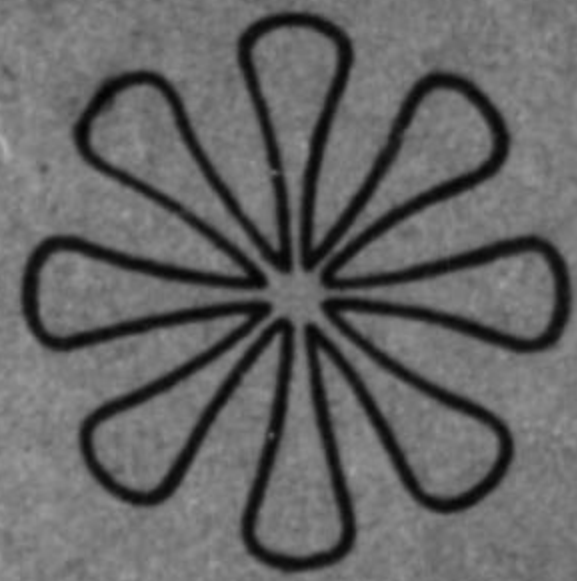


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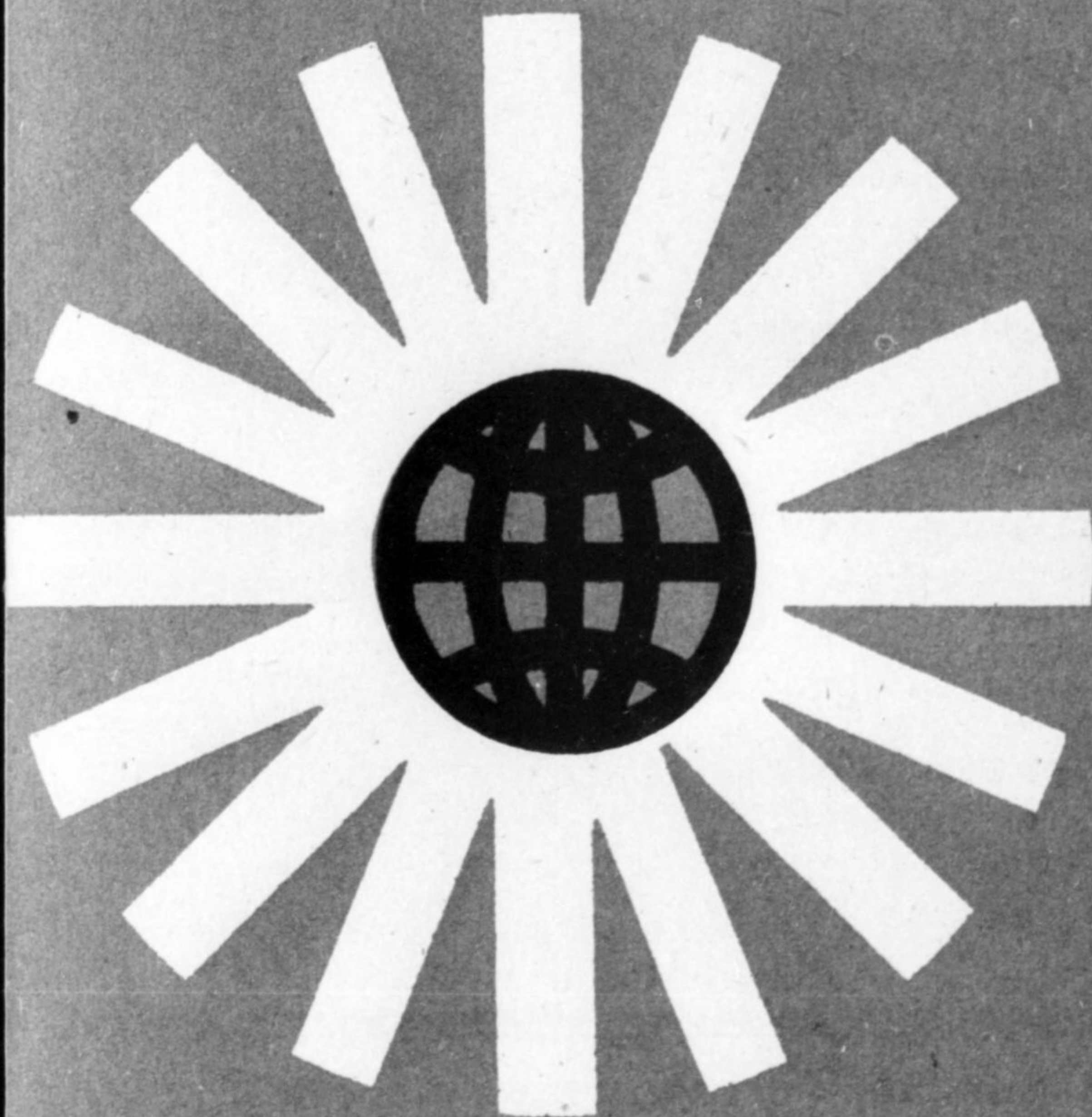


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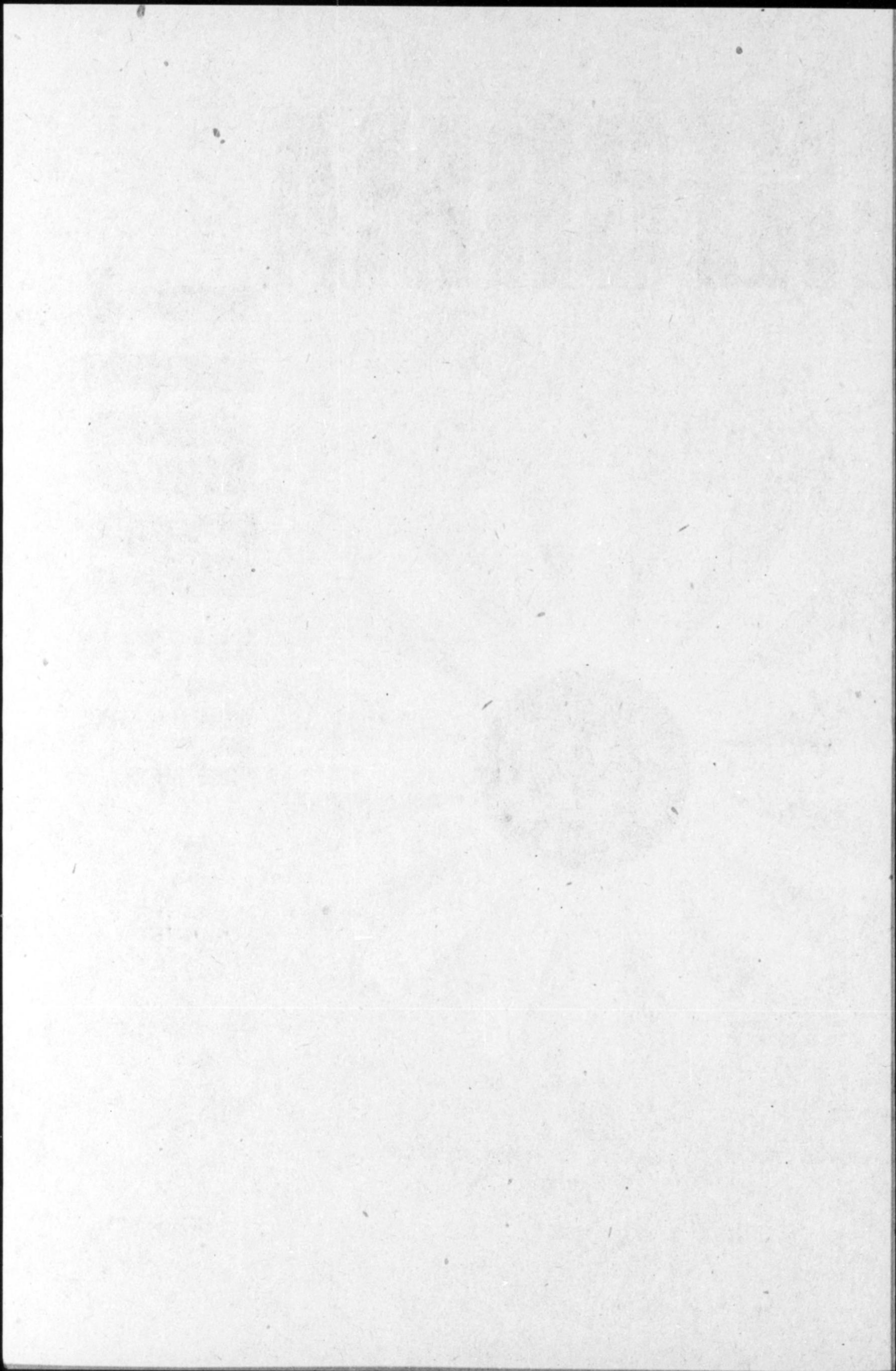
**HANDS OFF
SOCIALIST
VIETNAM!**

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HANDS OFF SOCIALIST VIETNAM!

STATEMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE SRV

On February 17, China's ruling circles suddenly started an aggressive war against Vietnam.

Making use of armored troops, artillery, infantry, and with the support of the air force, they began military operations along the whole of the Vietnamese-Chinese border. They are attacking the towns of Lao Cai, Mon Cai, Don Dan, Muon Khuon, which are deep in Vietnam's territory, and have taken the frontier posts of the districts of Din Lap, Chan Din, Loc Binh, Van Lon, in the province of Lan Shon; Cha Linh, Hac Uan, and Kuan Ghe in the province of Kao Ban; Muon Kuon and Bat Sat in the province of Hoan Glien Shon; Fon Tho in the province of Lai Tiau; and Bin Lieu in the province of Kuan Ninh. They have committed numerous grave crimes against the Vietnamese people, causing deaths among the population and inflicting damage on the property of our country's citizens.

It is quite obvious that, having suffered defeats in their hostile anti-Vietnam policy, China's ruling circles have taken the old way of the Chinese feudals, imperialists and colonialists by mounting an aggression against Vietnam, an independent and sovereign country.

By committing their aggression against Vietnam, China's ruling circles have completely exposed their expansionism and great-power hegemonism, their reactionary policy, cutting across the Chinese people's interests and seriously undermining the traditional friendship between the peoples of Vietnam and China.

By committing their aggression against Vietnam, China's ruling circles have come out against the whole socialist system, and against the national-independence movement, and undermined peace and stability in Southeast Asia and the rest of the world.

The aggressive war of China's ruling circles has grossly trampled the most elementary principles of international relations and the UN Charter, and is a brazen challenge to everyone who cherishes peace and justice.

Over the past several years, and especially in the recent period, despite the fact that China's ruling circles daily stepped up their

provocations and threats, the people and government of Vietnam has displayed, for the sake of peace and friendship, the utmost restraint, seeking ways of settling all the issues in relations between the two countries through negotiation. But despite all the arguments, China's ruling circles continued their seizures and have started a war of aggression against Vietnam. Faced with this aggression by China's ruling reactionary circles, the army and people of Vietnam are left with no other alternative but the necessity to use their right to legitimate self-defense and to give the aggressors a resolute rebuff.

Following the behest of our beloved and respected President Ho Chi Minh, who said that "Nothing is more valuable than independence and freedom," our whole people and our whole army, once again closely united, man and child, are rising unanimously to resolute struggle to defend our homeland's independence, sovereignty and hallowed territorial integrity.

The people and government of Vietnam urgently call upon the Soviet Union, the fraternal socialist countries, the countries which have won national independence, all the non-aligned countries, the friendly countries, all the communist and workers' parties, and all the progressive men and women of the world to strengthen solidarity with Vietnam, to support and defend Vietnam, and to demand that Peking's ruling circles should immediately stop their aggressive war against Vietnam and withdraw all their troops from the territory of Vietnam.

The peoples of the fraternal countries of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea fought shoulder to shoulder against the imperialist aggressors and scored a victory, and they are now strengthening their solidarity to inflict a defeat on the reactionary policy of China's ruling circles.

For the sake of lasting peace and friendship, the people of Vietnam calls on the people and army men of China resolutely to resist the aggressive war unleashed by China's ruling circles.

For the sake of peace and justice, the people and government of Vietnam urge the United Nations and all democratic organizations vigorously to condemn the aggressive war of Peking's ruling circles.

The people of Vietnam are a staunch, courageous and unflinching nation, which has repeatedly scored victories over all aggressors. They firmly believe that under the correct leadership of the Communist Party and Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, enjoying the sympathies and powerful support of brothers and friends throughout the world, they are sure to defeat the aggressive war started by the Chinese reactionaries, to defend their independence

and sovereignty, and make a fitting contribution to the defense of peace and stability in Southeast Asia and the rest of the world.

STATEMENT BY THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT

On February 17, China's armed forces invaded the territory of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

Peking's aggression against Socialist Vietnam is a direct result of the policy of blackmail and pressure which the Chinese authorities have pursued for a number of years with respect to Vietnam in particular. The Peking leaders have openly declared that they want to "punish" Vietnam which pursues an independent policy and which has not only refused to promote the Chinese expansion in Southeast Asia, but has also become an important obstacle to the implementation of Peking's hegemonistic schemes.

The Chinese clique has refused to be reconciled with the fact that the people of Kampuchea have overthrown the bloody executioner regime of Pol Pot, and have re-established friendly relations with neighboring Vietnam. To use this as the pretext for aggression is to take a road which, as history shows, carries the aggressor to an inglorious and ignominious end.

China's attack on Vietnam shows once again how irresponsible the attitude is in Peking to the future of peace, and the criminal rashness with which the Chinese leadership resorts to arms.

The intrusion of Chinese troops into Vietnam, which but recently beat back external aggression, cannot be a matter of indifference to any honest person in the world, to any sovereign state. These aggressive acts, which cut across the principles of the United Nations, and grossly violate international law, expose to the whole world the true substance of Peking's hegemonistic policy in Southeast Asia. Any connivance at this policy is connivance at violence and diktat, connivance at the Chinese leadership's attempts to plunge the world into war. The attack on the SRV has also shown the worth of the Chinese leaders' talk about defense of the interests of small and middle states whose "champion" Peking pretends to be.

The heroic Vietnamese people, which has become the victim of a new aggression, is capable of standing up for itself on this occasion as well, especially since it has reliable friends. The Soviet Union will fulfill its obligations which it has undertaken under the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between the USSR and the SRV.

Those who determine policy in Peking should stop before it is too late. The Chinese people, like the other peoples, need peace and not war. The responsibility for the consequences of Peking's continued aggression with respect to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam will fall fully on China's present leadership.

The Soviet Union resolutely demands an end to the aggression and the withdrawal without delay of Chinese troops from the territory of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

Hands off Socialist Vietnam!

Pravda. February 19, 1979

WORLD OPINION PROTESTS

Bulgaria. "We are convinced," a PRB government statement says, "that the heroic Vietnamese people, who had rebuffed foreign intervention, will again emerge victorious in their struggle. This is guaranteed by the full support of the Soviet Union, the other socialist countries and all progressive and peace forces throughout the world.

"Our Vietnamese brothers can rely on the full fraternal solidarity of the Bulgarian people.

"As ~~in the~~ past, the PRB government and the entire Bulgarian people **vigorously** support the Socialist Republic of Vietnam in its just struggle against Chinese aggression, in defense of its independence and sovereignty, in defense of stable peace and security in Southeast Asia and throughout the world."

Rabotnichesko Delo

Britain. "The Chinese invasion of Vietnam is both a criminal blow against Vietnam and a serious threat to world peace. . . .

"All those who support the struggle of the heroic Vietnamese people against U.S. imperialism in a war unsurpassed in its ferocity and brutality will be shocked by this act of aggression. . . .

"The concept that nations have a right to launch punitive attacks is quite unacceptable, and certainly it is foreign to the ideals of socialism.

"Nothing gives Mr. Teng or the other leaders of China, one of the world's great powers, the right to act as judge, jury and executioner.

"The international community cannot allow such a principle to become an established part of relations between states."

Morning Star

Cuba. "China's perfidious attack against socialist Vietnam is an extremely dangerous venture. But the Chinese hegemonists, counting on implementing their great-power designs through force, have miscalculated. In Vietnam they have come up against a people's socialist system, a people's army, a country whose policy is aimed at defense of the motherland, at defense of the cause of peace and Southeast Asia and throughout the world. Neither the Chinese feudals, the Japanese militarists, the French colonialists, nor the patrons of the present Chinese leaders — the U.S. imperialists, could defeat the Vietnamese people. The Chinese aggressors should bear this in mind. And especially now, since in this hour Vietnam is not alone, with all progressives in the world on its side."

Granma

Cyprus. "At a time when the wounds inflicted on the heroic Vietnamese people — first by the French and then by U.S. imperialism — have not yet healed," the statement of the AKEL Central Committee says, "when the blood covering the long-suffering land of this country has not yet dried, a new aggressor — the Chinese leadership, a close ally of imperialism — instructed the Chinese troops on February 17 to attack the Socialist Republic of Vietnam."

"This revolting crime of the Peking clique culminates a series of provocations against socialist Vietnam and the imperialist policy the Chinese leadership has been following for some time."

"The fiercely anti-communist, anti-Soviet, pro-fascist, pro-imperialist Peking leadership has virtually entered into an alliance with all the fascist, imperialist regimes of the world against communism and its stronghold — the powerful Soviet Union. The Peking leadership is seeking to carry out in Vietnam through its cowardly aggression what the French and U.S. imperialists, abetted by its local agents, were incapable of doing. ..."

Czechoslovakia. "On behalf of the entire Czechoslovak people the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the CSSR government protest against the Chinese troops' incursion into the territory of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and insistently demand an end to the aggression against Vietnam and the immediate, unconditional withdrawal of Chinese troops from Vietnamese territory."

Rude Pravo

number 7, 1979 9

France. "The French Communist Party," an FCP statement says, "demands the immediate withdrawal of Chinese troops from the occupied territory of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. The FCP calls on the party organizations, on all French men and women who hold dear the independence of the peoples and peace, to express this demand in their messages and telegrams addressed to the Embassy of the Chinese People's Republic. . . .

"International solidarity is an inalienable part of our policy. It is of fundamental importance. When People's China was in isolation and under attack by those who today seek to use it against the Soviet Union, the FCP fought for the establishment of normal relations between France and the PRC, for its admission into the UN and its complete international recognition. . . .

"We have never renounced the Chinese communists, despite the deep-going political contradictions between the FCP and the CPC. And today, the FCP is demanding all the more insistently that China stop the military actions against Vietnam, and expresses the hope that the PRC, as befits a socialist country, will strive to conduct a policy of peace, independence and sovereignty of the peoples."

L'Humanité

Italy. "In the face of China's armed attack against the SRV, which has aroused deep concern among the Italian working people and all democrats, the ICP leadership reaffirms the Italian communists' condemnation of this act and emphasizes that an imperative condition for the restoration of peace is an immediate stop to the military actions and withdrawal of the Chinese troops."

Unita

Poland. A statement by the PPR government states: "The Polish public, well remembering the hardships of war, is particularly concerned over the fact that Vietnam, a symbol of struggle for liberation, independence and sovereignty, has become the victim of adventurist pressures, blackmail and military intervention. . . .

"The government and public opinion of the PPR express their complete solidarity with the Socialist Republic of Vietnam in its just struggle against Chinese aggression, in defense of its independence and territorial integrity."

Trybuna Ludu

Rumania. The Rumanian agency Agerpres issued a "statement in

7

connection with the military actions on the China-Vietnam border." It says that "the Rumanian people are aggrieved and deeply concerned over the aggravation and intensification of military actions" on the China-Vietnam border. According to the Rumanian assessment, the armed conflict greatly endangers "tranquility and peace between the two peoples," seriously complicates the situation in Southeast Asia, prejudices the "international climate" and the cause of world détente.

The Agerpres statement does not condemn the Chinese aggression against Vietnam, and in effect places equal responsibility on both sides for the existing situation.

PEKING'S BETRAYAL OF VIETNAM

Peking helped to partition Vietnam

The true story of Chinese-Vietnamese relations, as it has emerged in recent interviews, statements and documents, is not a pleasant one. But it needs to be told, to understand why Vietnam, free and independent after a struggle that lasted 1,000 years, is once again under attack by a "great power" — China.

Throughout its history, the Communist Party of China (CPC), which waged a heroic 20-year-war to free China from foreign invaders and the feudal regime of Chiang Kai-shek, has been wracked by internal factional power struggles.

During the 1930s and 1940s, Mao Tse-tung waged a continual fight inside the party to eliminate from influence in the CPC all those who favored cooperation and solidarity with the Soviet Union and who wanted to learn from the USSR's experience in building a socialist society.

By 1945 he had succeeded in establishing "Maoism" as the line of the party, but not without strong opposition from other Chinese communist leaders. After the liberation of China in 1949, Soviet aid built the backbone of China's economy and military strength.

China especially needed to build up its heavy industry and military capability in the early years after liberation because it faced two hot wars on its borders: the Korean War (1950-53) and the Vietnamese war of liberation against the French (1945-54).

The Korean War ended in the partition of the country into North and South at the 38th parallel. What troubled the Vietnamese was the

Chinese willingness to suggest partition as the solution for the Vietnamese conflict as well — a “solution” the Vietnamese totally rejected.

At the May 12 session of the Geneva Conference, convened to negotiate a settlement between the French and the Vietnamese, the Chinese representative, Chou En-lai, announced “The Chinese people consider that: the Koren War was stopped; now, the Indochina War should be stopped the same way.” The “same way” was the partition of Vietnam.

Ho Chi Minh reluctantly agreed to the temporary partitioning of Vietnam, on the condition that free elections be held within two years. Those elections were never held. The U.S. poured massive amounts of aid into the repressive government of “South Vietnam.” When it became clear that the U.S. had no intention of allowing free elections to reunify the country, the Vietnamese began to organize to overthrow the Saigon regime.

The Chinese government again reacted unfavorably. China had entered the “Bandung phase” of its foreign policy, named for the Bandung Conference of 1955 at which China abandoned calls for “armed struggle” in Southeast Asia.

“China wanted us to carry out political, not military struggle,” a Vietnamese diplomatic source told the *Daily World*. “Teng Hsiao-ping came to Vietnam and told us there were two possibilities if we conducted a military struggle in the South. One: we would win. Two: we would lose everything, including the North. Teng hinted that the U.S. would occupy North Vietnam, in which case U.S. troops would be on the Chinese border. . . .

“China gave aid to Vietnam, not from proletarian internationalism or revolutionary fervor, but to keep U.S. troops off the southern border of China. In other words, the Chinese gave us weapons for *China's* defense.”

Mao's strategy was to increase China's power by making it the “center of world revolution.”

In 1963 China put forth a 25-point platform attacking the Soviet Union and attempted to convene a meeting of the 11 Asian Communist Parties to endorse the platform. Vietnam refused to support this move to split the communist parties and the national-liberation movements, and the meeting could not be held. “China was very angry with us,” a Vietnamese diplomat told the *Daily World*, “but China dared not oppose Vietnam, which by that time was fighting U.S. aggression.”

MAO AIDED U.S. IN WAR AGAINST VIETNAM

On August 7, 1964, the U.S. congress passed the "Tonkin Resolution," giving President Johnson a free hand to assault North Vietnam.

Johnson's main concern at the time was what China's response would be, as the only socialist country bordering Vietnam. The answer came directly from Mao Tse-tung in January 1965 in an interview with journalist Edgar Snow. Mao told Snow that "only if the United States attacked China would the Chinese fight."

"The Vietnamese," Mao said, "could cope with their situation."

It was the green light Johnson needed. A month later he ordered continuous, massive air raids against North Vietnam.

Within days, the Soviet Union offered to send an air division of the latest-model MIG fighters to defend the skies over Vietnam. China, where the planes would have had to be at least temporarily based, refused.

On February 25, 1965, the Soviet Union requested China to allow Soviet military aid for Vietnam to be shipped by rail through China. Only after a month's delay did China agree.

In March, the Soviet Union proposed a plan of "united action" by the socialist countries to defend Vietnam. China refused. The following month Vietnam asked for a meeting of the USSR, China and Vietnam. China refused. Also in April China turned down a Soviet request for an "air bridge" across China to Vietnam, forcing Soviet planes to take a roundabout air route — Moscow-Tehran-Bombay-Vientiane-Hanoi — that took 23 hours, twice the travel time of the Moscow-Peking-Hanoi route.

In 1966 a delegation of Japanese communists proposed in Peking that communist parties around the world act jointly in support of Vietnam. Mao turned them down, telling the shocked delegation that communist parties "must not be afraid of isolation."

China refused even to co-author a joint statement of the socialist countries condemning U.S. aggression.

Unknown until recently was the effort by the Chinese to use the Cultural Revolution as a weapon against Ho Chi Minh and the Vietnamese people.

In 1965, as the U.S. Air Force roamed the skies of Vietnam, attempting to "bomb it back into the Stone Age," Teng Hsiao-ping visited Hanoi.

First, he made a remarkable offer to the Vietnamese leaders: if they would refuse all aid from the Soviet Union, China would cover the aid

— plus give an additional one billion dollars! The offer was refused, and Teng angrily denounced President Ho Chi Minh as a “revisionist” for accepting Soviet aid. Teng threatened to export the Cultural Revolution to Vietnam, using the Vietnamese of Chinese descent — the Hoa — as a base.

As the Cultural Revolution reduced China to chaos, and the war in Vietnam grew more intense, Chinese authorities began to harass and interfere with Soviet military aid shipments to Vietnam.

Chinese railroad and customs officials began a “slowdown,” scrupulously checking every invoice and bill of lading. Weapons and some parts disappeared. Trains were halted and broken into by Red Guards.

Mao’s Cultural Revolution succeeded in deposing Liu Shao-chi in 1968. The same year victories by the Vietnamese, particularly the January, 1968 Tet Offensive, forced President Johnson to halt the bombing of the North and begin to engage in negotiations.

While most of the world rejoiced at this victory, the newly-entrenched Maoist group reacted with anger and threats. It was beginning to appear that the last thing the Chinese leadership wanted was a victorious, united, socialist Vietnam.

MAO WOULD FIGHT TO LAST VIETNAMESE

“There was a joke in the Western press during the war,” Nguyen Co Thach, Vietnamese Deputy Foreign Minister said recently, “that the Chinese would fight to the last Vietnamese. Those American journalists had no idea how true that was.”

Public statements by Chinese Foreign Minister Chen Yi in late 1964 and Chairman Mao in January 1965 that China would not intervene in the Vietnam war had encouraged U.S. aggression in the first place. Then when the tide of war changed in 1968, the Chinese demanded that the Vietnamese fight on at any cost.

In March, President Johnson cut back the bombing of the North and agreed to direct negotiations in Paris. Vietnam’s friends and supporters around the world rightfully considered this to be a victory for the liberation movement. All except China.

The Maoist group, restored to power by the Cultural Revolution, reacted angrily, sending a message to Hanoi threatening to sever all relations between the Chinese Communist Party (CPC) and the Vietnamese Workers’ Party if negotiations were held. Articles appeared in the Chinese official press saying that the Vietnamese ought to

decide the struggle "not at the table of a conference in Paris, but on the field of battle in Vietnam."

Ho Chi Minh rejected this "advice." The Vietnamese strategy was to fight and negotiate at the same time, continuing to fight for the liberation of South Vietnam, while negotiating for the withdrawal of the U.S. invasion force.

Chinese foreign policy, in fact, was going through another transformation at the hands of Chairman Mao. Vietnam's refusal to kowtow to Peking had pointed up a fact that was becoming uncomfortably clear to the Maoist leadership: their strategy of opposing both the United States and the Soviet Union was isolating China even further.

Mao's hopes of turning China into a third political center in the world between the two opposing systems of capitalism and socialism had not succeeded. The "Third World" countries had not rallied around China. The Cultural Revolution had crippled China's economy, and her foreign policy had cost her many former allies while gaining her no new ones.

The Maoists realized they had to choose between an alliance with the socialist countries or with imperialism. Mao's position that China should ally with the West gradually won out, though he was opposed by other Chinese leaders who wanted to continue the struggle against the United States imperialists.

MAO TRIED TO KEEP U.S. IN VIETNAM

As the troops of the U.S. and the Saigon regime beat a disorganized retreat along Highway 9 from the disastrous invasion of Laos in January 1971, the Mao Tse-tung/Chou En-lai group was winning a political battle in Peking that would tilt China toward an alliance with the United States.

Henry Kissinger visited Peking in July 1971 to prepare the way for President Nixon's visit the following year and, more importantly, to offer China a deal. If China would stop its assistance to Vietnam and pressure Vietnam to accept partition and the continued existence of the Saigon regime, the U.S. would do what it could to return Taiwan to China! Mao was willing to settle for even less, according to Vietnamese sources. China, he offered, would give up its claim to Taiwan if the U.S. would maintain its military presence in Vietnam and Southeast Asia to counter "Soviet influence" there.

The official announcement by the Chinese Communist Party (CPC) of its invitation to Nixon made its strategic interest very clear: "The invitation to Nixon to pay a visit is an important strategic maneuver

directed at isolating Soviet revisionism — social imperialism. . . .”

The year of Nixon’s visit to Peking, a World Assembly in Solidarity with the People of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia was held in Paris. Representatives from 84 countries rallied at this meeting. China did not attend.

But nothing could stop the sweep of the Vietnamese patriots to victory. Over the strong objections of the Maoist leadership, the Vietnamese liberation forces launched a powerful Spring Offensive, smashing the majority of Saigon’s 13 divisions and liberating large areas of South Vietnam.

After a final genocidal spasm during Christmas week, 1972, when Nixon ordered waves of bombers over Hanoi and Haiphong, the U.S. as well as Saigon signed a peace treaty ending U.S. participation in the war on January 27, 1973.

In the spring of 1975 a popular uprising and military offensive toppled Thieu from power. On April 30, Saigon was liberated and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam assumed power.

The creation of a united, independent Vietnam — for which the Vietnamese had struggled for centuries — was not far away. It was the most serious blow Mao’s expansionist plans in Southeast Asia had ever received.

The Chinese response came quickly, though not directly. Less than a week after the liberation of Saigon, troops from neighboring Kampuchea (Cambodia) attacked the Vietnamese islands of Phu Quoc and Thos Chu near the Vietnamese-Kampuchean border.

This startling, back-door attack by troops who for years had been comrades-in-arms of the Vietnamese revolutionaries was ordered by the Maoist faction led by Pol Pot that had seized control of the Kampuchean government in the course of the revolution in that country.

MAOISTS LAUNCH DESTABILIZATION DRIVE

China’s use of the Pol Pot regime as shock troops against Vietnam, and China’s own armed attacks on Vietnam’s northern border, have been described by many Western journalists as products of “age-old enmity” between the Chinese and Vietnamese. The truth, however, has to do with politics, not cultural nationalism.

China’s attempts to destabilize Vietnam are part of China’s tilt toward imperialism, a process completed by the time of Mao’s death in 1976. During the 1960s, the Maoists thought they could squeeze out

both the socialist camp and the United States to become a major world power. Their overall aim — becoming the “center of the world,” has remained the same, but the Maoists have a new, two-part strategy, according to some analysts: First, to defeat the Soviet Union by allying with the United States, and second, to gradually replace the U.S. by a front of some international forces headed by China.

To transform China into the major world power of the 21st century, the present ruling group hopes to use their alliance with the West to build up China's military and economic power. This brings with it a renewed threat of war.

After the Paris Peace Agreements had been signed in 1973, Peking demanded that Vietnam sever its relations with the Soviet Union, in order to be accepted by China as a fully friendly nation. When Vietnam refused to be bullied, the Maoists began to reactivate the secret network they had built among elements of the population of Chinese and Vietnamese of Chinese descent (the Hoa) inside Vietnam.

By January 1978, the stage was set for a massive attempt to destabilize Vietnam. Troops from neighboring Kampuchea were attacking strongly along Vietnam's southwest border. The Maoist organizations inside the country (some of which openly expressed support for the Kampuchean assault) began a new campaign. What happened during the spring of 1978 has been described by Vietnamese Deputy Foreign Minister Hoang Bich Son:

“Peking's agents organized their people into small groups . . . now advising and coaxing, now slandering and distorting the truth. When necessary they resorted to threats . . . creating a state of unrest, fright and panic among the Hoa.”

In May 1978, White House national security advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski arrived in Peking. A week earlier, China had cut off half its equipment aid to Vietnam. Shortly after he left, the Chinese cut off the rest.

The rapid deterioration in Vietnamese-Chinese relations paralleled China's negotiations with the U.S. to restore full diplomatic recognition. Armed attacks by Chinese troops against Vietnam's northern border intensified. In October, it was revealed that Chinese advisors had taken direct command of 10 Kampuchean army divisions on the country's southwest border.

It was the playing of the “China card” by Washington that clearly encouraged China and Kampuchea to launch these fratricidal attacks

against their former ally. The attacks on socialist Vietnam are a continuation — the “Sinoization” — of the Vietnam war.

It is the Chinese people themselves who will bear the greatest burden of their leaders’ defection to imperialism. The Chinese betrayal of Vietnam is a sad story, but the Vietnamese have triumphed over all betrayals and attacks. The Chinese people will undoubtedly do the same.

Terry Cannon

Abridged from *Daily World*, January 31,
February 1,2,3,6, 1979

CHINESE PROVOCATIONS AGAINST THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM

There is mounting anxiety in the world over Peking’s border provocations against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. For many months China has been systematically and deliberately inflaming tension on its border with Vietnam and inciting armed incidents, which are resulting in the death of Vietnamese civilians and border guards. Chinese aircraft and warships constantly intrude into Vietnam’s air space and territorial waters. These provocations have been notably escalated during the past few days. In fact, they have developed into intrusion by Chinese army units into Vietnam’s border regions.

According to innumerable reports in the world press, China has concentrated large contingents of ground forces in areas bordering on Vietnam and redeployed aircraft and naval vessels to these areas. These open military preparations by Peking on the Chinese-Vietnamese border are obviously designed to bring military pressure to bear on Vietnam and unleash aggression against that country. The Chinese leaders are giving their military preparations a dense smokescreen of lies and slander against Vietnam and the Soviet Union. In other words, they are camouflaging their plans of aggression.

There can be no question that these outrageous armed incursions into Vietnamese territory and other hostile actions of the Peking expansionists are the logical outcome of the policy of provocations inherited by the present Chinese rulers from the great-power stance maintained by Mao Tse-tung for many years toward Southeast Asia generally, and Vietnam in particular. They are increasingly baring their hegemonistic ambition to seize foreign territory. The bandit

raids of the Chinese military in Vietnam are further evidence that Peking regards Southeast Asia as a region that will in the long run be dominated by China and as a springboard for the ultimate subjugation of the whole of Asia.

Hence China's desire to see the Southeast Asian countries chiefly of Indochina, weak and embroiled in mutual hostility.

Peking did not want a united socialist Vietnam. Even before the war in Indochina ended the Chinese leadership instituted steps to weaken Vietnam's position. China seized the Paracel Islands, instigated border incidents with Vietnam, cut back food and other supplies, and stepped up subversive activities among ethnic Chinese residing in Vietnam. The liberation of the south and the formation of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam cut the ground from under the Chinese designs to control the whole of Indochina. Peking refused to reckon with the actual state of affairs and began pressuring Vietnam in order to force its own policies on that country. When it grew clear that the Vietnamese people were not inclined to be instruments of Chinese policy but had, on the contrary, become a major obstacle to Peking's expansion in Southeast Asia, the Chinese authorities began obstructing socialist reforms in Vietnam, pressured that country by suspending economic and other relations, and creating an atmosphere of hostility around it. As their instrument they chose the anti-people's Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique in Kampuchea and used it for an undeclared border war against the SRV. Having only recently repulsed an imperialist aggression, the Vietnamese people now had once more to rise in arms to defend the independence and security of their country.

The Chinese leaders were infuriated by the swift collapse of the puppet Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime, which was hated by the Kampuchean people. That regime fell apart like a house of cards under the blows struck by the Khmer patriots led by the Kampuchean United Front for National Salvation.

In order to save face and enlist the support of extreme international reaction, the Chinese leaders argue that the fall of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime was the work of Vietnam, and that the present acts of aggression against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam are part of a policy of resisting alleged Soviet expansion.

All decent people in the world welcomed the news that the Khmer people had liberated themselves from a reactionary regime imposed from without, a regime that had caused it immeasurable suffering and countless deaths. The Peking leaders stand alone in endeavoring to justify and save these criminal political bankrupts, who had set up in

Kampuchea a Chinese model of political organization and zealously transferred the Chinese "cultural revolution" to Kampuchean soil. They are vainly trying to attribute the fall of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime to Vietnam and the Soviet Union. The reasons should be looked for in Kampuchea itself and in China, for they lie in the anti-people's policies of that regime and in the actions of its Chinese patrons.

One may ask what is the purpose of Peking's military activities on the Vietnamese border. The world knows that the Socialist Republic of Vietnam has never intended to threaten China. Peking's demonstrative military preparations are clearly aimed at kindling military tension on the Vietnamese border and, given a favorable opportunity, escalating military provocations and accusing Vietnam of deliberate aggression against China.

No person with common sense will believe the slander that the Socialist Republic of Vietnam is planning aggression against China. The Vietnamese people have proved that they want independence and peace, and that acts of aggression against their homeland are doomed to failure.

I. Alexandrov
Pravda, February 10, 1979

IRAN: AN ANTI-IMPERIALIST DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION

*Interview with Nouredin Kianouri, First Secretary of the
Central Committee, People's Party of Iran (Tudeh)*

Q. How would you evaluate the present situation in Iran? Why are the developments moving so rapidly?

A. In content, the present movement in Iran is an anti-imperialist democratic revolution. The entire people rose up in struggle against the corrupt dictatorial monarchy, for a republic resting on the universal and free expression of the people's will, for democratic rights, liquidation of imperialist domination, to wrest the oil resources and oil industry out of the hands of the U.S. and British imperialists, break off the military agreements with the USA and Britain, oust the U.S. agents from the country, stop the exorbitant expenditures on

weaponry and to turn our country into a flourishing, free and neutral republic.

In the struggle for these goals, 70,000 Iranians lost their lives and hundreds of thousands were wounded last year alone, to say nothing about the indescribable deprivations of the people.

The chief cause of the present situation lies in the anti-national, anti-democratic policy of the shah regime. After the imperialist putsch carried out in 1953 with the aid of the U.S. imperialists and their allies, an oppressive regime has ruled Iran for 25 years. Under its wing the U.S. imperialists and their allies freely plundered the country's national wealth.

The years of brutal oppression inevitably aroused the people's indignation, which kept mounting until the final explosion, and then the mass movement developed with incredible rapidity.

Q. How was the political and religious opposition formed? What is Khomeini's role in this movement?

A. Millions of men and women of all ages and all sections of the people are taking part in the movement: the working class, peasantry, the urban petty bourgeoisie, national intelligentsia, a substantial part of the national bourgeoisie which does not have close links with imperialist capital. Diverse political organizations and public groups representing the interests of different classes and strata and guided by their class ideology and class policy are waging a struggle under common slogans in the framework of this all-embracing movement.

The fact that this movement is primarily religious in character is attributable to two factors. First: the Shiite religion has deep roots in Iran which are linked with the demands of the people. The Shiite religion has traditional ties with the popular forces, with the struggle for independence and freedom. Second: a substantial part of the Iranian religious dignitaries have, under the leadership of Khomeini, long fought energetically and consistently in the front lines against the anti-national, dictatorial Shah regime, against imperialist domination, for the restoration of the people's rights. The fact that Ayatollah Khomeini firmly and consistently upholds the fundamental national and democratic demands has strengthened the authority of the entire revolutionary movement in Iran and has won him the respect of the political and religious opposition leaders.

In his speech at the cemetery of revolutionary heroes, Ayatollah Khomeini expressed the common demand of the Iranian people. The Tudeh Party fully supports his initiatives for the realization of revolutionary goals, the setting up of a revolutionary council, the strug-

gle to overthrow the domination of the servile Bakhtiar generals, those puppets of imperialism. The Tudeh Party supports the formation of a provisional national government to prepare a popular referendum, the convocation of a constituent assembly, drafting of a new constitution of a free and independent Iran and the proclamation of an Islamic republic.

Q. What is the Tudeh Party's position in the country and what are its links with other opposition forces?

A. The Tudeh Party has been fighting in the harsh conditions of illegality over a period of 30 years. For 25 years it was subjected to the most frightful persecution by the Shah regime and made enormous sacrifices. Yet it always maintained its ties with the Iranian masses. Now the party is being rapidly revived throughout the country. Our party has always sought to create a national front of all anti-imperialist, democratic forces. Today we can say that this front has, in effect, been built in the battles in the streets, factories, universities, enterprises and towns, despite the fact that for subjective reasons the leaders of other political organizations are opposed to officially joining this united front together with the Tudeh Party.

Our party is vigorously promoting the policy of alliance. We are convinced that the development of the anti-imperialist and democratic movement, the struggle for immediate goals and to cope with future difficulties, the struggle for a new Iran is with every passing day bringing us ever nearer to unity.

Q. How great is the danger of imperialist intervention?

A. If you have in mind military intervention, I can say the following. On the one hand, U.S. imperialism had dispatched warships into Iran's territorial waters and air force contingents into regions situated near Iran's borders. On the other hand, it is unlikely that U.S. imperialism would risk interfering militarily in Iran, partly because of the revolutionary movement and partly bearing in mind the 1921 Irano-Soviet friendship treaty. It is also unlikely because the Soviet government's stand on this question is unambiguous, as evidenced by Leonid Brezhnev's answers to a *Pravda* correspondent. This does not imply, however, that U.S. imperialism is not seeking other opportunities. General Robert Huyser, Deputy Commander of the U.S. Armed Forces in Europe, stayed over a month in Iran, giving direct orders to the bribed Iranian generals, the Bakhtiar government, the thousands of U.S. advisors in the Iranian army. The Iranian people unanimously demand a stop to the United States' shameless interference in the internal affairs of Iran.

The persisting crisis in Iran is a consequence of U.S. interference, the result of U.S. imperialism's refusal to relinquish its exploitative and military positions.

Q. What role is played by international solidarity at the present time?

A. The fate of the revolutionary movement in Iran is, of course, determined above all by the will of the people. But the international solidarity of all honest people is undoubtedly an extremely important factor in this movement's success. Our people are counting on this moral and material solidarity not being restricted to the days when we are fighting to the death against imperialism and its vassals in Iran, but will be continued tomorrow, too, after victory, when the people will be building a new, free Iran. The Iranian people's hopes are linked with the socialist countries, which throughout their entire history have supported in every way the anti-imperialist and democratic movements of the oppressed peoples.

Abridged from *Nepszabadsag*, February 8, 1979

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**FOR UNITY OF ALL
ANTI-IMPERIALIST FORCES,
FOR REVOLUTIONARY DEMOCRACY
AND CONSOLIDATION OF
THE SOCIALIST OPTION**

The Fourth Congress of the National Liberation Front Party (FLN) was held in Algiers over January 27 to 31, 1979. It adopted the FLN Constitution and elected the leading party organs. Chedli Benjedid was elected General Secretary.

On behalf of the Algerian communists, Sadek Hadjeres, First Secretary of the Socialist Vanguard Party, sent a message of greetings to the FLN congress, saying in part:

Like all sound forces of the country, we fully realize the gravity of the present moment and the immense importance of the renovation and further strengthening of the FLN in the struggle to create the political instruments of the revolution.

Throughout the past year we have sought to contribute in every way so that the FLN congress would become a new step in developing the revolution. This contribution is a continuation of our past and present efforts, of our common struggle with the other patriotic and revolutionary forces for the successful realization of the agrarian revolution and growth of production, for democratic management of the enterprises and for all other popular-democratic gains.

The death of our deeply mourned brother and comrade, President Houari Boumedienne, his heritage, lessons and experience of struggle demand a heightened sense of responsibility of every Algerian patriot and revolutionary. In the circumstances, we see our duty in broader support for the efforts of the leaders and membership of the FLN, who seek to rally the motive forces of the revolution and its allies around the party and inside it on a progressive basis.

Our support remains principled, sincere and resolute. This was the

case during the years of glorious struggle under the leadership of the FLN and the National Liberation Army, before and after the Soumman and Tripoli congresses, and after winning independence in the fight against the imperialists and in the struggle for national development.

We are convinced that the coming long and difficult struggles against imperialism and reaction, for our development goals will confirm the correctness of a broad approach to the role of the sound socio-political forces of the revolution, an approach that already had an effect on the preparations for the congress and on its composition.

This approach favors setting up the political instruments of the revolution and will facilitate, in particular, the emergence and growing role of a broad political movement guided by a strong, truly vanguard party that will play the leading role in the long process of revolutionary development, while uniting in its ranks all the forces of socialism.

In the interests of progress along this road, we, together with all the working popular masses, hope the congress will work out effective recommendations for the broad mobilization of the anti-imperialist forces which are guided by a political leadership that has firmly opted for socialism.

In expressing this hope, we assure you, brothers and sisters, of our support for all positive and unitary decisions and resolutions that will be adopted by the congress.

Algiers, January 23, 1979

UNITE AGAINST THE FASCIST DANGER

*Statement by the Central Executive Committee,
Communist Party of Colombia*

During its five months in office the Turbay Ayala government has continued Lopez Michelsen's policy. This policy has lately become extremely pro-oligarchic. The government is increasingly arbitrary in persecuting the popular movement.

Brutal reprisals against the working people and democratic trends

number 7, 1979 25

are escalating. *The so-called "security statutes"* are a new offensive against the people's rights.* This has given the ruling reactionaries a free hand to strangle the left forces that are part of public organizations. The rights given to "military-penal justice" have led to the arrest and imprisonment of hundreds of revolutionaries. Information about the popular struggle does not reach the population because of the strict radio and television censorship.

On the basis of the "security statutes" the army and police resumed the offensive in the agrarian regions. . . . In order to crush the "urban network" of the armed forces movement, large-scale military operations have been launched and students, workers and employees have been arrested and will be tried by military tribunals.

On the pretext of confiscating arms from the M-19** groups operating in Canton Norte de Bogota, arbitrariness has become more widespread. Tensions and hysteria are growing. As if the "security statutes" were not enough, Article 28 of the Constitution is also being applied, giving the authorities the right to detain without an arrest warrant any suspicious-looking citizen and dispatching to the Gorgona prison persons being investigated on charges of committing political crimes.

We are going through not only a new wave of reprisals, we are threatened by the establishment of an openly terroristic dictatorship for which the extreme right-wing forces of big capital have been preparing for some time.

Having no political leverage the Turbay government has become an obedient tool of an aggressive and brutal group of senior officers headed by General Camacho Leyva. After becoming Minister of National Defense the general purged the armed forces of all who refused to accept the reactionary course. The military camarilla, whipped up by the Alvaro Gomez Hurtado group, is gradually taking over administration of the state and, following the examples of certain countries in the South of the continent, is striving to establish a military, fascist-type dictatorship.

Though this has not yet happened, the possibility cannot be excluded unless the democratic forces act energetically in a united front.

The political pressure of the oligarchic circles is closely associated

*Law passed September 6, 1978 providing for punishment on political grounds.

**The 19 of April Movement — an ultra-left terrorist organization. — Ed.

with the worsening social problems, for the solution of which our people are waging a tireless struggle.

It is plain even from official statistics that the working people's incomes are dropping while the avaricious monopolies continue making huge profits. During the past two weeks prices have greatly increased on milk, meat, gas, medicines, school tuition, all of which has cancelled the December 1978 rise in minimal wages.

The masses are continuing their struggle to improve their economic situation and against reaction. Significant progress has been made in the past two years in consolidating working-class unity under the leadership of the National Trade Union Council and in deepening understanding between the various trends in the popular movement. This is expected to result in the people's united action against the new offensive on their living standards, political and labor rights.

To stop the growing mass struggle and the process of consolidation, the most reactionary circles are urging the government to use political means and reprisals to crush the protest movement and the working people's organized struggle.

Camacho Leyva and justice ministers Escobar Sierra and Gomez Hurtado are clamoring for fresh measures against the development of democracy in any form. They are demanding censorship of the press. This, together with the already existing radio and television censorship will completely black out all information of national interest. They are insisting on steps against the labor movement so as to curb demands for higher wages. Certain circles are hinting that reaction is planning constitutional reforms and also changes in the political system to make it more of a dictatorship. The reactionaries are clamoring for relations with the socialist countries, poor as they are, to be broken off. In other words, they are for the establishment of a absolutist state where the people would be deprived of all freedom of expression and the principles of freedom and democracy.

Notwithstanding the January 13 government proclamation that it was guaranteeing human rights, torture in prisons continues, for which fascists were brought in from Chile, Uruguay and Brazil, all trained by CIA hangmen. Torture is justified by claiming that political prisoners cannot demand human rights of which they have been deprived. The state, it is said, has the "right" to punish them regardless of the laws. Government officials and the military insist that persons accused of committing political crimes do not even have the right to a defense. The "military judges" turn a blind eye on the assassinations of leaders of the people. . . .

In such conditions the slogan of democratic freedoms, rights and guarantees is not just a major demand, it is the banner that could unite all the democratic and progressive citizens, including the working class and peasant movement.

The revolutionary forces must seriously weigh the danger threatening us. The time has come for the masses to fight for their democratic demands, for human rights and basic freedoms.

Therefore, all detachments of revolutionaries must not only understand each other. All actions in defense of freedoms, and human rights must be united and this includes those of non-leftist organizations and individuals.

Although the Camacho Leyva group claims to be speaking for the armed forces in general, it actually voices the interests only of the military camarilla which is striving to come to power by exploiting the prestige enjoyed by the majority of Colombia's military. For this reason it is their duty to support the people's interests and take part in the great movement for democracy and freedom which will certainly be victorious.

Instead of opening the way to democracy, the "National Front," which was encumbered with reactionaries during the preceding dictatorships, is obstructing mass action. The mounting reprisals, restricted freedom and the present crisis are all the work of parties alleging that their goal is democracy. In their present condition, these parties contribute nothing to the country's political future.

Colombia needs a new policy founded on recognition of the rights of all the people and oriented on changing over to a new political system under which the working people — society's productive force — would have a voice in the government and could influence the formation of the country's political course.

No dictatorship is capable of stopping the mass struggle for vital demands. Guns and prisons will not give the people jobs, housing, land, or a better life. For this changes must be made in Colombia's society and in the state itself. First of all the people's right must be recognized to organization, to action, and to freedom of political and trade union activity. In the final count, only democratic principles can serve as a foundation for the country's political and social development.

We communists are prepared to cooperate with all who oppose the course imposed by the extreme reactionaries. We approve of all initiatives in this direction and believe new proposals should be dis-

cussed in order to draw the majority of people into the struggle against reaction and the regime's policy.

Most important among such initiatives are the following: a national forum against reprisals to be held in March 1979; a signature drive against the "security statutes"; solidarity with political and trade union prisoners; condemning torture both at home and abroad; struggle against "military penal justice"; liquidating spying and "security" organizations; support for the National Trade Union Council and unity.

We are for creating widely representative committees of struggle for freedom and against the "security statutes." We are for holding mass meetings to unite the broadest segments of the population in the struggle for democracy.

We must hold a National Day of Protest in the framework of such a struggle, to attain new successes and further develop the experience of the historical nationwide strike of September 1977. . . .

Central Executive Committee,
Communist Party of Colombia

Bogota, January 16, 1979

Abridged from *Voz Proletaria* January 18, 1979

TRILATERAL MEETING: AKEL — CPG — CPT

Joint Communiqué

Recently a meeting was held between representatives of the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus (AKEL), the Communist Party of Greece and the Communist Party of Turkey.

The AKEL delegation was led by General Secretary Ezekias Papaioannou; the CPG delegation, by General Secretary Charilaos Florakis; the the CPT delegation, by General Secretary I. Bilen.

The representatives of the three parties examined some topical international issues, particularly the situation in the Balkans and in the Eastern Mediterranean, and exchanged views on questions of the world communist and working-class movement. They concentrated on the situation in Turkey, Greece and Cyprus and the struggle of the

democratic and progressive forces of these countries for democracy, national independence and social progress.

The AKEL, CPG and CPT emphasized that the policy of détente, the result of the continuously changing balance of forces in favor of peace, democracy and socialism, is increasingly asserting itself as the decisive tendency in international relations despite the imperialists' attempts to obstruct it. Thanks to the consistent and sincere efforts of the Soviet Union and the other socialist community countries and the democratic and peace-loving forces of the three countries these positive tendencies are in evidence in the Balkans, too.

The policy of peace and mutually beneficial cooperation, which meets the interests of our peoples, enjoys the active support of the broadest popular strata. The three parties welcome the strengthening of trust between the peoples of the regions having different social systems and the expansion of contacts and mutual understanding between them.

Simultaneously, they noted the growing activity of imperialism and reaction in the Balkans and in the Eastern Mediterranean, as reflected in the attempts of the USA and NATO to recover and strengthen their positions with the aid of the ruling bourgeois circles. Alarmed over the developments in Iran, where the people rose up against the tyranny and foreign domination, imperialism is hatching new plots in this region.

In the light of these developments, the three parties have closely studied the problems specifically related to the peoples of the three countries: the Cyprus question, the problem of the Aegean Sea and the problem of U.S. military presence in the region. Far from being resolved, these problems, which are closely tied in with the Middle East crisis and the Palestinian problem, have been complicated still further. Pursuing aggressive strategic aims, the U.S. imperialists and NATO are flagrantly violating the interest of our people and attempt to set them against each other and to aggravate the situation in the region. They are strengthening and expanding their military bases in Turkey and Greece, seek to impose a NATO solution to the Cyprus question, encourage the chauvinistic, reactionary and neo-fascist forces in Turkey and the authoritarian, anti-democratic forces in Greece and Cyprus.

The imperialists are intent on stepping up anti-communism and anti-Sovietism. Their attempts to stop the growth of the progressive forces are facilitated by the anti-Soviet, pro-imperialist policy of the Chinese leaders. Obviously the visits of Hua Kuo-feng and other

Chinese leaders to our region are designed to sow discord and mutual distrust and to hamper the peoples' struggle for stronger peace and security in our region, in Europe and throughout the world.

The three parties, while upholding the interests of their peoples and peaceful cooperation between them, urge them to enhance their vigilance and their internationalist solidarity in the interests of jointly countering the plans of U.S.-NATO imperialism and internal reaction, in the interest of a peaceful settlement of conflicts between states, of ensuring peace and social progress.

GRECO-TURKISH DIFFERENCES

The representatives of the three parties discussed the development of Greco-Turkish relations and the present crisis stage of these relations, particularly the crisis in the Aegean Sea.

The AKEL, CPG and CPT consider that despite the differences over such problems as demarcation of the shelf, and others, they can and must be resolved peacefully. The Aegean crisis is being aggravated and complicated above all as a result of the intrigues of U.S.-NATO imperialism. The imperialists are prodding the two countries toward a dangerous arms race. They are out to strengthen their strategic control over the region and to help their monopolies appropriate the underwater wealth of the Aegean Sea, playing the role of "regulators" of Greco-Turkish disputes. On this premise, the imperialists are encouraging the chauvinistic, militarist circles of Turkey and exploit the policy of the Greek government as expressed by the "we belong to the West" formula. At the same time the Greco-Turkish differences are used to one or another extent by the ruling classes of both countries to distract the people's attention from the consequences of the deep-going economic and social crisis in Turkey, from the serious difficulties experienced by the Greek economy and the acute problems of democracy and national independence of both countries.

The three parties insistently call for a peaceful settlement of the Greco-Turkish differences on the basis of the principles of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference, the universally recognized principles of international law and international practice, and respect for national independence, sovereignty and integrity of both countries. Any talks between the two countries must be conducted independently of any imperialist organizations, without any imperialist interference or supervision.

The Communist Parties, all progressive and peace-loving forces of Greece and Turkey should reach agreement on waging a struggle to end the arms race and to avert war and demand that the governments of both countries seek a peaceful solution that rules out the use of threat of force.

The Communist Parties of Turkey and Greece declare that they firmly oppose any aggressive annexationist wars on the part of anyone.

The peace-loving forces of both countries want to see the Aegean become a sea of peace, free communication and cooperation. An imperative task of all democratic and peace-loving forces of the region is to help remove the threat of war in our explosive region, to strengthen peace and promote détente there.

THE CYPRUS QUESTION

The three fraternal parties note with concern that not a single UN resolution on the Cyprus question has yet been implemented. Imperialism and its organs seek to formalize the result of the act of violence and realize their plans of partitioning Cyprus between Turkey and Greece with the aim of "patching up" NATO's southeastern flank, dealing a blow at the progressive and democratic movement of the island and turning it into a powerful NATO military beach head in our region. Cyprus is further endangered by the threat of a unilaterally declared "independent Turkish-Cypriot state" on the territories occupied by Turkish troops, which is rejected even by the Turkish Cypriots, and by the preaching of the idea of a double Enosis and direct U.S. interference in the solution of the Cyprus question in order to take this question outside the UN and to solve it in the framework of NATO. This interference will increase along with the growing U.S. military presence on Cyprus and in the region as a whole after having lost their positions in Iran.

The Cyprus question is not and never has been the object of dispute between the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots: the dispute is between the entire Cypriot people, on the one hand, and imperialism and its organs, on the other.

The three fraternal parties support the anti-imperialist liberation struggle of the Cypriot people, both Greeks and Turks, for a peaceful solution of the Cyprus question in the UN Framework and on the basis of its decisions, for a truly independent, sovereign, integral, non-aligned, democratic and demilitarized Cyprus, for the withdrawal of Turkish and all other foreign troops, liquidation of military bases

on the island, voluntary return of refugees to their homes and clarification of the whereabouts of the disappeared.

In the interests of settling the international aspects of the Cyprus issue the three parties urge the convocation of an international conference in the UN framework to find a way to realize the relevant UN decisions, to annul the treaties imposed on the Cypriot people and to provide new, stable and reliable guarantees for the independence of Cyprus on the part of the UN Security Council. The three parties call on the peoples of their respective countries to step up the struggle for holding such a conference.

The three parties hold that the Greeks and Turks of Cyprus can live in accord and peace in their country, determining their future freely, without imperialist interference. The two communities must themselves settle through talks in the UN framework and on the basis of its decisions the question of the internal regime of Cyprus.

The three parties reject the American plan as impermissible interference in the internal affairs of Cyprus. They support the initiative of the UN Secretary General regarding the reopening of talks between the two communities and oppose the partition of Cyprus in any form.

A just and democratic solution to the Cyprus question will be in the interests not only of the Cypriot people, but also in the interests of the peoples of Greece and Turkey, in the interests of peace and détente in the explosive Eastern Mediterranean and Middle East region.

AGAINST U.S. MILITARY PRESENCE IN THE REGION

The Communist Party of Greece, the Communist Party of Turkey and the AKEL vigorously oppose the attempts of U.S.-NATO imperialism to intensify their pressure on the peoples of the three countries and to strengthen their positions in the region. What is particularly dangerous, in their view, is the heightened activity in evidence at the U.S. military bases in Greece and Turkey, and the efforts to transfer the espionage centers from Iran to the territory of Turkey and Cyprus. The setting up of a new network of subversive centers near the borders of the socialist states creates dangerous tensions in the region. The concentration in Turkey and Greece of almost half of the military bases providing support for the U.S. Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean is fraught with a direct threat to the peoples of these countries and to peace and security in the region. The three parties expressed their firm resolve to liquidate the imperialist bases on the territory of their countries. They come out against the arms race and for turning the Aegean Sea and the Eastern Mediterra-

nean into a zone of peace. They are waging a struggle for the withdrawal of Turkey and Greece from NATO and for the annulment of all shackling agreements.

The three parties decided to intensify their close fraternal cooperation and coordination of efforts in the common struggle against imperialism and reaction. They call on the working class, the laboring peasantry, intelligentsia, progressive and democratic forces of the peoples of Greece, Turkey and Cyprus to multiply and coordinate their efforts in the struggle against imperialism and reaction, against their new assistant — the Chinese Maoist leadership — against chauvinism and bourgeois nationalism, for a just solution to problems, for stronger peace, friendship and cooperation between the peoples of the three countries, and for turning the Eastern Mediterranean into a zone free of foreign military bases, a zone of peace, security and cooperation between the peoples.

The three parties protest against the escalation of fascist terror in Turkey and the anti-democratic oppression by the ruling class. They express solidarity with all the progressive and democratic forces of Turkey, particularly with the Communist Party, which has been fighting already for 58 years in conditions of illegality, and demand its legalization.

The three parties will continue to coordinate their actions on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism in the struggle against imperialism and reaction, for national independence, democracy and social progress in their countries.

Rizospastis, February 4, 1979

A WAVE OF TERROR IN GUATEMALA

*Statement of the Political Commission, Central Committee,
Guatemalan Party of Labor*

The government's impotence, its inability to run the country and the social crisis have profoundly shaken the oligarchic forces. This is combined with widespread corruption in the state apparatus and the oligarchy's use of gangster methods to maintain its domination. The fascistization of the country is also a factor contributing to the

strengthening of monopoly power, primarily foreign monopoly, creating new conditions of domination and dependency.

The present government crisis is characterized by other features as well: falsification of elections, dictatorial control over political life through bribery and repressions, combined with various forms of reactionary terror.

In 1954 the country entered a period of protracted counter-revolution. The coup carried out by Peralto Azurdia in 1963 signified a turn to rightist authoritarianism and fascist tendencies in political power. This prolonged period of terror and death, bringing suffering to our people, failed to damp our people's aspirations for freedom. Terror is powerless against the people's will to fight, which in the present circumstances is expressed by the revolutionary and democratic actions of the advanced contingents of struggle of broad population strata. At present the popular movement has reached such a high level of organization and has strengthened and advanced its positions to such an extent that neither intimidation nor criminal actions can suppress it.

IMPERIALIST PLOT

The irrational and inhuman repressive policy latterly conducted by the government stems from the coincidence of interests of the local bourgeoisie and U.S. imperialism. Despite the government's absurd denial of its complicity in the actions of the paramilitary groups at home and abroad, it is common knowledge that these organizations of killers are receiving official government assistance. This fact is not denied even by the U.S. manipulators of the puppets.

Former CIA director Richard Helms declared in the U.S. House of Representatives in September 1978 that this spy organization took part in forming and training paramilitary groups in Guatemala.

The repressions are not restricted to anti-revolutionary struggle, however. At the emergence of the revolutionary movement in 1944, Guatemala was turned into a testing ground of imperialism. U.S. neo-colonialist policy has assigned our country a special role not only in penetrating and establishing control in the countries of the region, but considers it as a potential reserve in the realization of certain strategic plans.

The discovery of big oil deposits and the rich deposits of copper, nickel and other minerals, as well as Guatemala's convenient geographical location for the construction of an inter-oceanic oil pipeline led to intensified repressions against the social circles opposing the

imperialists' flagrant encroachment on our sovereignty, which would put our people at the mercy of the imperialists.

Mass murders in the northern regions of the country, the expulsion of thousands of peasants from their lands, the assassination of outstanding leaders of the opposition and the intensive campaign to intimidate the population characterize the actions of the oligarchy, which is pandering to the interests of Exmibal, the Shenandoah* and other companies.

The aim is to conclude a treaty according to which our territory would be used for the construction of an oil pipeline from the Pacific to the Atlantic Ocean. This pipeline would enable the imperialists to pump oil from Alaska to the eastern shore of the USA. As this project is simpler and less costly than others, pressure is put on the Guatemalan government for the construction of the pipeline, come what may. That is why the government murdered Dr. Alberto Fuentes Mohr, an outstanding opposition leader. Is it accidental that before the conclusion of this agreement repressive actions were taken primarily against the social circles which opposed the construction of the pipeline? After the assassination of Fuentes Mohr, they murdered a prominent member of Parliament who opposed the project. At the same time the government attempted to obstruct the forming of a political groups by the opposition which he had led. The government, in continuing its shameful policy, is staking on criminal actions to silence the people.

FOR UNITED ACTIONS OF THE DEMOCRATIC AND REVOLUTIONARY FORCES AGAINST THE FASCIST DICTATORSHIP

The split of the democratic and revolutionary forces runs counter to the vital interests of the people and benefits reaction, which is working in that direction.

We Guatemalan communists call for broad united actions by the popular and progressive revolutionary organizations which support the revolutionary road. We are striving for united actions free from sectarianism and are ready to exert every effort to achieve the best results in that direction. For this, it is essential to isolate all those who adhere to adventurist "leftist" and right-opportunist positions.

We condemn the murder of Fuentes Mohr and Ricardo Martinez and the repeated attacks against the workers of the Coca Cola,

*Foreign companies. The former develops nickel deposits, the latter, oil. — Ed.

Exguapagra, Acricasa and other companies. We oppose the mass dismissals of workers at state-run institutions and private enterprises.

We denounce the accusation levelled against our party for actions we did not lead and in which we took no part, which are obviously intended to mislead the people and isolate our party.

Reaction's plans will be foiled!

Act in common to end the fascist policy!

"No" to the construction of the inter-oceanic oil pipeline!

For Guatemala, the revolution and socialism!

Guatemala, January 28, 1979

Political Commission, CC,
Guatemalan Party of Labor



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FROM THE PRESS

CHALLENGE MONOPOLY POWER

*William Kashtan
General Secretary, CP of Canada*

... I would like to take this opportunity to underline the necessity of avoiding lagging behind fast-moving events, both internationally and at home. To avoid doing so calls for maximum boldness and initiative. Indeed, this must become our watchword. For we not only face the danger of lagging behind fast-moving events internationally, but also of lagging behind the growing upsurge of the working class in Canada as it responds to the monopoly offensive on its living standards.

... Comrade Dewhurst correctly drew attention to the strong possibility of the Carter Administration backtracking on the SALT agreements and the dangerous consequences it could have for peace. It could lead to a sharpening of international tensions, an acceleration of the arms race. What does this backtracking on the SALT agreements reflect? It reflects the fear the reactionary forces of imperialism have of peace. Peace doesn't serve the interests of imperialism. It serves the interests of the people. This fear is real even though there are significant sections of monopoly that for various reasons prefer the path of peaceful coexistence. But faced with the path of military détente the reactionary forces of imperialism want to perpetuate the cold war. They have, in effect, picked up the Maoist line of the inevitability of war as the rationale for accelerating the arms race, thus creating a more dangerous situation.

This imposes a great responsibility on the peace forces. The decisive question now is the action of the masses of the people, their ability to influence and change the policies of the governments. To accomplish this will require tremendous effort. That is why the fight for peace remains a priority task.

In this situation what should be the focus of our attention? In the

This article is based on the concluding remarks to a meeting of the Communist Party's Central Committee, October 20-23, 1978.

course of our discussion the question came up of giving attention to a campaign to have Canada withdraw from NORAD, which comes up for renewal next year. This raises the question: should we focus on the NORAD issue or on the neutron bomb at this time? Taking all things into account it seems to me that we should continue to focus attention on the campaign to stop production of the neutron bomb. While it is true that the production of parts is in fact the beginning of the production of the neutron weapon we should avoid a fatalistic approach to the question. The neutron bomb *is not yet produced. It can still be stopped.* Powerful peoples' movements all over the world can still influence the outcome of the question and at the same time act as an important factor in concluding a new SALT agreement. The conclusion from this is that we should link up the issue of the neutron bomb with the overall question of disarmament. At the same time we cannot ignore the fact that NORAD will come up for renewal next year. Therefore, the need arises for specific initiatives and the unfolding of actions by the trade union and peoples' movements on the issue of NORAD. This should receive immediate attention so that the campaign to get out of NORAD will grow day by day. . . .

Communists must always keep thier eyes open for sudden changes on the international front. . . . Imperialism may choose to take a path very dangerous for mankind and we must be alert for that possibility. As it is we can see some new maneuvers by imperialism in the Middle East and Africa directed to create the illusion that it is for peace in these areas. But these maneuvers are, in fact, directed to strengthening imperialist positions and preventing victory for the national and social liberation movement in Africa and the Middle East. It will not be long though before the masses of people in these areas and the masses of people in the capitalist world see through these machinations and maneuvers, and come to recognize that not imperialism but socialism is their real point of support if they are to win their national and social liberation.

Close attention must be paid to these points of contradiction between the people and imperialism in these areas, as well as in Latin America and the Caribbean. It is necessary to strengthen solidarity support to all those engaged in the struggle against imperialism, racism and apartheid. We must again re-emphasize that despite the various maneuvers of imperialism *the balance of forces continues to weigh in favor of peace, democracy and socialism.* This basic factor must not be ignored as the fight for peace widens.

The second point which must occupy our attention, is the economic

fight-back — the front of economic struggle. This is the link that we must give concentrated attention to today. This is important in itself in helping to protect the working people from the negative effects of the crisis. It is no less important as part of the inevitable realignment of forces that is now underway which will develop more and more, and could begin to challenge monopoly power.

There must be some significant changes taking place in the working class when 23,000 postal employees are prepared to stand up and defy the government, Parliament and the courts. Such a stand indicates a certain qualitative change taking place in the thinking of the working class, a growth of consciousness that goes beyond trade union consciousness and toward political class consciousness. This process is bound to deepen in these times. While this taking place we also see another phenomenon, namely, the results of a policy of class collaboration by the right wing in the trade union movement and in the NDP.

The leadership of the Canadian Labor Congress, which found time to adopt resolutions that advise the trade unions of the socialist countries how to run their affairs, hasn't yet found the courage, strength, capacity or ability to speak up or challenge the government and its attacks on the postal workers. . . . What is this if not class collaboration — a policy of retreat and capitulation before the drive of monopoly? . . .

Monopoly systematically seeks to isolate public service employees from their allies using temporary inconvenience that strikes cause to turn other working people against the legitimate demands of their fellow workers employed in the public sector. It tried also to turn low paid workers against higher paid workers and thereby divide the working class, while hoping the low paid workers will forget that their poorer condition is due to capitalism. This is a calculated policy of dividing the working people and turning them against each other. This too must be exposed. At the same time it is necessary for the trade union movement to develop appropriate tactics to overcome the divisive maneuvers of monopoly. . . .

Finally, a few words on the vitally important task of building the Communist Party and the Young Communist League. From the discussion at this meeting of our Central Committee it is evident that a more positive attitude is being displayed toward our party. This finds expression in a modest growth although it continues to be uneven. . . . This provokes the question: isn't there something wrong in the way we work for this to happen? We must improve our style of work so

that both sides of this question are properly handled. Party organizations should not sit back waiting for a "salesman" to come out to do their recruiting for them. But neither should we have a situation where party organizers are not utilized to help build the party in the localities.

An important and most welcome instance of changing attitudes toward our party lies in the fact that NDPers are not only beginning to cooperate with communists in municipal reform movements, in the fight for peace and in other areas of democratic activity. In addition, some of them are joining our party. This suggests that criticism of right-wing policy is growing inside the NDP. It suggests also that the processes taking place within the NDP and in the outside world may impel NDPers in growing numbers to question the credibility of social reformism. This may in turn persuade them to come over to the positions of Marxism-Leninism. The fact that some are beginning to do so indicates that changes are shaping up all over the country. It is a process which will likely develop, particularly in the trade union movement.

In drawing attention to this phenomenon, one should not move away from our basic policy toward the NDP, namely, of a continuing fight for unity of action around a common program while strengthening criticism of right-wing policies of class collaboration.

While emphasizing the fight-back on the economic front we should not overlook the necessity of correctly linking this up with the struggle for peace and with the fight for *real* change in the country. This has immediate meaning in respect to the coming federal election and more immediately with the municipal elections. We must help the workers go beyond the economic struggle and undertake a political struggle directed to challenge monopoly power and shift the balance of power in favor of the working people. This is no mean task as the October* by elections showed when 80 per cent of the voters continued to vote for the old-line parties. The task of separating working people from these parties and toward independent political action constitutes a major task for us and for all those who see the necessity of curbing the power of monopoly.

It is evident that the parties of capitalism are in growing difficulties. These difficulties will mount as the crisis of capitalism deepens. For their policies are bankrupt and offer nothing that is good for working people. Our policies, on the other hand, stand up and will increasingly

* In October 1978. — Ed.

become a power of attraction for growing numbers of working people. It is in this light that we should grasp the validity of our slogan calling for the election of a progressive majority including communists to Parliament. It is for these reasons that we must field as large a complement of candidates as we can possibly manage when the elections are called. . . .

All of this will tax our energy and resources. However, the spirit of the Central Committee meeting strongly indicates that our party will live up to the tasks it has assumed. What is important is to keep our eye on the ball, namely, working to unite the working-class and democratic movement around new policies so as to help shift the political balance of forces in Canada.

Abridged from *Communist Viewpoint*
No. 6, 1978

FOR A JUST AND STABLE PEACE

*Interview with Meir Vilner, General Secretary, CP
of Israel*

Q. During Sadat's visit to Jerusalem in November 1977, the Communist Party of Israel expressed reservations concerning the initiative of the Egyptian President. After the passing of a year, is there any change in your attitude?

A. To answer this question we should recall the political situation two years ago, since the real significance of Sadat's initiative can be correctly evaluated only in that context. . . .

In the autumn of 1977, an important U.S.-Soviet statement on the Middle East reopened the prospect of a final settlement of the conflict. It envisaged convening the Geneva Conference on the Middle East question under the co-chairmanship of the United States and the Soviet Union before the end of the year.

The reason for the initiative of President Sadat and Begin stemmed from the internal difficulties of both countries and also imperialism's new attempt to bar Soviet participation in settling the Middle East conflict with the aim of achieving a settlement proposed by the Americans. The direct consequence of this was the refusal to call the Geneva Conference. . . .

What remains of the Egyptian President's visit a year later? The conflict goes on, the occupation of the Golan Heights, the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and even Sinai is maintained, the Palestinian people are still denied the right to a national state. Israel is engaged in military incursions into Lebanon, etc. All this prompts the thought that the position adopted by us during Sadat's visit to our country was well-founded and responded to the interests of the Israeli people, who need peace.

Q. The Camp David accords, signed by Carter, Begin and Sadat, are the consequence of the latter's visit to Israel. How do you evaluate these agreements?

A. The Camp David accords did not in the least help to advance the prospect of a just and stable peace. On the contrary, as the first step on the road to a separate Egyptian-Israeli peace, they deny justice to the Palestinian people.

The plan of "autonomy" for the West Bank and the Gaza Strip is nothing but the perpetuation of Israel's economic, military and political domination, only in a slightly attenuated form. This plan cannot serve as a solution to the Palestinian national problem. It has been rejected by the Palestine Liberation Organization and the population of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

Begin's statements after the Camp David meeting show that the Israeli leaders have not renounced their policy of creating settlements on Palestinian lands, though concessions were made to world opinion in words. The substance of the Camp David accords is directed against the movement for national and social liberation in the Arab countries, greatly benefiting U.S. imperialism and ensuring the defense of its interests.

The Israeli-Egyptian agreement was concluded under the auspices of the Americans as the first step to creating a political and military bloc, including, apart from Israel and Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Iran, Jordan and other countries. Begin has already offered the naval base in Haifa and the air base in Negev to the United States. All this runs counter to the interests of peace, the interests of the Israeli people and is fraught with enormous danger and new conflicts. ... Carter's, Begin's and Sadat's aim remains fulfillment of the Camp David accords and the setting up of a broad reactionary alliance in the Middle East.

Q. What prospects, in your view, are there for the establishment of a Middle East peace?

A. These conditions have remained unchanged for almost 12 years

already: Israel's withdrawal from all territories occupied in 1967; respect for the right of the Palestinian people to freely set up their own national state; a just solution of the refugee problem remaining after the 1948 conflict; respect for the right to existence and security of the Israeli state.

To settle the conflict it is essential to convene the Geneva Conference with the participation of all interested sides, including the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine. This meets the real interests of the Israeli people, the interests of peace.

Q. The Begin government has existed for well over a year. What are the results of its activity?

A. The results are most disheartening. Particularly in the social and economic spheres. In one year inflation increased by more than 50 per cent. According to my calculation, the price index in comparison with that of December 1972 has increased by 500 per cent.

Certainly, the responsibility for this rests largely with the Maarach "workers' coalition," which ruled the country till the May 1977 elections. The entire propaganda of the Likud bloc was concentrated on fighting the inflation. Yet, far from being reduced, the rate of inflation is rising continually. The poorest Israelis are hit the hardest of all, particularly many of Begin's voters who believed his demagogic statements.

... Israel, because of the policy of its leaders, has to bear the heavy burden of an exorbitant military budget. Hence the Begin government has over the past year come up against an unprecedented popular movement of the people in support of their demands.

Begin sought to utilize the Israeli people's aspiration and hopes for peace which appeared — however infounded — as a result of Sadat's visit to Jerusalem, to enhance his government's prestige. But the repeated aggressive actions over recent months and weeks against Lebanon pose difficulties for this maneuver, showing that it is still a long way to a stable peace. ...

Begin's policy rests as before on concessions to the Gush Emunim expansionist extremists, whose views Begin largely shares, and subordination to the imperialist interests in the Middle East. It cannot serve as a serious alternative to the policy of his predecessors, just as the policy now proposed by the "allies" (MAPAM and the Labor Party, the two social-democratic parties), does not represent a real alternative to Begin's policy.

Q. In these circumstances, what kind of policy does the Communist Party propose? What is the response to its proposals?

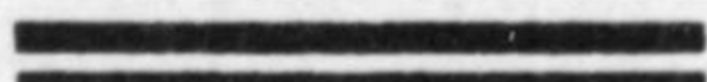
A. Our party took part in the recent elections together with the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality, which, along with the communists, includes representatives of the Eastern Jews, Israeli Arab democrats, progressives. . . . We are fighting to strengthen and expand this front. At the municipal elections in November 1978, the number of municipalities headed by communists increased from 9 to 20. The municipality in Nazareth was re-elected by a great majority. For the first time in 20 years a communist was elected to the municipal council of Haifa.

Our party has been waging a steadfast struggle from the day of its foundation for a genuine Middle East peace, for friendship between the Arab and Israeli peoples, for Jewish-Arab unity within Israel. This fidelity to our opinions, to our positions is to our credit. Parliament members from all parties opposed the initiatives of certain Likud circles, who demanded the banning of the Communist Party of Israel.

The Communist Party of Israel reaffirms that the badly needed Middle East peace can be attained only by recognizing the national rights of the Palestinian people and Israel's withdrawal from Arab territories occupied in 1967, which is in the interests of Israel itself; solution of its external and internal problems can only be based on a re-orientation of its policy, which today is completely subordinated to U.S. imperialism.

This cannot be achieved by acting in concert with imperialism, against the Arab peoples. It can only be achieved by acting in common with the Arab peoples against imperialism. A growing number of Israelis understand this. I hope that all democrats, particularly those participating in the working-class movement, will fight for a just and stable peace.

Abridged from *France Nouvelle*, January 22, 1979



STRUGGLE FOR PEACE, AGAINST THE REVIVAL OF JAPANESE MILITARISM

A *Pravda* correspondent interviewed Koitiro Ueda, Deputy Chairman of the Presidium of the CPJ Central Committee. Answering questions concerning the struggle of the Japanese communists in defense of peace and against the revival of militarism, Koitiro Ueda said:

The revival of Japanese militarism, with the Japan-U.S. "security treaty" in effect, is now entering a new, dangerous stage. This is manifested particularly by the substantial qualitative arms build-up of the Japanese "self-defense forces," preparation of anti-constitutional "wartime laws," and the drafting of plans for joint Japanese-U.S. military operations. This process has been stepped up in the 1970s: military expenditures have increased, for instance, 13 times over in the past 20 years and in the past decade, four times. In the draft state budget for the 1979 fiscal year they amount to 2,094.5 billion yen, which places Japan in the eighth place in the world in military expenditure, comparable to such a nuclear power as Great Britain. Though the Japanese armed forces number only 260,000 effectives, yet, being armed with sophisticated military equipment as well as the most up-to-date "F-15"-type fighter planes, these forces have now grown into the most powerful army among the Asian capitalist countries.

As pointed out in the decisions of the 11th CPJ Congress (1970), one can speak of the revival of Japanese militarism already now. However, two characteristic features distinguish this militarism from that of prewar times. First, it is not an independent militarism; it is dependent on the USA. Second, it is a militarism linked with various constitutional restrictions which forbid the country's possessing armed forces and renounce its right to wage a war. Then there is the pressure put on it by Japan's democratic forces. As a result, universal military service has not yet been introduced and it is forbidden to send Japanese troops abroad or for them to wage wars of aggression. Now the reactionary forces of Japan and the USA are exerting every effort to remove even these obstacles to the country's further militarization. In these circumstances, it is an extremely important, vital task and the international duty of the democratic forces of Japan to

wage a struggle against such reactionary plans in order to avert the all-round revival of Japanese militarism.

Exposing the forces that are interested in militarization, Ueda said that in the country these are: the monopoly capitalists, the ruling Liberal Democratic Party, the Command of the Japanese "self-defense forces," as well as the ultra-right and other reactionary organizations. The rightist social democrats, leaders of the Democratic Socialist Party and rightist trade unions who support the "self-defense forces" and the Japanese-U.S. military alliance, also express solidarity with these circles. As for the forces abroad that are interested in Japan's militarization, they are, above all, the U.S. imperialists, who see Japan as the "front line of U.S. defenses" and urge the strengthening of the "self-defense forces" as an army acting in the framework of the Japan-U.S. "security treaty" and complementing the U.S. armed forces in the Far East.

Touching on the connection between the policy of militarization and Japanese-U.S. military cooperation, Ueda emphasized that this connection is direct and extremely important. For instance, the drafting of "wartime laws," which last autumn aroused heated domestic policy discussions, was directly associated with the sessions of the so-called "sub-committee on Japanese-U.S. military cooperation," which continued over a period of two years, beginning with the summer of 1976. The result of these sessions was the document "Guiding principles of military cooperation between Japan and the USA," which was approved by the Fukuda cabinet on November 28, 1978. This document actually records the revision of the Japan-U.S. "security treaty," signifying, in effect, a new agreement on military cooperation between the United States and Japan, involving military operations as well as reconnaissance and supplies. This cannot but lead to a further expansion of Japanese-U.S. consultations and joint maneuvers, and to the elaboration of joint operations in case of a military tension in Korea and in other regions. At the same time it signifies a further distribution of functions between Japan and the USA and the use of the "self-defense forces" for the realization of U.S. military-strategic plans in the Pacific.

As you know, Ueda noted in this connection, the Japanese government voted at the UN General Assembly on December 16, 1978, against the resolution on the non-deployment of nuclear weapons on the territories of countries where there are none at present, thereby arousing the indignation of the Japanese people, who

demand the prohibition of nuclear weapons, strict adherence by the government of the three principles of nuclear non-armament of the country, according to which Japan should not possess nuclear arms and refrain from their manufacture or deployment on its territory. The above-mentioned actions of the government and the statements in Parliament to the effect that Japan "may possess nuclear weapons even under the present Constitution," is evidence of the growing danger of Japan being turned into a U.S. nuclear base.

Koiti Ueda focused attention on the ever more obvious striving of Japanese proponents of militarism to revive a military-fascist order in the country. He noted with apprehension the actions of the Fukuda cabinet, which last year openly sanctioned the drafting of "wartime laws," and emphasized that these draft laws, including those on "safeguarding state secrets," "general mobilization," and introduction of "martial law," imply suppression of freedom of expression and of anti-war actions in the country, which run counter to the fundamental provisions of the Japanese Constitution and open the door to the establishment of a military-fascist order. The country's militarization is also pursued by such government measures as the prime ministers' demonstrative visits to former centers of Japanese militarism like the Ise and Yasukuni temples, undertaken despite the fact that, according to the Constitution, religion has been separated from state policies, and the submission at the current parliamentary session of draft laws aimed at legalizing the dynastic system of measuring time, compelling the Japanese once again, like during the military-fascist domination, to measure time according to the tenure of an emperor's rule.

Setting forth the CPJ's concrete objectives in the struggle against the revival of militarism, Ueda said:

These objectives are: first, struggle against Japan being turned into a military power, particularly against the drafting of "wartime laws," against building up the "self-defense forces"; and for the reduction of military expenditures. Second, struggle against strengthening the Japanese-U.S. military alliance, particularly against joint Japanese-U.S. military operations, for the liquidation of U.S. military bases on Japanese territory and against the deployment of nuclear weapons in the country. Third, struggle against political reaction as a whole, and particularly against the inculcation of monarchistic ideology, against legalization of the dynastic system of measuring time, against introducing amendments to the Constitution that impair it. The CPJ in-

tends to link the struggle to achieve all these objectives with the struggle for the vital demands of diverse population strata, demands engendered by the present economic crisis. In this, the Communist Party attaches enormous importance to turning Japan into a neutral, non-aligned country on the basis of annulling the Japan-U.S. "security treaty." As distinct from the Socialist Party of Japan, which calls for "non-armed neutrality," the CPJ favors a policy of "neutrality and self-defense" and considers that after becoming independent and neutral, Japan will need at least a minimal army. Such an army will of course have nothing in common with the present "self-defense forces," created in violation of Article 9 of the Constitution and comprising an element of the Pacific military machine of the United States, which is hostile to the democratic forces of the country and aimed at suppressing them on the pretext of "upholding law and order."

The CPJ's propaganda activities in favor of a policy of abrogating the "security treaty," in favor of non-alignment and neutrality pursue the aim of bringing home to the public the prospects of the struggle against the revival of militarism. To this end the CPJ is actively exposing the real substance and policy of U.S. imperialism, the real substance and aim of the Japan-U.S. "security treaty," this aggressive military alliance that is fiercely hostile to the socialist countries and the national-liberation movement in Asia. After abrogating the "security treaty," Japan must seek the liquidation of all military blocs and military alliances, and take the road of peace and neutrality. Japan's neutrality will be met with satisfaction by the peoples of Asia, who have suffered heavy losses at the hand of Japanese militarism and who fear its revival. This will be an historic event contributing to the cause of world peace and the independence of the peoples.

In the course of its struggle, Ueda went on to say, the CPJ seeks to build a united front of progressive forces on the basis of three common goals: 1. liquidation of the Japanese-U.S. military alliance to be followed by Japan's neutrality; 2. renunciation of a policy based on the priority interests of big capital, and the conduct of a policy of safeguarding and ensuring the life of the people; 3. counteracting everywhere the revival and strengthening of militarism and following a course toward the democratization of Parliament and of ensuring democracy. Broad political and public circles may be drawn into this joint struggle. But its reliable political support will be the united front forces which are in agreement with the above-mentioned three goals.

In this connection Ueda expressed the opinion that among the parliamentary opposition parties, the Socialist Party of Japan, which like the CPJ opposes the elaboration of "wartime laws," is a real force capable of cooperating with the CPJ and of creating the above-mentioned united front. At the same time, according to this opinion, the Socialist Party of Japan, despite the Communist Party's calls, has not yet adopted a position that meets the strategy of unity of the broad forces — including both the Socialist and the Communist parties — which has become an obstacle to their developing joint struggles. At the same time, Ueda continued, another serious obstacle that is linked with anti-communist splitting activities and hampers the cause of uniting the broad anti-imperialist forces — including the Communist and Socialist parties, the trade unions, democratic organizations and the intelligentsia — are the tendencies to underestimate the aggressive nature of U.S. imperialism, to limit the struggle against militarism to actions against Japanese monopoly capital and, consequently, to ignore the problem of struggle against the Japan-U.S. "security treaty," though it is clear that U.S. imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital are the key forces prodding the revival of a Japanese militarism dependent on the USA.

Noting the growing activity of the proponents of Japan's militarization — the ultra-right groups in the ranks of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party, ultra-right organizations, as well as the anti-communist leaders of the Democratic Socialist Party — Koiti Ueda emphasized that these forces are seeking to cause disarray in the ranks of the opponents of militarism by fiercely attacking the Communist Party of Japan which stands in the van of the anti-militarist struggle of the masses. In this they resort to every dirty means, including slanderous attacks against CC CPJ Presidium Chairman Kenji Miyamoto.

The outcome of the Japanese people's struggle against the revival of militarism, Ueda said in conclusion, hinges above all on how effectively such anti-communist actions are rebuffed and on the ability to organize the common struggle of broad public circles and to create on that basis a united front of progressive forces. Well aware of the obstacles and difficulties facing us in this struggle, we nevertheless look to the future with optimism, for we are convinced that irrespective of the ferocity of the anti-communist sallies the Japanese people and the progressive forces in the country are capable of rebuffing them, coping with the political complexities and forging a

way ahead. An essential prerequisite, of course, is to strengthen and increase the influence of the Communist Party itself. Therein lies the most reliable guarantee of the success of the struggle of the country's progressive forces against the revival of Japanese militarism.

Pravda, February 10, 1979

A NATIONAL POLICY IN THE COUNTRY'S INTERESTS: THE GCP'S STAND

The Road and Aims of the GCP—Questions and Answers on the Program of the German Communist Party. Under this title the Marxistische Blätter publishers in Frankfurt/Main put out a new pocket-size booklet. It is written in the form of a talk between GCP Board member Robert Steigerwald, GCP Chairman Herbert Mies and GCP Presidium member Willi Gerns. Following are extracts from the section, "National Policy and Proletarian Internationalism."

Q. The continuity of GCP policy presupposes consistently combining our national policy with firm internationalist positions in the interests of the FRG working people. Small wonder that this policy is not to the liking of our opponents and that it prompted vehement protests in their statements on our program.

This question is not, of course, a new one; it appeared long before the founding of the GCP. From the outset of the revolutionary working-class movement the proponents of capitalism have sought to present it as an "anti-national" movement, as an "agent of a foreign power." Bismarck and his flunkies sought to present Marx and Engels, Bebel and Liebknecht as agents of France, and after the February 1917 revolution the bourgeois provisional government sought to present Lenin and the Russian Bolsheviks as agents of the German Kaiser. During the Weimar Republic and fascism the lie was put about that the communists are the agents and the fifth column of the Soviet Union. Today the GCP's enemies are slandering it, alleging that it is a party "dependent on Moscow and the Pankow agents." Big

capital, its politicians and ideologues have always sought to isolate the communists from the people or to separate them from the worldwide revolutionary movement. Both serve to maintain and consolidate big capital's power, which really is anti-national and is directed against the majority of the people — the working people. However, under the impact of the massive bourgeois propaganda even the democratic-minded people of Europe do not have a clear idea of the GCP's national policy.

VIGOROUS ACTION FOR PEACE

The bourgeois mass media accuse the GCP, for instance, of its program not containing any provisions on the national question. The newspaper *Rheinische Merkur*, a mouthpiece of the Rhine big bourgeoisie, is shedding crocodile tears over this. It writes that in its 1969 program statement the GCP declared its intention to uphold "the genuine interests of the German nation," but that the program itself contains "no direct statements on the solution of national questions in general." To one or another extent, this line runs through the entire bourgeois press.

Q. The concept of a nation has often been distorted not only in German history, but is being distorted now, too. Could you describe briefly what today constitutes a genuinely national policy in the interests of our country?

A. Historical experience, particularly that of our people, shows that a national policy at present presupposes above all a vigorous struggle to maintain peace. Wars and war preparations have never brought anything but sacrifices and deprivations to the working people, to the bulk of the nation. A policy of peace requires unconditional recognition of the borders established as a result of World War II. The revanchist claims to represent alone all Germans must be renounced, as well as all other doctrines of "rolling back" socialism, directed against the GDR and other socialist states. Treaties concluded with the socialist countries, as well as the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference in its entirety, must be honored.

A peace policy requires that the Federal Republic make its contribution to restricting the arms drive and to disarmament.

DEFEAT THE ANTI-NATIONAL MONOPOLY POWER

A national policy at present signifies defense of the working people's social and democratic rights. It not only meets the basic interests of the majority of the people, but serves to raise the prestige

of the Federal Republic in the world. The banning of communists and other democrats from government jobs, as well as the activity of the neo-nazi forces have greatly undermined the FRG's international prestige. A national policy today requires a struggle against the FRG's one-sided orientation on U.S. imperialism and NATO. The neutron bomb and the intention to deploy this latest product of imperialist contempt toward our people clearly point to the dangerous and anti-national character of such an orientation. At the center of a national policy lies the struggle against the multinationals, which are growing like a cancerous tumor in the economic and political life of our country, undermining our national sovereignty.

A national policy signifies the need to insist on the FRG's playing a progressive role in the world, above all on its opposition to every hue of neo-colonialism, and on its adopting a positive attitude toward the young national states. All this accords with the prestige and interests of the Federal Republic of Germany. At the heart of a national policy is the struggle to defeat the anti-national power of the monopolies, which involved our people in two destructive imperialist wars and which today too are an obstacle to a genuinely national policy. The GCP Program shows that the party is resolutely fighting precisely for such a national policy. Therefore the answer to the question, what constitutes a national policy in the Federal Republic today, is: a national policy at the present time signifies waging a struggle for a turn to democratic and social progress.

Q. There are two German states at present. That is a reality. I recall an article printed in *Die Welt* late in 1978. While recognizing this fact, it at the same time complained that even German imperialism's closest allies recognize this and want to hear nothing about "unification."

A. Yes, at the present time there exist two German states with different social and economic systems. Their unification is out of the question. Relations between them can be built only on the principles of peaceful coexistence.

SOME FACTS ON THE SPLIT OF GERMANY

It is fitting to remind those big bourgeois newspapers which shed crocodile tears over our program's allegedly not containing any provisions on the "unity of Germany," who had split Germany and destroyed the nation's former unity. Here are some facts.

In December 1946, to the loud rejoicing of the bourgeois press and against the protests of the Communist Party of Germany, the British

and American zones were united, creating a bizonal arrangement. At the beginning of June 1947 the prime ministers of the Lands of the western zones refused to discuss the unity of Germany with the prime minister of the Soviet occupation zone. They began instead to discuss the next step in splitting Germany.

On June 20, 1948, a separate currency reform was conducted in the western zones. On September 1, 1948 a parliamentary council was formed under the chairmanship of Adenauer, who was charged with drafting a separate constitution for the western zones and to present it to the Western occupation powers. Then on September 7, 1949 the Federal Republic of Germany was formed, concluding the country's dismemberment.

ADENAUER GOVERNMENT'S REJECTION OF GDR AND USSR PROPOSALS

Even after the formation of the German Democratic Republic in October 1949, the GDR government and the Soviet Union did not lose the hope of maintaining Germany's unity. In January 1951 Chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers Otto Grotewohl submitted a proposal to the FRG government on setting up an All-German Constituent Council to deal with questions of maintaining Germany's unity. The Adenauer government rejected the proposal. On March 10, 1952 the Soviet Union submitted a proposal on maintaining the unity of Germany, on concluding a peace treaty with all of Germany and on its non-affiliation to any military bloc. The Adenauer government rejected this proposal as well.

During the elections to the Second German Bundestag Adenauer stated in Bonn in October 1953 that one should no longer speak of "the unity of Germany, but of the liberation of the eastern zone." Thus Adenauer openly admitted the big bourgeoisie's aims in splitting Germany: leaning on the restored power of big capital in the western zones, it sought once again to extend its imperialist power to all of Germany, at least within the 1937 boundaries.

To make the split of Germany complete and irreversible, Adenauer signed the Paris agreements on October 23, 1954, according to which the Federal Republic renounced the right to adopt independent decisions on the question of Germany's unity and to conclude a peace treaty. Its entry into the aggressive NATO bloc finalized the split.

The FRG communists' policy on the question of Germany's unity was clearly expressed in their attitude to the adoption of the FRG Constitution. Max Reimann, then Chairman of the CPG, said: "I will

never accept the split of Germany. . . . The legislators in conducting their anti-popular policy are themselves violating their own laws. We communists, however, will defend against its own architects the few democratic rights inscribed in the Fundamental Law."

NATIONALISTIC PHRASEOLOGY CONCEALS IMPORTANT PLANS

While in the western zones big capital was saved and restored with the aid of the capitalist occupation powers, a national objective was achieved in the Soviet zone: the property of the East-Elbe Junkers and big landowners, war criminals and persons who capitalized on the war was expropriated and an anti-fascist democratic system was established.

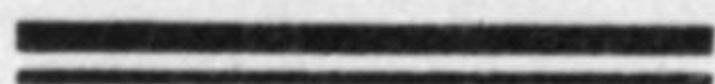
Though the imperialist forces restored their economic and political power in the western zones, they could not halt the development toward social and democratic progress in East Germany. That was beyond their power.

Q. The reactionary, expansionist forces in the Federal Republic do not wish to accept existing realities. They conceal their revanchist policy by such diplomatic formulations as "special inner-German relations" or "let the German question remain open."

A. These formulations are designed to depict the GDR state borders as inner-German borders and to justify continual provocations at this border. The same aims are served by the concept of "tutelage over all Germans by the Federal Republic," or of a "common German citizenship."

This policy is aimed at undermining normal relations between the two German states, increasing tensions, sabotaging the Helsinki Final Act, and at justifying the stepped-up arms drive. This is a dangerous revanchism. Whoever does not wish to accept the existing realities in the heart of Europe should bear in mind that such a position poses a threat to peace. Such a policy is a direct threat to the existence of our people. Thus, the patriotic phraseology conceals a profoundly anti-national policy.

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IN BRIEF

AUSTRIA

A national conference of the Communist Party of Austria, devoted to the parliamentary elections scheduled for May 6, was held in Vienna.

The report, "For the expansion of democracy, the right to work, for social progress, and peace" was made by CPA Chairman Franz Muhri. The Communist Party, he emphasized, is taking an active part in the election campaign, seeing it as an important part of political work among the masses. The CPA is the only party in the country that points a way out of the crisis situation and fights for the maintenance of existing jobs and the creation of new ones. It always urges development of all-round ties with the socialist countries, thanks to which more than 150,000 Austrians are ensured jobs.

The conference endorsed the lists of CPA candidates in all the country's nine electoral districts.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Gustav Husak, CC CPCz General Secretary and President of the CSSR met in Prague with a delegation of the Communist Party of Austria led by Party Chairman Franz Muhri.

The representatives of the two fraternal parties exchanged views on promoting cooperation, discussed the development of the communist and working-class movement and the international situation.

FRANCE

The Central Committee of the French Communist Party submitted for discussion at party organizations the draft resolution of the 23rd FCP Congress scheduled for May 9-13, and draft amendments to the Party Rules.

These documents emphasize the Communist Party's vanguard role in the struggle for the vital interests of the broad masses of working people and for the democratic transformation of French society. The French communists express solidarity with the revolutionary and progressive forces fighting against imperialism and neo-colonialism, for independence and democracy, peace and socialism.

With the aim of organizing a vigorous rebuff to imperialist intrigues, the FCP states, it is essential to strengthen solidarity with the socialist states, with the oppressed peoples and the working class of the capitalist countries.

