time, we may have to witness military crimes and even more dangerous aggressions on the part of China against heroic Vietnam. That is why we must give Vietnam our most resolute and wholehearted support. Our party intends to resume the activity of Vietnam Solidarity Committees in face of the threat of aggression by the imperialists, which is this time being stoked up — however absurd that may be — by their new and loyal allies from the counter-revolutionary camp.

"There must be a limit to scorning the people, the rules and principles. It must meet with real resistance. Today, even Albania, a small socialist country, which supported China in the initial period of the split in the revolutionary movement, no longer follows it.

"The Chinese people itself — industrious, selfless, militant, heroic and revolutionary — will sooner or later settle scores with the traitors who have thrown down its fine internationalist banners for the imperialists to trample on.

"In the recent period, opportunism, unprincipled policies, a tendency to conciliation with imperialism have gained some strength in view of the problems that have arisen within the revolutionary movement. But opportunism, economic difficulties, chauvinism, and political cowardice result in vacillation on many cardinal problems. There are only two ways in the world: the way of reaction and the way of progress. One must choose one of these. It is impossible to be neutral.

"The world revolutionary movement has made gigantic steps forward. Its forces have been growing and its experience become richer. . . . The forces of socialism and peace are now strong enough, and imperialism is no longer capable of imposing on the world its policy of hegemony, regress and wars. These forces — including our cherished, fraternal and glorious homeland of Lenin — constitute the most solid and insuperable obstacle in the way of present-day reaction. Mankind will never return to the past. Peace will be preserved. The peoples will advance along the path of progress, and no one and nothing will be able to stop them."

Granma, July 27, 1978

HOLD HIGH THE BANNER OF A VANGUARD PARTY

Statement of the Dominican Communist Party

Antonio Guzman Fernandez, the presidential candidate of the opposition Dominican Revolutionary Party, won in the recently held general elections in the Dominican Republic. This party adheres to a social-democratic orientation. After his 12 years in power President Joaquin Balaguer was defeated, but his supporters sought to contest the results of the elections. The new situation, as well as the role of the Dominican Communist Party in the process are analyzed in a document drawn up by the DCP Central Committee at its enlarged plenum. Below is a summary of the document.

WHAT HAS CHANGED?

The landslide election victory of the Dominican Revolutionary Party (PRD) has changed the country's political situation. A government serving the ruling classes will now be replaced by another, representing the same classes. This government, however, aroused hopes of profound changes among the broad popular masses. These hopes obviously clash with the interests of those who control the PRD leadership and thereby also its future government.

The struggle against the type of dependence represented by the Balaguer regime must be replaced by defining the character of the PRD government as a form of perpetuating dependent capitalism in our country. This is essential to combat that type of dependence.

From the struggle for the expansion of the democratic gains it is necessary to go over to optimal use of all forms of self-expression, organization, mobilization and struggle of the masses.

FIRST A TRANSITIONAL PERIOD. THEN CHANGES

Predictably, and this has been repeatedly stressed by our party, the Balaguerists would not give up power easily, and would do everything possible to cling to it, including refusal to acknowledge the election results.

The military's interruption of the vote count and temporary occupation of the polling stations was due to the reaction of civilian and

military forces closely linked with Balaguer, who clearly did not expect the PRD to poll so many votes in the capital. They were confident that the government would win the majority through a combination of influence, coercion and corruption.

In this situation our party insisted on the need to recognize the people's will as reflected at the polls: defeat of Balaguer at the elections, as well as hatred for his form of administration, and proposed that the internal opposition forces (PRD and the military) get together to discuss their differences. This proposal was aimed to prevent the PRD leadership from rejecting the enormous mass support, which is just what happened. It began urging passivity and soliciting foreign interference, with all the ensuing negative consequences. This led to a distortion of popular will during the elections, as reflected in broad opposition to our country's dependence on the USA.

Official quarters stopped the vote count with the aim of falsifying the election results through coercion, election rigging and repressions. The PRD leaders, clearly unwilling to use the mass support on which they could have counted, and fearing that this could raise the political struggle to a higher level, openly solicited the aid of foreign powers, which lost no time in coming to their aid, interpreting the Dominicans' popular will in their own way — an interpretation that will obviously compel the future PRD government to make new concessions to foreign capital. It will also have to guarantee in the main the concessions made by the Balaguerists, which the PRD leaders had been prepared to do anyway.

Today it may be concluded that, instead of soliciting the interference of powerful foreign forces, it would make more sense to reach agreement with the military on resolving the crisis. It should be borne in mind that despite their unsavory meddling with the election results, they nevertheless helped in holding the first more or less open elections in the past 12 years. Moreover, they could not resort to repressions, because in this case it would have been at variance with the decisions of the U.S. Embassy.

Clearly, an agreement between the major internal forces, an agreement that would not have aroused the objection of the overwhelming majority, would have been less prejudicial to national sovereignty than a formal acceptance of the election results reached through negotiations with the imperialist powers, which acted as factors of bringing pressure to bear on one of the sides, forcing it to retreat.

THE MILITARY: A THIRD OPTION?

The top-ranking military, with some exceptions, agreed on holding freer elections than previously.

The interruption of the vote count reflected their adherence to the Balaguer leadership and rejection of the PRD candidate, who lacked influence among the military. They could have accepted the defeat of their political leader at the elections and agreed to a PRD government. At the present time, however, they continue to follow Balaguer's anti-PRD strategy. There is no doubt that the new PRD government, aided by the North Americans, will advocate the removal of certain military men to gain greater control over the armed forces. This possibility is not easily realized, however.

Efforts are already being made to coordinate self-defense measures, though differences still exist.

The U.S. military mission and the military aid group (MAAG) have their own plans: to maintain the armed forces as a third option, an alternative in case of failure of the bi-party system as a result of the simultaneous defeat or weakening of the two major civilian-controlled political parties. This could happen quite soon, owing to reformism's weakness after its defeat and the consequent internal strife. The weak and vacillating PRD administration could lose much of the popular support that brought it to power. This may happen before its program of dependent capitalist development restores the level of employment achieved by Balaguer two years prior to the elections owing to favorable sugar prices on the world markets, and if the PRD fails to meet even the limited promises of its election program.

The North Americans' aim is clear: a civilian bi-party system, and the armed forces as an emergency option, with preliminary guarantees of absolute control over them.

The simultaneous defeat of the two major parties could open up possibilities for an effective military alternative, something that is not used at present in such countries as Colombia and Venezuela, but has been repeatedly used to maintain stability in Argentina and Ecuador.

Imperialism does not, of course, hold all the cards. The effect of the present foreign intervention should not be underestimated as a factor stimulating protest against it and the nationalist actions by some military quarters. Those among the military who are threatened with dismissal could also put up resistance. Nor is a part of the dismissed civilian representatives of the Balaguer apparatus totally docile. The PRD might also prove incapable of stabilizing the deteriorating economic situation, especially since the price of sugar is expected to

drop by mid-1981. Nor can it assume control over the strike movement of the masses, and particularly over the working class. Though the working class still harbors illusions about the PRD, these will be dispelled as soon as the spiralling inflation erodes incomes, and it will come to see that the concept of dependent capitalist development advocated by the PRD will not bear the promised fruit.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY'S ROLE BEFORE AND DURING THE ELECTIONS

The significant polarization (the PRD and the Reformist Party /PR/ polled 97 per cent of the votes) creates a basis for a bi-party system in the framework of alternation of representative democratic governments.

Our party was the only minority organization which considerably increased its votes. The other parties, often contrary to their expectations, polled fewer votes than warranted by their size.

Apart from the PRD and the PR, no other party will be represented in the chambers. Thus the reformists will have a majority in many municipalities and, consequently, increased representation in Congress.

Our party won votes in all the municipalities, even in those where we have no organization. In a large number of municipalities we rank third or fourth.

Noteworthy also is the relative growth of communist influence in many rural communities, where we polled a substantial number of votes. This is a direct result of our agrarian policy.

On the other hand, the insignificant number of votes polled by our party in cities with a large concentration of workers attests both to organizational weaknesses and a lack of socialist awareness in this social force, as well as to the level of the working people's class struggle, which is at present an impediment to a decisive definition intended to remove the question of differences from the purely political framework of contradictions between the PRD and the government.

The fact that the party received the greatest percentage of votes in the National District and in other localities, as reflected not only in the destruction of ballots, but also in the break with the polarizing tendency, points to the level of awareness of the importance of voting for the communists as an alternative for real changes, and of communist presence in the organs of representative power.

Apart from the counted percentage of votes, it will never be possi-

ble to establish the full extent of support that was lost in disqualified ballots owing to the voters' lack of knowledge of election procedures, the complexity of the election mechanism, as well as the poor quality of ballots, most of which had no tear-off lines or had other flaws, to say nothing of the fact that at some polling stations there were no Communist Party ballots, the intention being to prevent voting for the communists.

The factional voting confirmed the polarization, but it indicated also the existence of certain sympathies outside it. The Dominicans viewed our party as the primary option outside the polarization. The importance of this fact lies not only in numbers. It enables us to clearly define our further work, as well as the spheres and social groups where these sympathies appeared.

The phenomenon of polarization, which reached enormous dimensions during the elections, did not permit us to turn everything that today represents a growing sympathy toward our party into votes for the communists. In addition there was also the lateness of legalization: we were able to wage an open campaign only during two and a half months. Then there were also organizational weaknesses, which limited our participation to 13 municipalities and the National District. They reduced to a minimum the opportunity of polling votes through work in residential districts, at factories, workers' centers and city and rural communities.

The 12 years of Balaguer rule, including his two successive re-elections, made the masses seek Balaguer's defeat at the elections. They saw this opportunity in giving their votes to the majority opposition party, irrespective of its program aims.

During the election campaign we made, it may be said without exaggeration, optimal efforts to popularize our program of socialist changes. We sought to make contact with quarters with whom we had never worked before, to simplify our political language and begin building a class awareness at grassroots level.

This campaign enabled us to expand our influence, win new supporters, increase our membership and to awaken keen interests in our socialist goals.

Our propaganda over the radio and through the press, as well as posters, was distinguished by its high quality and broad scope.

The experience of our radio programs, research in residential districts and workers' centers, the experience of musical collectives, popular art groups and direct dialogue with the population represents

a very important achievement and points to the great potentialities of our future political work.

OUR POLICY

The political line of our party in relation to the future PRD government should proceed from the complex situation described above.

As a party representing the working people and the oppressed masses, which is waging a struggle for changes directed toward socialism, we will firmly come out against the class interests and program of the PRD government, which favor big local and foreign capital, the directives and measures designed to defend the interests of private latifundia-owners and the minorities which control the country's basic wealth. We will oppose everything that signifies dependence, preservation of the private latifundia, privileges and exploitation, all that which distinguishes the governments controlled by the upper classes and foreign monopolies.

We will firmly oppose plans to divide the state wealth, concentrated in the Dominican State Enterprise Corporation and the State Sugar Council, as well as concessions and privileges, increasing the presence and profits of the big local and foreign capitalists.

We will fight from our left position against the groups and interests which today control the PRD leadership and which on the whole will determine the line and the composition of the future government.

At the same time, however, we will act as allies and defenders of the popular masses who voted for the PRD in the hope that with its aid they would be able to extricate themselves from poverty, unemployment, hardships and want.

We will advocate establishing relations with Cuba and with all other socialist countries, the need for which is also realized by many PRD members.

We will always seek an alliance with the rank and file of the PRD and other parties and non-party masses in the struggle for the full return of our wealth, controlled by a handful of multinationals such as Gulf and Western, Falconbridge, Rosario and others.

We will neither dogmatically oppose everything that the PRD stands for as a mass party, nor cooperate with a government that is linked with the ruling classes and the Carter administration.

The Communist Party will act without prejudice, but it will firmly defend the aspirations of the dispossessed classes and the national interests, while condemning everything negative and welcoming everything positive in any specific measure of the new regime. It will

wage a struggle to change the system and for a new society, which should be the result of the growing awareness of the majority of the population, and not the consequence of political ventures and plots.

The Dominican Communist Party will hold aloft the banner of socialist alternative, the banner of vanguard organization destined to develop the class struggle of the workers, peasants and poor masses with the aim of forming a broad movement that will oppose the decisions proposed by the present system, and above all the forces which seek to buttress the bi-party system or any other alternative aimed at preserving the dependent capitalist system in our country.

Enlarged Central Committee Plenum,
Dominican Communist Party
Santo Domingo, May 27, 1978

PUT AN END TO ISRAELI INTERVENTION IN LEBANON'S AFFAIRS

Statement by Political Bureau, CP Israel

The efforts of the legitimate Lebanese government to extend its power over the whole territory of Lebanon, to maintain the country's integrity and sovereignty, to stop the anarchy and fragmentation, and to restore normal life in the country has come up against the resistance of Lebanese reactionary forces and their foreign masters, the imperialists and the government of Israel. The contingents sent by the country's legitimate government to the south of Lebanon so as to establish its power in the area in accordance with UN resolutions is being resisted by the detachments of right-wing forces, the underlings of the Israeli government, which seeks to perpetuate the division of Lebanon.

With open support from the Israeli government, the rightists' detachments have carried on shelling and threatened to start another war in the country, this time against Lebanon's regular forces. There is no substance in the allegations that these armed forces are camouflaged Syrian contingents. The purpose of the resistance to the entry of the Lebanese government's regular troops into Lebanon's south-

ern areas is to perpetuate the rule of the Israeli government's foul agents who urge the Christians to split up Lebanon.

News of the visit to Israel by Bashir al-Jamil, commander of the Kataib armed forces, the recent evacuation of Americans and Canadians from Lebanon, the demagogic call issued by Menachem Begin, head of the Israeli government, on the peoples of the world to intervene in Lebanon's affairs in order, as he put it, to save the Christians, the statements by the Israeli government officials that Israel will not stand idly by — all of this shows that the military operations by the Israeli government's mercenaries in the south of Lebanon against the legitimate Lebanese troops are nothing but a pretext for a broad intervention by Israel in order to attain what it had failed to attain during its earlier aggression in March 1978.

The CPI Political Bureau warns that the Israeli government, which has been acting hand-in-glove with internal Lebanese reaction and is encouraged by U.S. imperialism, is pushing the region into a fresh flare-up of hostilities, more bloodshed in Lebanon and a new war against Syria and in the region as a whole. Its purpose is to split up Lebanon and to set up in it a strong imperialist base, to annex the country's southern areas to Israel and to deal a blow at the Palestinian liberation movement.

The CPI Political Bureau calls on all the forces which stand for peace to raise their voice and come out in a united front.

Let the Israeli government stop playing with fire in Lebanon!

Put an end to the Israeli government's intervention in Lebanon's affairs!

Let the Lebanese solve their internal affairs themselves, and maintain the country's sovereignty and integrity!

Tel Aviv, August 1, 1978
Al-Ittihad, August 4, 1978

INTERVIEW WITH YUMZHAGIIN TSEDENBAL

Yumzhagiin Tsedenbal, First Secretary of the MPRP Central Committee and Chairman of the Presidium of the People's Great Khural of the MPR, answers questions put by Hisai Sirai, correspondent of the Japanese newspaper *Asahi*.

Q. More than six years have passed since the normalization of relations between Japan and Mongolia. How would you define the present relations between Japan and Mongolia in the political and economic spheres? How do you see the prospects of these relations?

A. The six odd years that have passed since the normalization of relations between the Mongolian People's Republic and Japan is of course only a short period. However, it is gratifying to note that friendly relations between our two countries are developing stably on the principles of peaceful coexistence.

In this period mutual visits of delegations at various levels have become more frequent, during which the sides have exchanged views on bilateral relations as well as current international issues. Practice has proved the usefulness of such contacts, for they help to strengthen mutual understanding and trust between our countries.

Economic cooperation has commenced between Mongolia and Japan. Trade relations are developing apace.

Cultural exchange has been maintained since the conclusion, in 1974, of an agreement on cooperation in the cultural sphere.

In dealing with the prospects of Mongolian-Japanese relations I wish to stress that the MPR stands for furthering relations of cooperation with Japan. In our view, opportunities exist for promoting bilateral relations. Naturally, the development of Mongolian-Japanese relations must meet the interests of the peoples of our countries, the interests of stronger peace and security in Asia and in the Far East.

Q. It is averred that tension is maintained in Asia owing to the present Soviet-Chinese relations. How does the MPR, which is situated between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, ensure its security and defense of its independence?

A. The root cause of the worsened relations between the USSR and the PRC and the sustained tension on the Asian continent lies in the anti-Soviet, great-power hegemonistic policy of the present Chinese leadership.

Today China is the only country in the world which not only openly advocates the inevitability of a new world war, but is intensively preparing for war. The Chinese leadership continues to adhere to an extremely negative stand on all cardinal questions of our time on whose solution the fate of humanity depends.

Peking's great-power expansionist course toward neighboring states is clearly manifested in the Chinese-Mongolian relations. There exists a very real threat to the independent existence of a sovereign Mongolian state on the part of China, whose leaders make no secret of their intentions to forcibly annex Mongolia.

The MPR government has been compelled to take steps to strengthen the country's defense potential in order to ensure its security and defend its independence. In particular, at the request of our government and fully in accordance with the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance concluded between the MPR and the USSR in 1966, Soviet troops are stationed on the territory of the Mongolian People's Republic.

The schemes of the Chinese leadership, who demand withdrawal of the Soviet troops, should be seen in the context of their annexationist policy toward the MPR.

The MPR's stand on questions of Mongolian-Chinese relations is clear. It has been set forward repeatedly in our official statements. The Mongolian People's Republic will, as before, exert efforts for the normalization of state-to-state relations with China on the principles of peaceful coexistence. At the same time we will vigorously fight against the Maoist policy of Peking and will firmly rebuff any incursion by China against the freedom and national independence of our people.

Q. Negotiations will soon begin in Peking on concluding a treaty of friendship between Japan and China. It is hoped in Japan that these negotiations will result in the conclusion of such a treaty. The Soviet Union, however, is opposed to this treaty. What is the MPR's government's stand on this question?

A. All states without exception have the sovereign right to conclude treaties and agreements with each other. As for the planned Japan-China treaty "of peace and friendship," neither the Soviet Union nor any other socialist country opposes the conclusion of such a treaty on principle. But it is clear to everyone that the inclusion in it of a special "joint counter-action to hegemonism" clause is essentially directed against third states, above all the Soviet Union. This is

particularly obvious in view of the PRC's present hostility toward the Soviet Union, which has been declared state policy.

Moreover, it should be borne in mind that the Chinese leaders would like, under cover of this treaty, to draw Japan into the orbit of its great-power hegemonistic policy and to involve it in an anti-Soviet alliance.

With China openly preparing for war and opposing in every way any step aimed at stronger peace and détente, the conclusion of an anti-Soviet Japan-China treaty may have negative consequences for the cause of peace and security in the Far East and in Asia as a whole.

Paradoxically, the call for a "joint struggle against hegemonism" comes from a state which itself is not only seeking, but is doing virtually everything possible to establish its hegemony over the world. To fail to see or to be reluctant to see the danger of such political manipulation by the Chinese leaders can seriously prejudice the genuine interests of Japan and its people. In this connection it would be appropriate to recall last spring's events in the East China sea, when an armed Chinese "fishing fleet" invaded the territorial waters of Japan, laying claim to the Senkaku islands.

We hope that the Japanese government will carefully consider all the pros and cons prior to adopting a final decision on the question of concluding a Japanese-Chinese treaty.

Q. What is your country's stand in relation to the PRC's foreign policy?

A. China's foreign policy is attuned to the Chinese leaders' strategic aim of establishing world hegemony. Peking's foreign-policy activity is therefore openly hostile toward the Soviet Union, Mongolia and other socialist countries and sharply at variance with the cause of peace and détente. By its expansionist, great-power proclivities and actions the present Chinese leadership poses a real threat to the independence and security of the Asian peoples.

China's fierce hostility toward the USSR stems from the fact that the Chinese rulers see the Soviet Union — whose principled peaceful policy is known throughout the world — as the chief obstacle to its self-seeking, hegemonistic aims. The Chinese leaders are hoping that in a situation of tension and wars it will be easier for them to engineer a clash between the two great powers — the Soviet Union and the United States — and then to attain their strategic goal.

China sees its task today in establishing its domination, and first of all on the Asian continent. At present there is hardly a country in Asia toward which the PRC has not advanced territorial or other claims.

The Chinese leadership's expansionist, great-power course in Asia is at present most clearly manifested in its relations with the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. The Chinese rulers see Vietnam as an obstacle to their expansion in Southeast Asia. That is also the reason behind the conflict between Vietnam and Kampuchea. It is no secret that the latter is being backed by China. The present aggravation of Chinese-Vietnamese relations is also a manifestation of China's expansionist policy.

Some Asian states believe that it is impossible to fulfill the task of strengthening peace and security in Asia without the PRC's participation. But how can China's great-power, hegemonistic propensities be reconciled with a policy of peace? The practical activities of the Peking leaders clearly show that they are fraught with grave consequences for the cause of peace and security in Asia. In our view the Asian states should realize the danger emanating from China's great-power, hegemonistic course, and see the reason behind the PRC's frenzied arms drive, its striving to acquire the most sophisticated types of military equipment and its harboring of plans of making the neutron bomb.

Q. The MPR has long been linked with the Soviet Union by relations of friendship and cooperation. What are the prospects for these relations?

A. You are right. The peoples of the MPR and the Soviet Union have been linked by inseverable ties of fraternal friendship and close multiform cooperation for half a century already. The all-round aid of the Soviet Union has played an exceptionally important role in building a new society in the MPR and in our country's prosperity.

The prospects for relations between our countries in all spheres of life are excellent. Undoubtedly, Mongolian-Soviet cooperation will continue to develop in depth and breadth, and will acquire a new content and forms for the benefit of socialist construction in the MPR, stronger peace and the security of the peoples.

Q. Your viewpoint regarding the strengthening of détente?

A. Fully in keeping with its foreign-policy aims and tasks, the MPR is actively seeking to promote the cause of stronger world peace and security, the consolidation and deepening of détente, and to extend it to all continents of the world. We are deeply convinced that effective measures to halt the arms race and for disarmament are essential for the further deepening and materialization of détente. The UN General Assembly 10th special session clearly reaffirmed the need for urgent measures in this sphere.

The Soviet Union and other socialist countries are active in the sphere of disarmament and have advanced many constructive proposals. The MPR, together with the other socialist countries, pays no small attention to the problem of disarmament.

On the initiative of the MPR and with the active support of the socialist countries and other peace-loving states the 10th special session of the General Assembly announced an International Week devoted to promoting the goals of disarmament. This Week will be held annually beginning with October 24, the day of the founding of the United Nations.

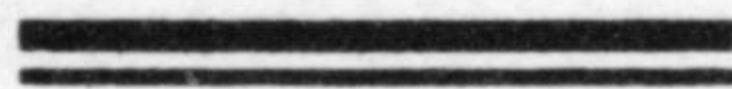
The problems of disarmament, naturally, are complex. It is therefore essential to wage a purposeful and broad struggle everywhere to halt the arms race and for disarmament.

To promote détente, it is also necessary to eliminate the existing seats of tension, which erode the foundations of peace and security. Above all, an end must be put to the Middle East crisis through an overall settlement on the basis of the well-known and just UN resolutions.

The promotion of equal, mutually beneficial cooperation of states in the sphere of trade, economy, science and culture serves as a basis for the consolidation and deepening of détente. Such cooperation stimulates stronger mutual confidence between states, which is an important factor in strengthening peace and security.

The process of détente cannot develop and grow deeper by itself. And especially in the present conditions, when the enemies of détente are obstructing this process in every way. For this constructive efforts by all states of the world are needed.

Unen, June 15, 1978



STOP THE IMPERIALIST INTERVENTION

Yusuf Dadoo, Chairman of the South African Communist Party, gave an interview to *Pravda* and TASS correspondents, saying in part:

The situation in South Africa is characterized by a deep crisis of the racist regime, on the one hand, and a rapid growth of the people's revolutionary struggle, on the other. With extensive support from the capitalist countries, primarily the USA, the Pretoria authorities have launched a broad campaign of persecution against the country's patriotic forces. But this terror is evidence not of their strength, but rather of their weakness.

The current witch-hunt in South Africa and in illegally occupied Namibia is closely linked with the policy of the imperialist states. Taking advantage of the NATO countries' open interference in the affairs of the African states, the Vorster regime is building up its military potential and making forays into neighboring states. Aided by these countries and Israel, it is seeking to create its own nuclear weapon. This policy of the Pretoria authorities is fully supported by the NATO strategists, who are expanding their criminal cooperation with South Africa in defiance of the resolutions of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity.

The double-faced policy of Washington and its allies toward the racist regimes in Southern Africa can be traced in all the colonialists' actions. A clear example are the recent events in Zaire, where the imperialist forces resorted to open armed intervention. The criminal intervention by the Western powers in the Shaba Province and the subsequent steps aimed at setting up so-called inter-African forces under NATO control are a serious threat to peace and the security of the peoples not only in Africa, but throughout the world. Progressive opinion has condemned the imperialist maneuvers, stigmatizing this new attempt to stifle the national-liberation struggle against the remnants of colonialism, racism and apartheid.

This reactionary onslaught, mounted to the demagogic accompaniment of a virulent anti-Soviet campaign, pursues the aim of sowing distrust among the Africans toward the Soviet Union and other socialist states, and to leave the African countries on their own in countering the imperialist predators. However, the slanderous allegations inspired by the enemies of peace and socialism can in no way over-

shadow the sincere internationalist aid extended by the Soviet Union, Cuba and other socialist countries to the embattled peoples of the continent.

Today more and more people in the African countries are coming to understand that the only way to eliminate the legacy of the colonialist past and to attain genuine economic independence is to opt for the socialist road of development. That is why the present strategy and tactics of the imperialists are designed, through plots, open intervention and gross slander, to prevent fundamental revolutionary changes on the continent.

The Soviet people's solidarity with the fighting patriots engenders feelings of sincere gratitude in those who are waging a struggle for genuine freedom and independence.

Recent developments on the African continent once again attest to Peking's traitorous policy in relation to the national-liberation struggle of the African peoples. Siding with the most reactionary forces in league with NATO and the Republic of South Africa, the Chinese leaders have fully identified themselves with the enemies of détente. Peking's actions in Angola, during the events in the Horn of Africa and in Zaire show anew that great-power chauvinism and hegemonistic plans have placed the Chinese leadership on the same plane with the worst enemies of the African peoples.

Progressive humanity justifiably demands an end to the imperialist interference in the affairs of the African countries and calls for the final elimination of racism and apartheid in the name of the triumph of freedom and independence.

Pravda, July 30, 1978

URGENT PROBLEMS OF THE MASS MOVEMENT

Statement of the Secretariat, CC CP of Sudan

The release from prison of communists and democrats, an event which met with a wide response both at home and abroad, crowned the persistent struggle of broad strata of our people of differing ideological and political views. The solidarity of world public opinion also played a significant part in this. The struggle for the release of political prisoners and its results reaffirmed the Sudanese people's

resolve to fight for the restoration of their basic rights and democratic freedoms. They refuse to live under a military dictatorship, in conditions of unrestrained one-man dictatorship and police terror, which is only thinly veiled by constitutional legality and political alliances.

Now when hundreds of families and thousands of people are rejoicing at the release of their near and dear ones, our hearts are filled with bitterness and sorrow over the fate of our two martyrs, Abd al-Majid Shakak and Hasan Daf Allahi, who were done to death in the dungeons, whose names have been added to the list of Sudanese patriots who gave their lives for democracy and our country's sovereignty.

To defend this victory, we appeal to all streams of the national movement, characterized as it is by an upsurge of political activity and growing trade union struggles, to concentrate efforts on the crucial problems, which are high on the agenda of political action.

Problem number one is that of political democracy in all its depth and breadth, without any compromise whatsoever. Its slogans have matured to such an extent that they can be heard at all crossroads, and are repeated by one and all: put an end to the emergency situation that has overshadowed our country for some two and a half years; repeal the state security law and annul the amendments to the Constitution which made the adoption of this law possible and the new law replacing the present one, which only differs in form; dismantle the security service apparatus, which with the aid of the state security law is resorting to violence against the patriots; repeal the emergency powers of the president of the republic, reinstate the independence of the judiciary, restore the supremacy of law safeguarding the rights, freedoms and the dignity of the citizenry.

Through broad political campaigns around these slogans — petitions, mass rallies, etc. — the mass movement is acquiring a broad scope, political perspective, stability and consistency in its battles for the repeal of the laws restricting trade union freedoms and their independence, for the return of exiles and in defense of the right of work, restoration of freedom of expression and political organization without interference and tutelage on the part of the Sudanese Socialist Union either in its present form or in the form it will acquire after the conclusion of an alliance between the authorities and the leadership of the "National Front" parties.

The second problem is that of improving living standards, for now a person's entire efforts go into the search for a piece of bread, and the fear of not finding it darkens his thoughts, depriving him of hope. The energy and time of the population are wasted uselessly, leaving no

time to attend to public affairs, or to reflect on the fate of the homeland and the world.

The roots of the monetary-economic crisis, with the consequent erosion of living standards to such an extent that they verge on hunger, lie in the untenability of the capitalist road of development, neo-colonialist domination of the country's economy, substantial growth of payments on loans and interest, the capitalists' appropriation of the lion's share of the national income and unrestricted expenditures for the upkeep of the state apparatus, particularly its top rung. The roots of this crisis also lie in the fact that the safes of the public sector enterprises have been flung open for the enrichment of the bureaucracy and various parasitical elements who exploit the May regime in their own interests.

Sudan's reputation on the world market has fallen so low that the press, financial quarters and the capitalist world in general see it as an unreliable client. According to the monthly *Euromoney* (March 1978), closely linked with the EEC leading quarters, Sudan's foreign debt has reached 2.7 billion dollars, while the country's hard currency reserves amount to less than 2 per cent of the debt. The government's financial policy has been totally ineffectual ever since the deficit of the public sector reached one-tenth of the gross national product. The fact that, as reported by the Economic Survey of the Sudanese government for 1976/77 (p. 7), the GNP amounts to 2,091 million Sudanese pounds (current prices), clearly shows the state of the country's finances. The journal simply confirms what the Sudanese have been saying. The government has only one option: to submit to the demand of the International Monetary Fund to devalue the Sudanese pound, introduce new taxes, reduce expenditures on the upkeep of the state apparatus.

The high cost of living will not be reduced by pointless discussions in the National Assembly, which only led to the setting up of a special commission, whose fate will hardly differ from that of its countless predecessors since 1954.

The authorities' appeals to the population to display restraint in face of the difficulties and to await the results of the development plans, were also ineffective. They lost no time in announcing the discovery of oil. . . . Our people are happy over this, as it will help to stimulate the economy under any government. But with their political sense and experience the people realize that the income from oil, like that from crop-growing and animal husbandry, will flow into the coffers of the foreign monopolies and the big bureaucrats and capital-

ists who collaborate with them. This is due to the socio-economic character of the present regime and to the laws defending the privileges of foreign investors. It is also due to the fact that the country's doors have been flung wide open to the multinationals, such as the U.S. Shiffron, an oil-prospecting outfit, and also to the monopoly companies that had earlier been banished from the country but have now been invited to return to restore their dominance over the nationalized enterprises, as for instance in the case of the Bat'a firm.

Our people's requirements could well be met by the incomes earned by their own labor and sweat, given social justice in the distribution and redistribution of the national income in the framework of a stable financial policy. . . . This problem has been acute before the discovery of oil and it is still acute today, for it is a problem of a patriotic political power capable of freeing the country's economy from neo-colonialist domination, and directing its material and manpower resources to extricate Sudan from the abyss of backwardness, satisfy the material and spiritual needs of the population, and defend the working people from exploitation by foreign and local capitalists.

Though the time is not far off when we shall be extracting and selling our own oil, the authorities blame all our difficulties and shortages of prime necessities on high prices caused by international inflation. It is essential for the backward countries to defend their national rights in international trade, demanding equality, and to reconsider priorities in satisfying one or another demand. The world is not limited to one market. The market of the socialist countries is not affected by crises or inflation, and since our independence we have had long experience of trading with them. In our view, trade with the socialist countries on the basis of mutual benefit would help us to avoid many difficulties.

The trade unions of technicians, medical workers, the Atbara workers and the Sudanese textile workers have solved the problem of the rising cost of living by going over from passive protests and grievances to active trade union struggles and staged a strike, demanding higher wages and better working conditions, the provision of prime necessities and stable prices, and also reconsideration of the financial and economic policy. The gains won by the trade unions benefit the entire people.

The third problem is that of defending Sudan's independence and sovereignty in the face of the plots hatched by those acting as tools of U.S. imperialism and the Al Riyadh-Cairo axis in the Horn of Africa

and Red Sea area. Sudan is prepared to interfere politically and militarily in critical situations in order to liquidate the Ethiopian revolution, speculating on the rights of the Eritrean people; to deal blows at the revolutionary-patriotic regime in South Yemen, to compel the Arabs to accept President Sadat's traitorous deal and his surrender to the Israeli aggressors and to save him from the just wrath of his own people and all the Arab peoples. Displaying a readiness for such actions, President Jaafar Nimeiri, ostensibly speaking on behalf of the Sudanese people, but actually against their will, is playing the role allotted to him, allegedly that of restoring Arab solidarity and African accord, exploiting for the purpose the post of Chairman of the Organization of African Unity, which he is due to assume after the OAU session in Khartoum.

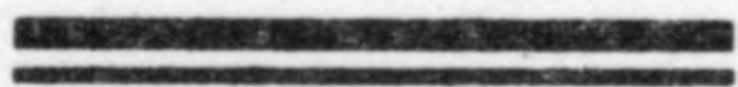
The interests of our homeland and people demand denunciation of these plans and the rallying of our people against them; our liberation from the fettering joint struggle treaty with Egypt and humiliating dependence on the Al Riyadh-Cairo axis; support for the position of good-neighborliness and non-interference in the internal affairs of Ethiopia, and respect for the social system which the fraternal people of South Yemen have chosen for themselves.

The authorities seek to evade these problems, resorting to maneuvers to gain time, to conceal the causes and roots of the profound crisis bedeviling our country. For this purpose they use a dialogue in which only one voice is heard — the voice of a party speaking of its own interests, totally ignoring the stand of the popular movement and attempting to isolate and weaken it through a split.

The popular movement has achieved, at the cost of enormous sacrifice, a relative relaxation in the country's political life and it intends to continue this struggle for new economic and political gains, to alleviate the catastrophic burden of the crisis.

We appeal anew to all streams of the popular movement: let us concentrate our efforts on resolving these three fundamental problems, let us rally to restore the basic rights and democratic freedoms, to ensure a minimum existence level for the population, to defend the independence and sovereignty of our country.

May 12, 1978



THE LESSONS OF THE CRISIS DEVELOPMENT ARE STILL VALID

*The reactionary role of revisionism in
the light of CPCz experience*

The historical experience and current policy of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia are at the center of an all-out ideological struggle. Why do our class enemies all over the world pay so much attention to us all the time? CC CPCz General Secretary Gustav Husak stated in the Presidium's report at the Central Committee plenary meeting on March 15: "The bourgeoisie and its henchmen refuse to accept the utter failure of their aims and plans. They cannot forgive us for the fact that thanks to the internationalist fraternal assistance of the USSR and the other socialist countries, the Marxist-Leninist forces of our party overcame the crisis situation, purged and strengthened our party on Leninist principles, led our society out of the crisis, and guided it on to the road of dynamic development and blossoming in every sphere, the road of further strengthening the relations of brotherhood and alliance with the USSR and the other socialist countries."

The new anti-Czechoslovak campaign is part and parcel of international reaction's crusade against progress, existing socialism and the scientific ideology of Marxism-Leninism. Reaction wants to present the 1968 events in Czechoslovakia in its own favor, to portray the counter-revolution as an attempt to achieve "regeneration," as a general model for reforms in the socialist countries, for "socialism with a human face," and also as a guide for the communist and workers' parties in the capitalist countries.

In the West the bourgeois interpretation of the 1960s in the CSSR takes various forms, depending on whom the propaganda is aimed at. For the revolutionary and progressive forces, the year 1968 in Czechoslovakia is presented as an attempt by "creative Marxists" to set up a perfect, truly democratic and humane socialism catering for all national peculiarities, traditions and interests. At the same time,

however, bourgeois propaganda depicts the so-called Czechoslovak events as an attempt to revive the "pre-Munich democracy of the Masaryk type," which is alleged to have been the finest example of democracy on the continent of Europe in the interwar period. This is an open admission of something that the right-wing social-reformist and revisionist circles tried to keep well out of sight. The intention was to restore the capitalist system under cover of socialist phraseology.

In both cases hostile propaganda falsifies the true significance of the events of January 1968 and those that followed. It furiously attacks the internationalist assistance given to the Czechoslovak people in 1968 and opposes the strengthening of socialist principles, and the Leninist road to socialism in the CSSR. These attacks are spear-headed against the policy of our party, against the international unity of the socialist community, and particularly against the Soviet Union. In this context the anti-Czechoslovak campaign is an integral part of anti-Sovietism in the broader sense, which in its turn forms the basis of anti-communism.

It is not just a matter of Czechoslovakia as such. Our history and our present-day life has become the target of ideological and political attacks primarily because they present an example of the actual realization of Marxism-Leninism. Today's attacks on Leninism are calculated to limit its application in time and place — only the beginning of the century and only Russia. Meanwhile the right-wing socialists produce their versions, working on the assumption of "the new conditions in the industrially developed countries with democratic traditions." But Czechoslovakia's successful socialist development completely refutes these fabrications.

It is Czechoslovakia, a notable example of an "industrially developed country with democratic traditions," which confirms by every phase of its development that Lenin's theory of socialist revolution and socialist construction is universally valid. The successes achieved during fulfillment of the decisions of the 14th and 15th CPCz Congresses prove the importance of the Leninist principles of socialist development.

Our political and ideological adversaries, resorting to crude lies and distortion, argue that in the past ten years no essential changes have taken place in Czechoslovakia. Nothing has been solved, they claim, nothing has improved and the situation is growing steadily worse. Any successes that may have been achieved, were won, according to bourgeois propaganda, at the expense of political freedoms and have

entailed a cultural decline. Our opponents shun the facts and are afraid of the truth. But the truth about the results of socialist construction in our country refutes the lies and inventions of the anti-communist centers. It exposes the anti-popular essence, the unsubstantiated and reactionary character of the revisionist "theories" that were current in the 1960s and with which bourgeois ideologists are still trying to disorientate a part of the communist and working-class movement.

SHARP CLASS STRUGGLE

Our opponents' approach to the problems of 1968, to what preceded and what followed the events of that year, follows a primitive pattern: everything that benefits socialism is for them a manifestation of conservatism, while everything that harms socialism, that could serve the counter-revolution and help to restore the former exploitative system is declared "progressive." This is what the bourgeois propaganda machine tries to make the public believe. But the actual course of events does not fit into this pattern at all. It was quite different and far more complex.

In the three decades since the February 1948 victory over the forces of reaction our country has been transformed. The working class, all the working people have under the leadership of the CPCz freed themselves of bourgeois oppression and successfully accomplished the transition from capitalism to socialism. The outcome of these historic revolutionary changes has been an unprecedented flowering of the republic, its all-round economic development, a steady rise in the standard of living, advances in the cultural field, in education, science, literally in all spheres of social life. The standards already achieved and the dynamics of our development are in sharp contrast to the standards and year-in-year-out contradictions of the capitalist past. The fundamental result of socialism is the emancipation of labor, the raising of those who create values to the status of free citizens, full masters of their country with all the wealth of society at their disposal.

The road we have travelled in these years, however, has been marked by a sharp class struggle for the political and ideological unity of the working class, of all working people against the hostile classes, the exploitative forces that were overthrown and gradually lost their economic positions. With the help of international reaction and also their former political and ideological henchmen they did all they could to slow down socialist development. Use was made of every available

means: the spreading of all kinds of rumors, notions and attitudes designed to stir up irritation and undermine the public's faith in the policy of the Communist Party, and provocative attacks on socialism right up to the point of sabotage and individual terror, which in the 1950s alone took the lives of nearly 400 dedicated supporters of socialism in our country.

Today, as the past, the socialist road, the building and development of a socialist society poses certain ideological and theoretical problems. The Czechoslovak working class and Communist Party have always achieved their best results when they have consistently and creatively applied the Marxist-Leninist approach to the scientific conditions of their country. Certain shortcomings and mistakes, and in the late 60s the threat to the very foundations of working-class power were due to the retreat from Marxist-Leninist principles, to their violation. This is fully discussed in "The Lessons of the Crisis Development in the Party and Society after the 13th Congress of the CPCz." The correctness of this statement is becoming more and more apparent as the years go by.

After the foundations of socialism had been built in Czechoslovakia in the late 50s and early 60s, our society was faced with a number of extremely complex questions concerning assessment of the development achieved, analysis of the balance of class forces, and clarification of the possibilities and prospects of society's further development. Life was making new demands arising from certain changes that had taken place on the international plane.

The failure to give a clear Marxist-Leninist answer to some of the new problems provided a clear way for the activities of the hostile forces. As the "Lessons" points out, this situation was exploited by the right-wing and revisionist forces. They gradually formed a growing movement, which had been built up in the course of many years by the defeated bourgeoisie and the petty-bourgeois elements that would not and did not accept socialism. "These elements infiltrated the party, particularly in the ideological sector and the mass media. They were joined by people who had become confused in the face of difficulties and lost their faith in the revolutionary perspective, and by various 'theoreticians' who had switched from extreme dogmatism to revisionism."

The revisionists brought with them their own conception of how society should develop. Cloaked in the messianic idea of "fundamental economic reform" and "all-round reorganization of the political system," it was actually a plan for the restoration of certain elements

of capitalism. A revisionist interpretation of the scientific and technological revolution played a vital part in providing grounds for these intentions. In the spirit of bourgeois theories the qualitative difference between the two socio-economic formations — between capitalism and socialism — was rejected.

Some people were carried away by the apparent “originality” and “break with tradition” offered by such theories, which were current at the time in philosophy, political economy, sociology and other spheres. This was due particularly to the fact that the fashionable bourgeois and revisionist theories of those days had not been subjected to any energetic and properly argued Marxist-Leninist criticism.

As is generally known, any hostile ideology that receives no timely and consistent counter-criticism is particularly dangerous. This was the case with rightist revisionism in our country in the 1960s. Disguised as a progressive trend, right-wing revisionism gradually captured important positions in public life and education, in culture and the arts and, more important still, gradually began to take over the mass information media. Even before 1968 it had gained a dangerous influence in party ideological bodies and institutes as well. A number of research teams that ought to have worked out and presented a clear picture of our economy, political system, class relations and other problems, and whose function was to orientate the party leadership concerning far-reaching correctives and changes, were headed by protagonists of the Sik and Mlynar type. The history of the party and the international communist and workers’ movement was interpreted by such people as M. Huebl. The philosophical view of the world and the method of its cognition and transformation were explained by such “Marxists” as Kosik, Strinka or Kusy. A. Snejdarek, who belonged to the intimate circle of the right-wing center and by that time had close connections with imperialist intelligence services, appeared as a “specialist” on combating anti-communism.

It cannot be asserted that opportunism and revisionism were completely unopposed in the Czechoslovakia of the 60s. Criticism of inconsistency and mistakes, criticism based on Marxist-Leninist views and Leninist socialist principles, was voiced in the party and in society. But as the “Lessons” emphasize, A. Novotny brushed aside all attempts at criticism, making no distinction between constructive criticism and attacks from the right. This disorientated many people and prevented them from recognizing anti-socialist demagoguery and counter-revolutionary danger when they saw it.

The process of the formation of the right-wing anti-socialist "fifth column" and its ideological-political platform was a long one. The counter-revolution was not a bolt from the blue. Ota Sik in an introduction to the book *The Communist Apparatus of Power*, published in 1976, writes that he and "a number of people who had originally been communist intellectuals" had "launched the struggle in the CSSR for fundamental changes in the system in approximately 1958-59." Their "attempt," he alleges, was prepared "practically and theoretically over 10 years." It makes no real difference whether everything happened just as Sik describes. Possibly he now hopes by such assertions to "improve his professional standing" in the eyes of his bourgeois masters. It may be confidently stated, however, not only on the basis of similar admissions by Goldstucker, Pachman, Loebl and others, but also and mainly on the basis of the writings and speeches of these "one-time communist intellectuals" that the right-ists' ideological-political platform was built up and acquired followers long before 1968.

DENIAL OF THE CLASS APPROACH

This platform was not a purely Czechoslovak thing. It contained all the basic features of revisionism that Lenin characterized as an international phenomenon. The specific features of revisionism in Czechoslovakia, however, were conditioned by the fact that it developed in a socialist society under the influence of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology that had survived in our country.

The basic theoretical-methodological feature of revisionism is repudiation of the class, historically concrete approach to social phenomena. This was fully confirmed in our country. In their overall view of the previous development of our socialist society the revisionists did not take into account the actual class changes that had taken place. They considered it only from the standpoint of shortcomings and mistakes, which they absolutized and presented as the basis of development. Their nihilistic criticism, which in effect expressed the malice of the petty-bourgeois whose interests had been affected by the process of socialization, led to complete denial of socialist principles in the life of society. It was an instrument for undermining socialism, for the ideological erosion of its foundations. Inevitably therefore it gave wide scope for the marshalling of anti-socialist forces, forces that were not interested in a genuine solution of the problems of socialist development.

The very idea of socialism was stripped of its class content. In the

traditional Bernsteinian spirit socialism was emasculated and converted into an abstract ethical concept. Unlimited opportunities were thus presented for its interpretation from positions of subjectivist speculation, idealist visions and petty-bourgeois dreams. Instead of a science, socialism once again became a utopia; instead of a revolutionary reality it was reduced to reformist illusions. Under the watchword of regenerating socialism, ideas that were directly opposed to socialism and designed to nullify it were foisted on the public.

At the same time the degree of society's development was incorrectly assessed and exaggerated. The revisionists idealized society's moral and political unity and did everything they could to obscure its class character. They persisted in this even when obviously anti-socialist organizations appeared on the political scene. There was a clear contradiction in the arguments of reaction: on the one hand, it was alleged that socialism had not solved a single human problem; on the other, all citizens, supposedly, were in favor of socialism and it had only to be "regenerated."

Revisionism had always been associated with an anti-scientific understanding of the relationship between the general and the particular. The conception of the so-called Czechoslovak specific model of socialism implied denial of the general regularities of the building of socialism and use of the experience of other socialist countries, particularly the Soviet Union. This was rationalized on the grounds of the need to respect the specific features of our development and take into account the degree of maturity of our social relations. Bourgeois propaganda still defines the "Czechoslovak model" of 1968 as an expression of the specific national conditions and needs of development. Today this "model" is hailed as a universal standard for every socialist movement. But, in fact, what was presented as a specifically Czechoslovak feature is only an expression of the general features of revisionism.

The ignoring of the general regularities of social development and socialist construction opened the road to subjectivism and speculation. The rightists denied the importance of ideology, but in practice fought only against the scientific ideology of Marxism-Leninism. Denial of all values, absolute scepticism in relation to the historical revolutionary and creative cause of the working people were served up as the expression of free and creative thought. Every absurd notion and argument was welcomed. Everything was allowed, except the defense of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Another means of revisionist undermining of the principles of existing socialism was the undefined and infinite pluralism that was imposed as the key element of the system in all spheres of social life. In the economy it was a substitute for the spontaneous mechanism of the market economy based on a combination of the social-reformist model of the "mixed economy" with the private, state and cooperative economy; in politics, it stood for "the free play of forces" including anti-socialist forces. Socialist democracy was to go back to the principles of bourgeois parliamentarism. In ideology the freedom of all views was proclaimed and the qualitative difference between bourgeois and proletarian ideology was denied. Under the cover of Marxism everyone could in practice preach anything he liked. But despite this formal ideological tolerance, those who came out in defense of the ideas of scientific socialism were persecuted.

THREAT TO PARTY'S LEADING ROLE

Revisionism underestimates and neglects the working people's creative potentialities. It denies the historical role of the working class and cannot bear the idea of its hegemony. The other side of the coin is élitism and lip service to the social mission of the intelligentsia. This was demagoguery on the part of a fairly small group of men tenuously involved in science and the arts who could not and did not represent the creative intelligentsia. They had illusions about their special mission, but were actually no more than an instrument in the fight against the political power of the working class. Their demands to underpin the "administration of society" with a scientific basis sprang from their assertion that the working people were allegedly incapable of solving political problems. The slogan about writers being the conscience of the people implied that the working people allegedly had no conscience at all. M. Kundera's main report at the writers' congress in 1967 flatly said that the Czech people's future and very existence depended on the leading role of an "intellectual élite." This was also an idea for speculation by those who issued loud statements about unlimited absolute democracy. Both had the same purpose, which was to exclude the leading role of the working class and the Communist Party and to undermine the truly popular power.

The revisionists rejected the role of the Communist Party as a new type of historical subject. They denied that the Communist Party was capable of understanding social reality, organizing the working people's struggle for social changes in the life of society, and of uniting, inspiring and leading the working people in building socialism

and communism. The revisionists reappraised and attacked the party's leading role in socialist society as a monopoly of power. The reformists regarded the Communist Party as one political organization which competed with other political parties for a say in exercising power.

The revisionists' aim was to turn the Communist Party into an organization which had nothing in common with Lenin's principles of party construction. They opposed democratic centralism as the organizational principle for the party's construction and activity and insisted on freedom of factional activity. There is no need to prove that this kind of party is incapable of being the working people's revolutionary vanguard. Revisionist concepts also denied the Communist Party's active role as the organizer of socialist construction. Inner-party matters were also discussed outside the party, including organizations hostile to socialism.

The revision of the doctrine concerning the party was designed to bolster the gradual disintegration of the structure of power and of the political system of socialism. As the counter-revolutionary situation grew, the leadership was losing control over the ongoing social processes and also abandoned the right to influence the mass media, which were used exclusively for the rightists' splitting policy. Disintegration set in within the National Front, and there was a gradual trend to convert it into a bourgeois-parliamentary type of coalition.

In May 1968, A. Liehm, the notorious dogmatist and sectarian of the 50s and a representative of the rightists in the 60s, wrote in the *Literarni listy*: "The National Front is not the goal but merely a means for the advent of power of the forces which in the future will begin to determine the way of the country's further development. History has given the Communist Party the opportunity for revival. If the party will not use this opportunity to the end, the Czechs and the Slovaks will take power by force." Mr. Liehm's anti-communist activity as an emigré shows very well what he meant by a "reborn party." He is now working on Radio Free Europe and writes articles for the Springer press empire and other propaganda mouthpieces of the bourgeoisie.

In connection with the denial of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of the party an attempt was also made to revise the meaning and character of all the main events in the party's history.

An attempt was made to falsify the historical importance of the origination of the CP Czechoslovakia and to cover up in various ways the treacherous role of the Second International and social democ-

racy in the Czechoslovak working-class movement. Diverse stories and illusions about Czechoslovak bourgeois democracy were revived and the class character of the pre-Munich republic and its leaders were distorted. The revisionists crudely attacked the Fifth Congress of the CP Czechoslovakia, which in 1929 approved Klement Gottwald's proposal to Bolshevize the party. This enabled the party to have broad influence among the masses and to become the recognized leading force of our people and one of the militant contingents of the Communist International. The revisionists tried most maliciously to minimize the working people's victory in February 1948, which they claimed was an artificial disruption of the country's historical development. Nor were they averse to borrowing and using arguments from the overthrown bourgeoisie and Western anti-communist centers, for whom the Victorious February, the principal event of our subsequent history, was its darkest chapter. They wrote similarly about the building of the foundations of socialism. What was the start of genuine emancipation for the Czechoslovak people, a glorious epoch of the historical beginning of our country's unprecedented flowering, was for the former exploiters and masters no more than a "dark period," a "time of absurdity and deformations." The revisionists took up important positions in the party scientific institutions, in the former Institute of History of the CP Czechoslovakia and the Higher Party School, and misused the criticism of actual mistakes and shortcomings which the party did not avoid, in order to denigrate the whole advance to socialism. Holding forth about safeguarding the "national specifics" and "democratic features," they stood up for the old power and arbitrary rule of the Czechoslovak bourgeoisie, justified or camouflaged the exploitative role of its state, veiled its actual ideology and minimized the importance of the revolutionary transformations which our working class, and the whole people in close alliance with it, were putting through under the leadership of the CP Czechoslovakia.

IDEOLOGICAL VAGUENESS

The revisionists capitalized on the criticism of dogmatism and presented their conceptions as creative Marxism. Actually, they were not concerned with creative development of scientific theory but borrowed the schemes then circulated by bourgeois ideology, rejected Leninism and the experience of the CP Czechoslovakia, the CPSU and the international communist movement. Their method was, in effect, doctrinairism pure and simple.

The rightists claimed that only those who cast doubt on scientific communism were "courageous," "honest" and "conscious." Conversely, everyone who stood up for Marxist-Leninist ideas was declared to be a "careerist," a "time-server," a "dogmatist" and a "conservative." The imitators of Garaudy, Aron, Marcuse, Heidegger and other fashionable bourgeois writers set themselves up as the epitome of wisdom and virtue. Nowadays, many of them are being used by bourgeois institutions as instruments in the fight not only against communism, but also against the basic norms of democracy and progress, against constitutional principles and their country's vital interests. Thus, in 1968, E. LoebI claimed to be a renovator of the party and Marxism, a patriot standing up for the interests of the Slovak people. It is a paradox but a fact that he is now an activist of Zionist organizations in the United States and simultaneously a leader of the politico-clerical "World Slovak Congress," an emigré outfit openly supporting the traditions and program of the fascist Hlinka party and the pro-Hitler Tiso state, whose ideology and practices included diehard anti-Semitism.

The revisionists falsified the critical character of Marxism-Leninism and its methods. They claimed that the destructive criticism carried on from anti-socialist positions was the only correct one. On the other hand, sincere efforts to do away with mistakes and correct shortcomings to promote the positive development of socialism were ridiculed by them as being futile attempts to improve a system which allegedly required renovation from top to bottom. They did not try to eliminate or overcome shortcomings and mistakes but wanted to undermine socialism as a social system. This was well expressed in the conception of a so-called institutional revolution requiring the elimination of socialist social organs and agencies as allegedly being institutions that were "bureaucratic and out of touch with the people."

Revisionist conceptions were characteristically eclectic. In the sphere of theory this was expressed in a combination of ideas borrowed from Marxism with bourgeois ideological concepts.

The revisionists denied that there was any qualitative distinction between scientific and unscientific ideology. They brought together various elements of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology dating to the period of the pre-Munich Republic. The right-wing forces strove to win the sympathies of various sections of society, including those who favored socialism and those who had lost the economic and political privileges of the ruling bourgeois class, believers and

atheists, representatives of various nationalities, and various social and age categories of society. The revisionist platform is characteristically indefinite, vague and ambiguous. This springs above all from the fact that revisionism covers up its class essence by means of socialist catchwords. It applies Marxist terminology but substitutes for the Marxist content of the concepts a content borrowed from bourgeois ideology. In Czechoslovakia's conditions this was emphasized by the fact that revisionism presented itself in a socialist country in the guise of reform of socialism.

Revisionism starts from the real problems in the development of society but distorts their essence, and presents and evaluates them in a false light. It suggests to socialist society solutions which are hostile to the interests of the working class and the working people. It separates the goal and the instruments of social political activity, and this turns both into a fetish. From this follow the two variants of revisionist activity: the view that the communist goal is a downright utopia, as an eternal striving in the sense of abstract humanism, or absolutization of certain instruments of political struggle as the only possible ones. And these instruments turn out to be the institutions and norms of formal bourgeois democracy. Democracy, as a package of definite formal political rules, irrespective of their class content, is presented as the means for solving all social problems. This is quite in the spirit of Bernstein's idea that "democracy — in principle — is elimination of class power." The two variants are complementary and determine each other. Abstract humanism and formal democracy are instruments in the fight against real communist humanism and socialist democracy which is organically connected with it.

For the most part, revisionism avoids any complex understanding of social problems and concentrates on separate questions. In Czechoslovakia, the revisionists spoke and wrote a great deal about the kind of socialism they did not want, but their own "model" of socialism remained fairly nebulous. This also had its tactical ruses: "democratic socialism" was a blank check which everyone could fill in as he had a mind to. That was the very gist of their social demagoguery. The rightists promised different groups of population to fulfill various demands, including opposite ones, without considering the real potentialities. The theoretical vagueness of revisionism is also expressed in the fact that it borrows from bourgeois sources various dissimilar trends which cancel each other out. Thus, in the 60s revisionism took the technocratic approach to set up science and technology as a fetish, while anthropological revisionism regarded

science and technology as the cause for man's alienation. Similar formal contradictions were also in evidence on political matters. Some criticized the character of socialist democracy and regarded politics as a sphere for the activity of a chosen few, an "élite," while others claimed that the whole evil lay in the "state-bureaucratic administration," in the "monopoly of the party apparatus." But despite the outward and formal contradictions, the revisionists agreed on one point: they all sought to refute the principles of the socialist system, the political power of the working class in alliance with the cooperated peasantry and intelligentsia, the Communist Party's leading role and the country's allied relations with the fraternal countries of the socialist community, above all the USSR.

REVIVAL OF MASARYKISM

Czechoslovak revisionism was gradually interweaving and merging with Masarykism* as the official ideology of the former so-called government wing of the Czech bourgeoisie. Why did this eclectic mixture which originated in Austria-Hungary and the pre-Munich bourgeois republic begin to revive decades later? From the standpoint of the anti-socialist forces it had a number of advantages. At one time it was capable of expressing bourgeois interests in the form of petty-bourgeois ideas compatible with social-reformism and petty-bourgeois national liberalism. It was presented as the ideology of ordinary Czechs, which was allegedly a correct reflection of their democratic feelings, their efficiency, industry and interest in day-to-day creative struggle to improve their social condition. In this way, the ideas of the Czech petty bourgeoisie were contrasted with the working people's actual struggle for a socialist restructuring of society.

Masaryk's ideas idealized bourgeois democracy. His non-class concept of democracy was actually an apology for bourgeois democracy and a denial of socialist democracy. Masaryk camouflaged the existence of the bourgeois use of force and declared that moral self-improvement was the highroad of social progress. He regarded the socialist revolution as no more than a destructive force and rejected it as a real way of advance to a new and higher type of society. However, according to his reasoning, the bourgeoisie could, if it deemed this to be necessary "in the interests of the nation," use force to attain its goals (and, let us recall, Masaryk defended

*After Czechoslovakia's first President T. Masaryk. — Ed.

bourgeois democracy with bullets on many occasions) while the proletariat had to wait for the universal moral uplifting of society. Masaryk's ideas are a mixture of nationalistic and cosmopolitan views. They defend the interests of the Czech bourgeoisie, while deriving the values of Czechoslovak society from the ideas of the "great democracies": the French, British and American. The legend of Masaryk's emancipatory role was connected with the history of the Czechoslovak Corps* and is shot through with anti-Sovietism. It says that the independent Czechoslovak state originated in the battles against the "Bolsheviks" thanks to the Western powers, the United States in the first place. The nationalistic concepts of the development of the Czech people and its culture — according to Masaryk, affiliation with the West was a constant source of progress — have always had a sharp edge aimed against the ideas of the October Revolution, against the Soviet Union.

In 1968, Masarykism provided the anti-socialist forces with a fine opportunity. Masaryk's books and his political activity are heavily charged with anti-communism. If Masaryk could have been once again mounted on a pedestal, it would have been only a matter of tactics as to which part of his anti-communism gradually to set in motion. The combination of revisionism and Masarykism was a characteristic feature of the shaping of Czechoslovak right-wing ideology, so that there was good reason for the extensive political advertising of a book by M. Machovec, *T.G. Masaryk*, which was written in a spirit of existentialism and was published in early 1968.

"PATRIOTS" AND "FRIENDS OF THE PEOPLE"

Why is it that at that time many failed to realize that the rightists' ideas and plans were reactionary? From the beginnings of 1968 events developed at a headlong pace. The constructive criticism of existing shortcomings was laced with demagoguery and an urge to undermine socialism. Now and again honest people, loyal to socialism, unwittingly became instruments of such criticism which did not in fact do anything to eliminate the shortcomings, but was used for systematic attacks on cadres loyal to socialism. The destruction of socialism was carried on, on the one hand, under catchy slogans, and on the other, in an atmosphere of mental and moral pressure, and ridicule and

*A corps consisting of Czech and Slovak POWs which was formed on the territory of Russia during the First World War. In 1918, its officers provoked the soldiers into a mutiny against the Soviet power. — Ed.

harassment of all those who were being induced to accept the revisionists' ideas and policy.

The right-wing forces loudly advertised their "patriotism," which was based on unfounded emphasis on national slogans, symbols and traditions, and on the illusion that national chauvinism could help to attain a "world level" and win international fame. It is well known that in the heady atmosphere of nationalistic demagoguery people tend to lose their sense of judgment and find it hard to take a rational approach to the solution of problems.

Anti-Sovietism has the main role to play in the backup of the so-called national Czechoslovak model. The "Soviet model" implied all that was negative and unpopular, and all the mistakes and shortcomings, whether real and exaggerated or totally invented, were ascribed to it. Slander of the Soviet Union was carried on by means of old bourgeois fairy tales which had become shopworn in the West over the years and which "progressives" of Ivan Svitak's stripe launched in our mass media in 1968, like the rumor about the imaginary murder of Jan Masaryk which had been staged by "Soviet agents" lurking behind the scenes.

The hostile forces were and are very well aware that the Soviet Union's prestige is closely connected with the prestige of Marxism-Leninism, of the Communist Party and of socialism as a whole. Anti-Sovietism was to have helped to re-orient Czechoslovakia from its alliance and cooperation with the socialist countries to the West, to the capitalist states. Thus, this was fully in line with the then imperialist "bridge-building" doctrine. The socialist states were to have been gradually, by means of economic and cultural ties, sundered from the socialist community and forcibly "restored" to the bosom of the capitalist West. These plans were also promoted by the Czechoslovak rightists' national-chauvinist anti-Soviet propaganda. They abused our citizens' patriotic feelings and sought to turn them into an instrument aimed against the Czechoslovak people's most vital interests.

What the leading spokesmen for the "Czechoslovak model" did after their political defeat shows best how "honestly" they treated patriotism. Many of them went to work for imperialist subversive centers and make a living by inflating slanderous campaigns and political intrigues against our country. In February of this year, Pelikan and Mlynar addressed a seminar of the Catholic organization Opus Bonum in Franken in the FRG at which — in defiance of the decisions of the Potsdam Conference — it was declared that the expulsion of the Germans from Czechoslovakia was an act of revenge

which allegedly contradicted international law. Such are the speeches now being delivered by the "patriot" Mlynar, who cannot plead either a lack of legal training or the influence of "emotions of the moment."

The right-wing forces' platform was directly opposite to the progressive revolutionary traditions of our numerous and mature working class, the Czechoslovak people's traditions of popular-democratic struggle against fascism, for national development and self-determination, traditions of revolutionary proletarian internationalism, alliance and brotherhood with the USSR and other socialist countries. This platform was in crying contradiction with the basic needs and interests of our country's working people, with the tasks of raising their material and cultural standards, with their broad democratic participation in the administration of social affairs and the strengthening of Czechoslovakia's unity with the great family of the socialist-community states.

The rightist forces held forth with great pleasure about "progress" and stressed the "spirit of the times." Catchwords about democracy provided a common denominator for these sugar slogans. Actually, the rightist forces' whole activity was aimed against the interests of the people, against genuine democracy. The few months in which the rightist elements monopolized the mass media and important political organs provided evidence of their cynical manipulation of people's minds and hearts. Brazen back-room intrigues were spun out and slanderous campaigns against staunch communists and honest people organized behind a barrage of demagogic phrases about the "wisdom of 14 million." The letter sent by 99 workers of Avto-Praha to the Soviet Union voicing their apprehension over the future of socialism in our country was characterized as a "stab in the nation's back." On the other hand, a loud campaign was being fanned in honor of a handful of "architects of January."

No wonder this kind of "democratization" took for its standard-bearers men like Smrkovsky, Kriegel or Dubcek. The rightists like their "flexibility" and their ability to change their standpoint unashamed in accordance with the tactical requirements of the moment.

Thus, in his book, *The Spring that Will Never End*, which Pelikan published in the FRG in 1976, contains this incantation: "I want to continue fighting for the ideas of democratic socialism." His acts show just what he means. He has sought to unite the anti-Czechoslovak emigrés round the reactionary bimonthly *Listy*, which he publishes in Rome. He has tried to concert action with renegades who

live in our Republic but are still prepared to take part in subversive activity aimed against its constitutional system and social order. He has travelled across the capitalist countries making incendiary attacks against the Soviet Union and our country. His articles and books are written in the same spirit, and his repeated visits to the Radio Free Europe headquarters in Munich serve the same purpose. One will easily guess who directs and finances his editorial venture, his foreign ties with other emigrés and his propaganda junkets: after all, all of his activity meets the plans of the American Central Intelligence Agency and is connected with its agents.

ATTACKING SOCIALISM'S ECONOMIC FOUNDATIONS

The undermining of socialist principles and realities in our country was a phased process. This was also one of the reasons why many were late in seeing through the reactionary nature of the plans of the rightist forces. Using criticism of existing shortcomings as a cover these forces were preparing the way to restoring elements of capitalism. One example is the search for effective economic reforms which was based on the real needs of the national economy and carried out on the initiative of the party leadership. Gradually, however, this area fell under the influence of the rightist forces and became a lever for undermining our economy's socialist principles.

The rightist forces concentrated on two areas: on creating a so-called new economic model, and on finding a "new political structure." All economic reforms were explained by the need to radically change the system of management and above all to exclude the state's participation in it. Rejection of state ownership of the means of production and "bureaucratic centralized management" was a screen for plans to liquidate public ownership of the means of production, turn it into the property of groups, to abolish its socialist character and gradually restore private enterprise.

In this way socialism was to be deprived of its economic base, socialist production relations abolished and the socialist way of remuneration according to one's work phased out. Bourgeois individualism, the merciless enrichment of one at the expense of another, and exploitation were again to become the cornerstone of social relations in line with the "free enterprise" motto.

The "new political structure" was to be the vehicle for abolishing the power of the working class and all the working people. Mistakes and shortcomings of the previous years were attributed to excessive

concentration of management and decision-making in the hands of the socialist state. The political system was described as an absolute hierarchy of power tolerating management in one direction only — from top to bottom, disregarding the interests and requirements of differing population groups and of individuals. A so-called “pluralism” of political power was offered as a counter-balance to this oversimplified outline. This meant reviving petty-bourgeois and then bourgeois political parties which would liquidate the leading role of the working class and reinstate a bourgeois political system. This “new political structure” theory was spearheaded against the guiding role of the Communist Party. At the same time the allegations were circulated within the CPCz that the party’s unity and its guiding role in society were deplorable “vestiges of Stalinism.”

Basically, these ideas are nothing new. History has seen them in the ideas of Bernstein, Kautsky, in Trotskyism and many other variations including Djilas’ post Second World War revisionism. However, at the end of the 1960s, this platform was dangerous in that it now donned a new pseudo-national cloak, took advantage of certain shortcomings that accompanied the building of socialism in Czechoslovakia and was the version that served as the ideological foundation for an attempted counter-revolutionary coup.

THE FATE OF SOCIALISM WAS AT STAKE

The 1968 events showed once again that revisionism was the theoretical platform which neither improved nor modernized socialism but was meant to undermine it and spark a counter-revolution. For this reason revisionism has a very important role to play in the anti-communist plans of world reaction against the socialist countries. At a certain stage a counter-revolutionary attempt to overthrow working class power cannot do without revisionism. But revisionist ideas in themselves disclose neither the true plans nor the ultimate goal of the anti-socialist elements. And it was the same in our country. This was conceded sooner or later by many bourgeois writers. For example, the post-February emigrant Pavel Tigrid wrote in 1970 in his book *Squaring the Circle*: “Bringing the process of liberalization in Czechoslovakia to its final conclusion with all its ensuing dangers and consequences, would mean laying the foundations of a system which would be in direct contradiction with the principles and, most important, with the application in practice of Marxism-Leninism.” Bourgeois circles saw a chance for their counter-revolution in the events in Czechoslovakia. Radio Free Berlin commentator M. Wal-

den said on July 16, 1968: "Something bigger than a Prague reform is at stake. The future liberation of the country is at stake, and what used to be the Eastern bloc in general." On May 13, 1968 the Hamburg weekly *Der Spiegel* wrote: "If the Prague 'democratic socialism' experiment were carried off it could not only change communism and Europe, it could show the world a new point of departure." World reaction's hopes and illusions knew no bounds.

Precisely because the imperialists were well aware of the class-political nature of this progress, they generously supported those who at that time were the leading spokesmen of "socialism with a human face." Hundreds of NATO intelligence officers arrived in Czechoslovakia together with agents of world banks and monopolies, to say nothing of countless bourgeois journalists. Zbigniew Brzezinski, today U.S. President Carter's advisor, addressed a select group in June 1968 in Prague's International Politics and Economics Institute on what tactics the rightists should follow further. Czechoslovakia was flooded with west European political sermonizers, spokesmen for the Socialist International parties and the so-called Trotskyist International. The bourgeois press, radio and television printed and broadcast interviews with the ideologues and politicians of the rightist forces in Czechoslovakia. The spoutings of these "communists" were prominently headlined on the front pages of bourgeois newspapers in countries where any sign of sympathy for communism usually meant losing a government job or even worse.

Socialism in Czechoslovakia was in mortal danger and not only did it affect our country. World reaction focused attention on us because it had more far-reaching plans in connection with the events unfolding in Czechoslovakia. Our country was to serve as a case helping to discredit socialism and the communist movement. Czechoslovakia was to be an instrument for undermining the unity of the socialist community and the international communist and working-class movement. It was intended to use our country to undermine the prestige of Marxism-Leninism as the sole theory capable of resolving the contradictions and problems of the world today.

The internationalist aid extended to Czechoslovakia in August 1968 cut short the counter-revolutionary offensive. It prevented its bloody and openly terroristic phase from surfacing and created conditions for political and ideological differentiation in the party and in society, for uniting and activizing Marxist-Leninist forces, for purging the party of opportunists, revisionists and passive members, and for the restoration of Leninist principles in our life.

The internationalist aid was simultaneously of tremendous world-wide importance for democracy, socialism and peace. It was a major contribution to strengthening the socialist community and, consequently, to promoting the détente and the development of peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems. The imperialists again satisfied themselves that the positions of the socialist community could not be undermined either by force or by cunning. This was also one of the reasons why, after delaying and stalling for so many years, they agreed to negotiations on European cooperation and security. The imperialists had not shelved their anti-communist plans but the growing worldwide progressive peace movement forced them to make a further concession. It was reaffirmed that socialism and peace are organically linked and interdependent.

Speaking in the Prague Castle on May 31, 1978, Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU and President of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, said: "There has been a peaceful sky over Europe for more than three decades. This is very important. This is the longest peace, it seems to me, history has ever given to the peoples of our continent. And the peoples must clearly realize that this has been largely, and even decisively, due to the fact that half of Europe lives under socialism today. Peace in Europe is, in many ways, a product of our common effort and the concerted foreign policy of the Warsaw Treaty countries."

THE STRENGTH OF LENINISM CONFIRMED

The past ten years have been a good test of the platform and policy of the rightist forces and of the line of our Communist Party. The successes we have scored since the spring of 1969 are directly bound up with the gradual elimination of the unfavorable effects of the rightist forces' subversive activities. And the best proof of this is provided by our economic development and the rising living standards. Gustav Husak has said: "On the whole — and this is also the assessment of the 15th Congress — the 1970s, after the crisis was overcome, can be considered among the most successful periods of building socialism in Czechoslovakia. Our economy was developing dynamically and continues doing so today in spite of our having to deal with many problems we inherited from the past, to carry out structural changes and invest heavily in fuel, power and other areas. Apart from this, beginning with 1974, there is the negative factor of the rising prices on raw materials and crisis phenomena in the non-

socialist world. Nevertheless, our economy has been growing steadily, is growing and will continue to grow."

Persistent implementation of the Leninist principles assisted the party in dealing successfully with many long-range problems whose historical roots had been formed long before January 1968. Thanks to such a policy our people's social confidence is founded not only upon our successes but also on the clear and realistic plans and prospects for the future.

Our achievements are a thorn in the side of the enemies of socialism. These successes upset all their claims that the only possible road for Czechoslovakia, or for any other country wishing to prosper and achieve social justice is, supposedly, the democratic socialism of the right-opportunist, social-democratic and revisionist type. Our class enemies are becoming increasingly nervous as the tenth anniversary approaches of the dramatic events that unfolded in Czechoslovakia in 1968. While world opinion displays an interest in our country's development, reaction is obviously short on arguments to bolster its lies of many years that Czechoslovakia is a country of economic stagnation, cultural decline and mass political indifference. Aided by renegades, the enemies of socialism are attempting to launch various slander campaigns, but their effect is limited. For this reason they are trying to add weight to their anti-communist inventions by using the authority of official spokesmen of certain capitalist countries. Many bourgeois politicians, however, barring such professional anti-communists as Brzezinski, carefully weigh the question of becoming involved in cheap slander campaigns, thus running the risk of losing their prestige among progressive circles and causing difficulties to peaceful negotiations with the socialist states.

The truth about our past and present development plays a big role in this international ideological and political struggle. It is, therefore, important to show again the ideological and political substance of the revisionist platform. Today, ten years after, its main features, ideological roots and class-political role stand out in border relief than ever. The 15th Congress of the CPCz stressed that a principled struggle against all varieties of revisionism and opportunism will remain one of our important tasks, particularly on the ideological front. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is deeply aware that summing up and generalizing its experience in the struggle against revisionism is also its internationalist duty.

Rude Pravo, July 19, 1978

ESSENCE OF THE ANTI-VIETNAMESE ACTIONS OF THE CHINESE LEADERS

The journal *Cong San* (Communist), organ of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Vietnam, carried an editorial in its July issue under the heading "Essence of the Anti-Vietnamese Actions of the Chinese Leaders." Here is a summary.

In recent years the Chinese leaders have committed several unseemly acts against Vietnam. After the liberation of the southern part of Vietnam the clique of Kampuchea's reactionary rulers immediately launched a war of aggression against our country. The Pol Pot-Ieng Sary group, turning the truth inside out, continually reiterates slanderous insinuations that "Vietnam is committing aggression against Kampuchea." But, though this slander has been repeated thousands of times everywhere by its close friends, this cannot hide those who are backing Kampuchea, inciting and encouraging it to wage an aggressive war against Vietnam. Concrete and graphic evidence has shown who is inciting and supporting this war, who is supplying Kampuchea's reactionary clique with large quantities of weaponry and ammunition, who dispatched thousands of advisors to Kampuchea to train its armed forces, who extols the "revolutionary successes" of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary group, "successes" which are essentially achievements of the policy of genocide — invasion and seizure of alien territory, the murder of Vietnamese and even of Chinese immigrants. Those who are inciting and encouraging the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary group and who feigned neutrality at the start of the war, have now discarded their mask.

Instigation and support by the Chinese authorities of the ruling group in Phnom-Penh in their aggressive war against Vietnam are aimed to obstruct and undermine the Vietnamese people's revolutionary cause, to undermine the solidarity and unity of the peoples of the three Indochina countries, the goal being to include the group of Kampuchean myrmidons within the orbit of their expansionistic plans. In this way the Chinese rulers are attempting to secure a bridgehead from which to carry through their plans in Southeast Asia.

This betrayal of the militant friendship of the peoples of Vietnam and China has caused indignation and bitterness among true revolutionaries and the working people of the two countries. But whatever

pretext they may use, the Chinese leaders will not be able to shun responsibility for destroying this friendship.

In recent months the Chinese leaders have invented the myth of Vietnam "attacking and terrorizing the ethnic Chinese and banishing them to China." This slander campaign by the Chinese authorities is aimed not only to coordinate their actions with the aggressive actions of Kampuchea's reactionaries who are suffering defeat after defeat under the retribution blows inflicted by our army and our people, but also to protect the interests of the bourgeoisie of Chinese extraction — speculators creating economic chaos and exploiting the working people. This is a campaign defending the comprador bourgeoisie — reactionaries who at one time were myrmidons of the United States and of the puppet regime that brutally persecuted both the people of Vietnam and the ethnic Chinese. Supporting exploiters, ignoring working people's interests, protecting reactionaries, opposing the socialist revolution in Vietnam — such is the true position of the present Chinese leaders on the question of the so-called "victimized Chinese immigrants" residing in Vietnam.

The Chinese leaders are hiding their plans behind what they call "a concern for the victimized Chinese immigrants." If they are really so concerned why don't they turn their attention to the frantic appeals for salvation from the hundreds of thousands of Chinese immigrants who are being terrorized and killed by Kampuchea's hangmen? Why don't they show concern for the thousands of Chinese immigrants who have fled the terror of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique and who now live with the support and aid of the Vietnamese people? These are the real victimized Chinese immigrants. Why didn't the Chinese authorities ship them home immediately, instead of anchoring their vessels outside Vietnamese territorial waters?

Having invented the myth, the Chinese authorities unilaterally decided to dispatch their ships to Vietnam to evacuate the so-called "victimized Chinese immigrants" and laid down certain procedures seriously violating Vietnam's sovereignty. It is absolutely clear that this is an act of great-power hegemony. China's rulers, however, bombastically claim that China is determined to support the middle-sized and small countries and oppose great-power hegemony.

Such actions are evidence that the Chinese authorities are pursuing an anti-Vietnamese policy, are hampering and obstructing the cause of the socialist revolution and socialist construction in our country. They are violating the traditions of solidarity and friendship between the peoples of the two countries. This is an obvious case of great-

power hegemony and great-Han expansionism on the part of the Chinese authorities who are attacking our country's sovereignty and independence. They are fully on the side of the exploiting classes, on the side of the fascist Pol Pot-Ieng Sary group, and are opposing the working class and all the other working people. Their stance runs counter to the great goals of our epoch and the real interests of the Chinese people.

In the face of these unseemly acts and perfidious schemes of the Chinese authorities, our people must strengthen their solidarity and be ever more vigilant. We are determined to successfully build up and defend our beloved socialist homeland, protect solidarity and friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance among the fraternal socialist countries, and uphold friendship between the peoples of Vietnam and China.

We have faith in the strength of our epoch, in the strength of the three revolutionary streams that are rising rapidly and sweeping away rotten regimes, the trash of history. And there is no force on earth capable of stemming these revolutionary streams.

We have faith in the ultimate victory of the cause of building up and defending our socialist homeland because we have the Communist Party of Vietnam, the party of the great President Ho Chi Minh that follows a correct and wise line, and leads our people in overcoming all the difficulties and trials and in attaining the greatest victories.

We know that in this modern age any reactionary force, whatever its size or alliances, will inevitably suffer defeat if it encroaches on independence and sovereignty, on the cause of building socialism. By so doing it becomes an enemy of the three revolutionary streams of our age and finds itself isolated from all nations of the world, and from its own working people.

Notwithstanding the wrong doings and great-power position of the Chinese authorities, we believe that upholding friendship between the peoples of our two countries is in the basic interests of the peoples of Vietnam and China, the interests of peoples the world over who are working for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

It is perfectly clear that the question of whether or not friendship will be preserved between the peoples of the two countries depends on the good will of both. As for the CPV, the government and people of Vietnam, they, as always, are determined to do all in their power to defend their friendship.

Cong San, July 1978

FOR STRONGER CONFIDENCE AND CLOSER RELATIONS OF ALLIANCE BETWEEN THE PARTIES OF THE PROGRESSIVE PATRIOTIC AND NATIONAL FRONT

*Editorial in "Tariq al-Shaab," the Iraqi
Communist Party daily*

The Progressive Patriotic and National Front (PPNF) is an outstanding revolutionary gain of our people, the fruit of long years of struggle by the country's patriotic and progressive forces. This opinion is shared by the masses of our people as well as all other Arab and international progressive forces. The formation of the Patriotic Front in July 1973 marked a turning point in relations between our party and the Baath Party, manifested particularly in the desire to forget the painful experience of the past (in relations between the ICP and the Baath Party. — *Ed.*), and to set on the road of comradely cooperation, joint struggle and common responsibility for deepening and expanding our revolutionary movement in order to provide a sound strategic basis for our alliance.

Proceeding from the specific conditions of our country and the distinctive features of its political and socio-economic development, our party and the Baath Party reached an agreement on the National Action Charter, which is seen as a common program of the forces comprising the Patriotic Front, a program reflecting the points on which views coincide, and an accord regarding joint actions on a number of basic problems of the country's progressive development. Agreement was also reached on the Rules of Action within the Front to regulate relations between the Front parties, so as to direct their common activity within the framework of aims defined by the National Action Charter on the basis of respect for the political, organizational and ideological independence of each party. Experience has confirmed the enormous importance and validity of the fundamental propositions and principles included in these documents.

Approaching the 20th anniversary of the July 14, 1958 revolution, the tenth anniversary of the July 17 revolution and the fifth anniversary of the Progressive Patriotic and National Front, we are aware more than ever of the responsibility of our party, the Baath Party and the other Front parties, and the importance of their commitment to

safeguarding and developing this progressive alliance, to the cause of deepening and consolidating our country's revolutionary experience.

Proceeding from the aforesaid, and in view of the tragic events and accusations (levelled by the Baath leadership against the Communist Party. — *Ed.*), we consider it our duty to throw light on those aspects of our party's policy which in one or another form were subjected to attack. In this we are guided by the rules of constructive and objective dialogue as a sound and useful method that can lead to the elimination of misunderstanding and bring about a convergence of viewpoints and agreement among the National Front parties. These events and accusations did not affect our objective approach and responsible political course regarding our country's proprogressive advance and the requisites for developing the existing patriotic alliance.

The warning, which was made in a manner characterized by suspicion and accusation, against using the Front as a ladder to power as a means of monopolizing power through treachery, was quite unexpected and incomprehensible to us.

Everyone knows of the Communist Party's unremitting and sustained efforts to ensure a suitable atmosphere on the inter-party and popular levels, to provide the essential prerequisites for the formation of a Patriotic Front and a militant alliance with the Baath Party, beginning with July 1968 till the moment when the Front was formed on July 17, 1973.

Even when the communists were subjected to all manner of persecution, the Iraqi Communist Party declared at its Second National Congress in September 1970: "For us communists the policy of patriotic cooperation and united front is not a temporary political tactic designed to achieve propaganda aims, nor a maneuver for temporary gains; this policy stems from our deep conviction of the need and possibility of rallying the patriotic forces in a sound political alliance whose aim is to carry out the tasks of a national democratic revolution."

Ever since the establishment of the Front we have spared no effort, at all levels and in various directions, to consolidate and deepen the alliance of the two parties and all patriotic forces fighting against imperialism, Zionism and reaction, and to build a new, progressive Iraq, despite the obstacles standing in our way.

The problem of strengthening and deepening the PPNF and accelerating our country's revolutionary advance has been the key task of the Communist Party and its organizations, its members and friends, from the moment of the Front's founding to this day.

The prestige of Iraq and its patriotic forces, the prestige of the Baath Party and the ICP has greatly increased among the Arab and international progressive forces since the proclamation of the Front.

The Communist Party, persistently and sincerely, both through its press and all its ideological and political activity, is educating its members, supporters and friends in the spirit of affection and harmony between the parties of the patriotic movement, stronger ties of militant alliance with the members and masses of the Baath Party. It is seeking in this way to open up broader horizons for the activity of the Front in order to ensure that the militant alliance will not suffer from setbacks, confrontations or clashes between the allied parties. A party that has exerted all these efforts to hold high the banner of the Patriotic Front in Iraq, a party adhering to such a position, waging such a struggle and upholding such principles, such a party cannot throw to the winds everything it has created with his own hands, relinquish the ideas in the spirit of which it educated the masses, and which serve as the basis of its policy toward the people. Such a party cannot use the Front and the alliance as a means to take over power through treachery and by stabbing its allies in the back.

Throughout our militant history, we Iraqi communists have been accused of a variety of things. However, it is for the first time that we hear allegations that the communists are resorting to maneuvering, deception and treachery in relation to their allies and comrades in struggle, in particular in relation to the Baath Party, and that they are seeking, under the cover of "flattery and a show of affection," to seize power through a military coup.

Is this accusation consistent with the history of relations between the Iraqi CP and the Baathist Party, with the communists' attitude not only in the period of the formation of the National Front in 1957, but also during one of the most dangerous periods of our contemporary history, a period preceding by a few weeks the July 17 revolution, when the Baath leadership informed our party that it was preparing an armed overthrow of the reactionary Arif regime and to set up a progressive regime?

The Iraqi Communist Party, while wishing success to this action, viewed its long-term prospect with revolutionary optimism, despite the disrupted relations between the two parties during that period. Our party did not see it from the angle of narrow party competition. It will be recalled that the ICP itself waged a struggle for the overthrow of the dictatorial regime.

Treachery is unthinkable in our relations with our allies and other

revolutionary forces. Precisely for that reason our party and our comrades played an important part in disclosing and foiling a series of suspect activities and conspiracies aimed against the power of the Baath Party even before the establishment of the Front. And for that reason also, the communists courageously countered the reactionary rebellion in Kurdistan, shedding their blood together with the Baathists and all the patriotic militants in defense of the independence of Iraq and its progressive regime.

However, concerning the issue of coherence and interaction within the framework of the PPNF and the National Action Charter, the communists have always seen their activity as part of the country's current revolutionary experience. In this respect, the report of the February 1977 Central Committee meeting emphasized: "To be armed with a constructive view of the Front's activity and its prospects would facilitate interaction between the forces of the Front, help to overcome the incorrect formulas and practices in relations between the communists and the Baathists which engender discord between them, and would promote the feeling that they are all fighting in the same trench against the imperialist, Zionist and reactionary enemies of the revolution. If positive interaction based on common responsibility and a common concept of the revolutionary future of our country constitutes a historical necessity that puts both communists and Baathists as well as all the allied forces in the mainstream that is leading the country toward solution of the tasks of the national democratic revolution, and the construction of socialism, then bringing about this interaction between the revolutionary forces in a normal and sound manner requires, among other things, that the PPNF should be transformed into an effective political force for rallying and mobilizing the toiling masses in the struggle to achieve these tasks and to create the prerequisites for the stage of socialist construction by broadly developing the creative energies of the masses, and their active participation in the process of construction and progress. This should be achieved through democratic mass institutions, by expanding the sphere of joint mass action, establishing constitutional institutions and basing the national progressive authority on a democratic constitutional foundation as well as consolidation of autonomy."

Our party acknowledged that "the leadership of the revolution alone bears the responsibility for securing" conditions for the "unity of the army and the patriotic armed forces and their rallying, on a sound basis, around the revolution, around their principles and leadership, and their firm commitment to defend the gains of the

people against any form of aggression or plotting and sabotage," as stated in the National Action Charter. And we have abided by this commitment. The party has taken measures to ensure that its members and organizations avoid carrying on party activity in the armed forces. The party and its members have faithfully followed the instructions in this respect, instructions with which the Baath leadership had previously been acquainted. This matter has also been repeatedly discussed at bilateral meetings between representatives of the two parties and mutual understanding was reached.

Suspicion is legitimate and necessary with regard to the actions of the hateful enemies, the imperialists and the reactionaries and their shady activities, as well as to their flattery, but not with regard to friends tested in joint struggles in difficult times.

But what is considered "flattery" on our part is in reality the essence of our policy, of our actual course. We have nothing to hide either from the Baathists or from our people. Those who sow doubt and suspicion between the communists and the Baathists seek no good either for them or for us, let alone our people and nation. They are looking forward to the day they can dance on our mutilated bodies, rejoicing in the mourning of our people.

We also wish to emphasize that the Iraqi Communist Party has only one policy, formulated and developed collectively at its national congresses and Central Committee meetings and in its day-to-day work, which has been publicized in its documents and press. The core of this policy is the patriotic alliance and development of the PPNF. The choice of the slogan "For the Consolidation and Deepening of the Revolutionary March and Iraq's Orientation Toward Socialism" as the principal slogan for the Third National Congress of the ICP (May 1976) was completely in harmony with the spirit and work of the Congress and the party's policy in the years preceding and following the Congress.

The party continues to follow this policy and, guided by it, the Central Committee endorsed, last March, its report "Safeguarding the Patriotic Alliance and Deepening the Revolutionary March Is the Task of the Progressive Forces of Our People." The constructive and objective criticism of some aspects of our advance, contained in the report, was aimed at ridding it of all that impedes our forward movement and hampers consolidation of the patriotic alliance. That is because the communists, as the report emphasizes, regard their activity and work as part of the country's revolutionary experience. They seek to enrich and deepen this experience and to seriously participate

in surmounting the difficulties it faces on the basis of joint actions with the Baath and other progressive forces. Hence the communists' keen interest in stating their view frankly and sincerely, and advancing proposals for the solution of urgent problems.

If some of the communists' viewpoints are not acceptable to their allies, or are controversial, then there is no better way to deal with such cases than that specified by the Front's Rules of Action. The Rules state: "Any difference that may arise between the Front parties is to be dealt with by the method of democratic discussions in order to rectify mistakes through constructive criticism and self-criticism in the interests of maintaining and consolidating the alliance," on the basis of adherence, in text and spirit, to the National Action Charter as the common program of all the progressive patriotic and national forces.

Our beloved Iraq, the gains of our people and patriotic regime, the Progressive Patriotic and National Front are all a direct target of imperialist-Zionist-reactionary conspiracies. This impending danger is growing. The enemy is resorting to intrigue to cause the national front to disintegrate, to draw its forces into weary side battles and to exhaust their energies by diverting them from their main line of struggle against imperialism, Zionism and reaction.

We must be on the alert: let us recall the big lesson we have deduced jointly from our bitter past experiences for which we paid with blood and great sacrifices. This lesson was clearly emphasized in the National Action Charter stating that "a major prerequisite of the victory of the revolutionary movements in the Arab homeland is their awareness of the role of joint action and alliance among all their contingents. At the same time, a major cause of their defeats and setbacks is the tendency of their contingents to concentrate on minor contradictions among them rather than the main contradiction between them, on the hand, and imperialism, Zionism and reaction, on the other."

The Iraqi communists have exerted and will continue to exert every effort to ensure the success of the revolutionary movement. They are fully convinced that their efforts will contribute more effectively to the cause of the revolution when joined by the efforts of their Baathist allies and all our people's progressive patriotic and national forces, under the banner of militant brotherhood and tireless persevering work to serve our heroic Iraqi people and our glorious Arab nation.

Tariq al-Shaab, June 6, 1978

COMMUNIST PARTY OF COLOMBIA ON THE JUNE ELECTION RETURNS

The longest campaign in the history of Colombia's election process has ended. It was won by the Liberal Party candidate, Julio Cesar Turbay Ayala.

The June 4 elections gave the left forces a total of 126,931 votes. Of these 95,637 went to our coalition and its candidate, Comrade Pernia, while the Maoist United People's Front (FUP) scraped up only 25,804 votes. Two Trotskyite organizations, the Socialist Working People's Party (PST) and the UNIOS, received 6,705 votes.

This means that compared with the February 26 elections our coalition won 28 per cent fewer votes. For the PUP and the Trotskyites this was a loss of 54 and 45 per cent respectively.

If in the February 26 elections the left forces accounted for an overall total of 200,000 votes, or four per cent of the electorate, the present elections gave them 126,000 votes, or 2.5 per cent of the electorate. Of the 126,931 votes cast for the left forces on June 4, 75 per cent voted for our coalition.

Contradictions between the two traditional parties are coming to the fore in connection with the formation of the future Turbay government. Three positions are in evidence in the Conservative camp in relation to the elections.

All trends in the Liberal camp are discussing the formation of a new administration, striving to have a part in the power-sharing. Both the Liberals and the Conservatives want the government to divide responsibilities between the parties; in other words, they want a new version of a two-party republic on a parity basis.

But, in view of his narrow victory, the new President proceeded with characteristic caution in the new situation. Turbay supported the two-party principle but refrained from any statements proclaiming the creation of a "second liberal republic" of which he spoke so frequently during the election campaign.

Some of his followers criticized Lopez Michelsen for not giving enough support to Turbay. In particular, the increase in transport fares and the unfavorable atmosphere this created on the eve of the elections. All this created election difficulties for Turbay.

This means that the government Turbay will form will already be discredited because it will be greatly dependent on an agreement with the Conservatives.

The North American and local monopolies will put even greater pressure on the new government than on the preceding administrations.

The new government has already been saddled with the task of pushing through Parliament reactionary drafts of constitutional reforms. Because there are now fewer Liberal deputies in Parliament the government will come up against left and right opposition. This will make the executive power more dependent on senior army officers, which will mean that the military will be in a position to put even greater pressure on it.

Our election results should be viewed objectively, not in a triumphant or defeatist spirit. The characteristic features of our work must be analyzed, while highlighting the positive significance of the fact that 95,000 communist supporters were able to overcome the phenomenon of the polarization of forces and vote for our independent alternative.

In examining our loss of votes we could cite some unfavorable external reasons. One of these is the campaign launched against the coalition and our candidate by both the rightist and the pseudo-“leftist” forces manipulating public opinion in regard to the traditional party candidates. We should also seriously study the internal causes connected with the organizational aspect of our work.

The funds used by the bourgeoisie in its election campaigning stood no comparison with the scant means at our disposal. This can be regarded as an objective condition of the June 4 elections. Then there was the manner in which the presidential elections were conducted. Parliament’s approval of dividing the elections into two rounds placed the left forces in a difficult position. Many of the voters who cast their ballots for us in February, wanting to see their representatives elected, did not go to the polls in June, viewing the elections as purely symbolic. The election results were also influenced by the bourgeois campaign demanding that the “left disappear” from the political scene.

The June 4 elections were preceded by important political and mass actions, particularly the May Day united demonstration of the working people, the protests against rising transport costs, the strike by government employees, and failure to convene the reactionary Constituent Assembly proposed by Lopez Michelsen. But all this did not sway the elections.

One of the causes that helped create this situation was the split among the left forces which was so exaggerated by the hostile press.

The necessary polemics with the Maoists and Trotskyites became deeper and the ideological struggle acquired an even greater scope. The masses, however, did not understand the essence of this vital discussion.

In analyzing our election returns we must stress the correctness of our broad Popular Unity policy. In these elections we acted jointly with organizations that had opted for maintaining the alliance and for making further progress in building unity. Although we did lose certain sectors which were either won over by the traditional parties or simply refrained from voting in the second round, it would be correct to say that our coalition was broadened by the new organizations that joined it. We should stress the selflessness of the coalition members in the most trying conditions and the new features introduced to the campaign by the youth.

THE PROSPECTS FOR THE LEFT

The June elections reaffirmed that the popular coalition is the principal one among Colombia's left forces and that it has become the country's third political force. It has confirmed its mission of becoming the nucleus of a broad front so vital to Colombia. Meanwhile, other projects for creating a front proposed by the Maoists and the Trotskyites have proved to be weak or in a crisis.

Is it true, as bourgeois spokesmen claim, that the country has shown its support for the system and the regime? No, it isn't. The election abstentions are a phenomenon which is continuing to deepen — 66 per cent of the electorate did not go to the polls.

The June 4 elections demonstrated the need of finding new ways of winning over the masses while exposing populist demagoguery. The Liberal Party's slogans must be defeated in the principal cities, particularly in Bogota.

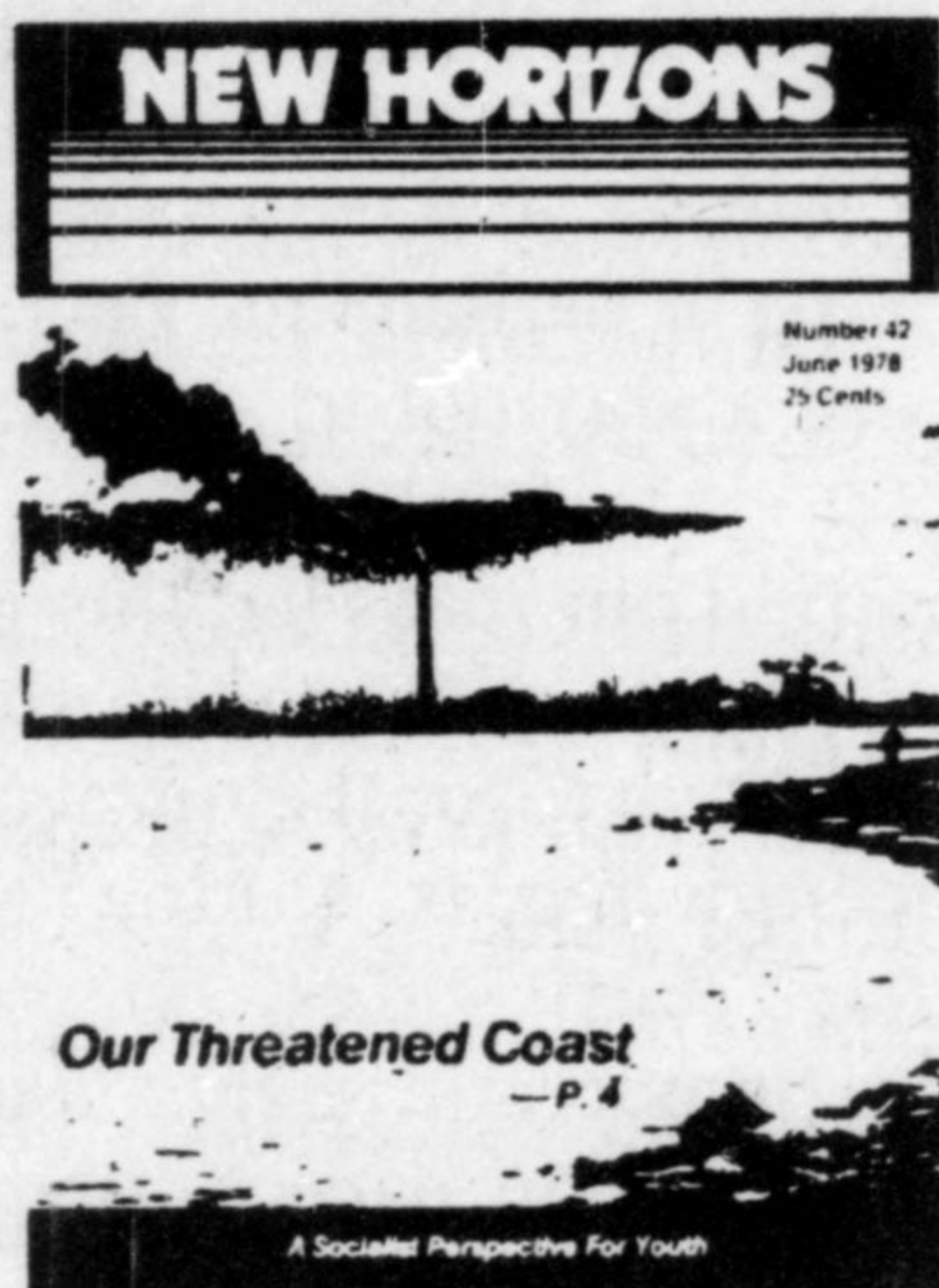
It is quite obvious that, while attempting to diminish the influence of its true class adversary, the bourgeoisie will continue stimulating so-called "leftist" projects. By stepping up its offensive against the organized left, it hopes to strike a blow at the Communist Party's policy.

The main lesson to be drawn from the June 4 elections is that we must continue our policy of Popular Unity and of alliances. We must take the necessary steps now and not wait till 1980 or 1982. Of exceptional importance among these measures is resumption of joint leadership throughout the country. The election campaign does not reflect the dimensions of the mass struggle unfolding in the country

today just as it does not mirror the influence of our party which uses many forms of struggle in its work. New mass actions are brewing.

The victory of the oligarchy has worsened the already grave conditions of the working people. We shall work to transform the latent opposition to this system, which will undoubtedly be strengthened by the Turbay administration, into an organization and broad front of all non-conformists seeking democratic and revolutionary changes that are so vital to Colombia.

Central Committee,
Communist Party of Colombia
Bogota, June 22, 1978
Voz Proletaria, June 22, 1978



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DEFEND PARTY UNITY

*Summary of Political Bureau Report to the CC Meeting,
Communist Party of Turkey*

I. THE POLITICAL SITUATION

Our principal urgent task is to remove the danger stemming from the policy of imperialism and of the monopoly bourgeoisie collaborating with it. The domestic crisis goes on deepening. The bourgeoisie is becoming more and more polarized. As a result of this and the growing struggle of the working class and the democratic forces allied with it, the big bourgeoisie collaborating with the imperialists finds itself less and less capable of governing the country and is occasionally unable to so much as assure the functioning of parliament. Faced with this situation, the ruling reactionaries see a way out in stepping up terror and escalating the activity of fascist elements.

In view of this the party leadership has carried out mass actions to mobilize the working class and other working people against the Demirel coalition and the escalation of fascist activity, for the unity of action and a united front of all national democratic forces. During the general election (June 1977), the Communist Party called on the people to support candidates championing democratic rights and freedoms, refuse support to the government coalition parties, unite against them and refrain from dividing the vote.

This correct tactic made it possible to establish close links with the masses and progressive forces, including the left wing of the Republican People's Party (RPP).^{*} During the local elections the CPT urged the people to oppose not only reactionary and fascist politicians but RPP candidates who made deals with these politicians and to elect candidates opposed to the escalation of fascist activity, declaring for the unity of the working class, of national and democratic forces and enjoying the masses' confidence — irrespective of whether they belonged to the RPP, Labor Party (LP), Turkish Socialist Workers' Party or were independent.

^{*}Bourgeois reformist party playing the leading role in the present government.

The imperialists and the bourgeoisie collaborating with them found it necessary to swap horses. After the downfall of the Demirel coalition,** new alliances were formed by diverse bourgeois alignments. The RPP leadership decided to loosen its links with the CPT, the working class and the trade union movement and establish contacts with reactionary politicians and the Justice Party (JP).

True, the JP and RPP proved unable to carry out imperialist and monopoly plans by bringing about a coalition government. But neither was a government of the national and democratic forces formed although the working class and other working people insisted on it. The new government was formed by rightist leaders and groups of reactionary politicians.

The new government is anything but anti-imperialist or markedly anti-fascist. Its position on many issues coincides with that of imperialism.

Our party is following a policy whose substance is to support every constructive step of the present government, however insignificant or hesitant, while at the same time criticizing its lack of consistency and steps leading back. By pursuing this line, we want to make the RPP leadership keep the promises it has given to the people.

The struggle of the working class and the people has been continuing in this past period. Convincing evidence of this was the May Day demonstrations and rallies and the mass strikes and actions that were carried out. The metalworkers' strike, which lasted eight months, was supported at the national and the international level alike. A struggle exacting much sacrifice, it brought the workers appreciable gains.

Communists have begun to organize in the countryside. In this development, actions organized by the cooperative movement and the formation of peasant leagues are very important. Progressive mass movements among youth, women and the middle classes are gaining in intensity; the influence of the party and its closest allies in these movements is growing.

A further notable event of the past period was the strengthening of international contacts of the trade unions and progressive mass organizations. The metalworkers' union and some others, as well as the Progressive Youth League, Women's Progressive League and Peace

**The coalition government under Demirel existed till January 1978. It comprised the JP (a reactionary pro-American party expressing the views of the big bourgeoisie), the fascist National Movement Party (NMP) and the reactionary National Salvation Party (NSP).

Association joined or established closer relations with the World Federation of Trade Unions, World Federation of Democratic Youth, Women's International Democratic Federation and World Peace Council. The Turkish Teachers' Union became a member of the World Federation of Teachers' Unions.

The rapid spread of the Communist Party's idea of forming a national democratic front has created, here and there, the illusion that the front "is a fact." Yet while the idea has spread, the effort to complete the process in line with a specific platform has failed.

II. THE TRADE UNIONS

Success in the fight for the united trade union movement on the basis of class interests depends primarily on how solidly the CPT succeeds in establishing itself in various trade unions. The task of resisting the fascist offensive within the trade union movement is still there. At this stage of the class struggle, unity of action is indispensable.

In view of the favorable experience of workers' committees at enterprise level in preparing for and carrying out such actions as, for example, the May Day celebrations, and proceeding from the principle of trade union democracy, the CPT Political Bureau has pointed out the importance of developing enterprise trade union organizations led by elected bodies. Great importance attaches to the struggle against the curtailment of trade union rights: the right to unhampered union membership guaranteed by secret ballot and the public counting of votes, the repeal of all laws restricting the right to strike or other union rights, recognition of the right to general strike and solidarity strikes, a ban on lockouts, renunciation of the practice of appointing persons to leading positions, and the formation of enterprise trade union organizations led by elected bodies.

III. NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC FRONT

The struggle for peace and disarmament, for friendly relations with the socialist countries, above all the Soviet Union, as well as the struggle for the satisfaction of democratic demands and for democratic rights are intimately connected with the struggle for national independence, against imperialism. There is no separating the national and democratic components of the struggle of the working class and the people.

The CPT Political Bureau has pointed out the decisive role of our party and working-class unity, as well as of the alliance of the workers

and working peasants, in forming a national democratic front. The paramount issue facing the working peasants is the struggle for a democratic land reform. The CPT is striving to organize this struggle by setting up peasant committees. The increased solidarity of peasants and striking workers in the recent period is a new development. A result of our party's activity, this development creates new opportunities for our effort in the countryside.

The CPT backs the Kurdish people's fight against oppression and every manifestation of injustice. It upholds the right of the Kurdish people to self-determination. Our party is fighting against the chauvinist and terrorist policy of the Turkish bourgeoisie, as well as against the Kurdish bourgeois nationalists, who are linked with the imperialists, big landed proprietors and sheikhs. It wants to ensure that the Kurdish and Turkish working people carry on a joint struggle.

The task is to use the new opportunities for the formation of a national democratic front, of a common forum encompassing the trade unions, mass organizations and such parties as the LP and RPP. We must draw up an anti-fascist and anti-imperialist platform and seize the initiative. In so doing, it is very important to be flexible yet principled.

IV. STRENGTHENING THE CPT

In the period following the party conference, the Political Bureau held a series of meetings with secretaries of regional organizations and with persons responsible for the press and for work in the trade unions and mass organizations. There are indications of qualitative and quantitative progress in party organization, especially among factory workers. Nevertheless, some regions and districts are still weak organizationally. Workers make up 60 per cent of the party membership. A large majority of party members are young people, a circumstance which has its beneficial effect but also creates difficulties. The order of the day is to bring active sympathizers, particularly workers, into the party. The party attaches great importance to coordinating illegal and legal activity as well as to "discarding primitive methods" and training competent cadres.

One of the major spheres of party action today is the ideological struggle. Our main tasks include struggle against bourgeois ideology, fascist ideology, anti-communism and anti-Sovietism in any form, opportunism of any shading, divisive currents like Eurocommunism, bourgeois reformism, Maoism, Trotskyism and anarchism. We must

reinforce the communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

In this past period, the struggle carried out under the slogan "Freedom for the Communist Party of Turkey" has spread far and wide. The latest indication of this was this year's May Day. Democrats, some MPs from bourgeois parties and progressive journalists put forward in one form or another the demand for repealing anti-democratic legislation and recognizing the right of the CPT to operate in legal conditions.

On the other hand, the ruling reactionaries continued their fascist terror, attacks and reprisals against progressive youth and women's organizations, as well as against such progressive publications as the periodicals *Urun* and *World Marxist Review* (*Yeni Cag*).

At the same time they laid plans for the formation of so-called communist parties. The government program does not contain — apart from some abstract words about freedom — a single provision announcing the early repeal of anti-democratic laws. Besides, the government has taken a passive and hesitant stand on fascist activities. Both the government and parliament lack the majority needed to repeal anti-democratic laws.

In these conditions there are opportunities to achieve the legalization of the CPT. What is needed to this end is to strengthen the mass movement seeking freedom for the CPT and transform it into a force equal to exerting pressure on parliament and the government. The slogan of this struggle must be the explicit demand "Freedom for the Communist Party of Turkey."

Our pressing task is to vigorously defend and build up Leninist unity in the party's political, ideological and organizational spheres. The Communist Party of Turkey is carrying high the banner of proletarian internationalism.
