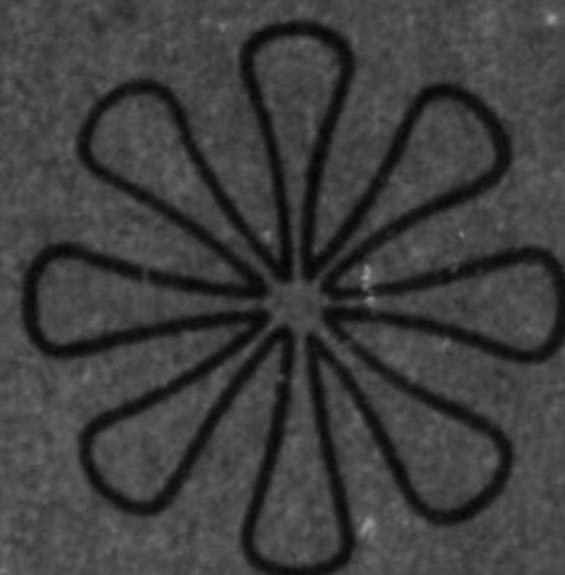


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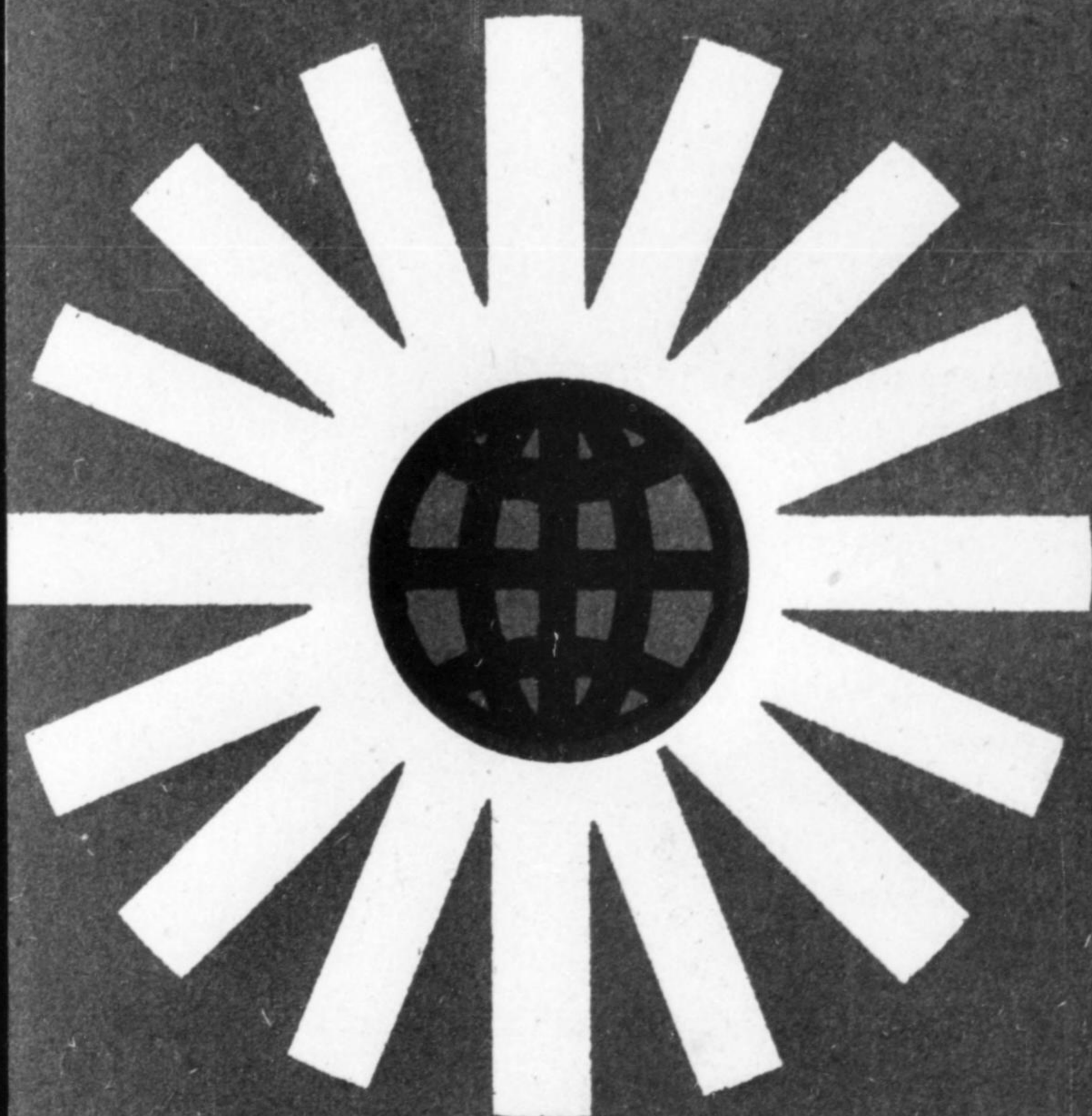


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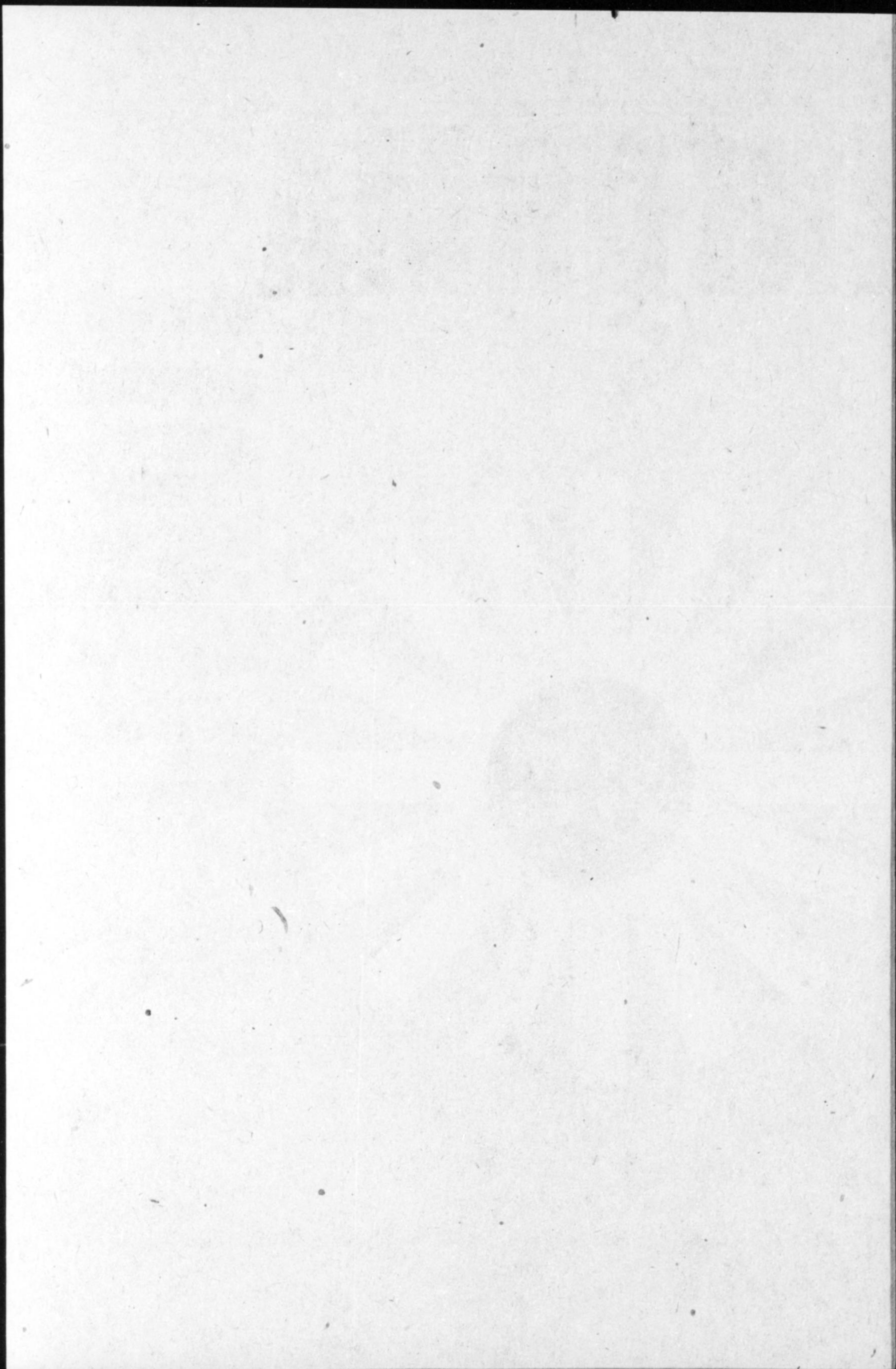
**ON PEKING'S
AGGRESSION
IN VIETNAM**

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ALGERIA

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MEXICO

8

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PROMOTE COOPERATION WITH THE FORCES OF PEACE, FREEDOM AND PROGRESS, FRUSTRATE THE DESIGNS OF CIRCLES THAT SUPPORT AGGRESSION

*Speech by Leonid Brezhnev to the voters
of the Baumansky Constituency of Moscow*

The years which have elapsed since the time of the last elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR have been a period of big and complicated events on the world scene. They have been years of the further successful development of the socialist countries, of new victories of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America in their struggle for national and social emancipation, of considerable activation of class battles of the working people in the capitalist countries, and of the strengthening of the influence of the communist and workers' parties there.

At the same time, it has been a period when the most reactionary forces of imperialism, arms manufacturers and militarists, cold-war zealots and their hired or self-appointed yes-men united in a wide campaign against détente and disarmament, against the liberation struggle. Referring to their invented "Soviet threat," they demand the allocation of yet more billions for military purposes, for the making of ever more destructive and barbarous types of weapons. They are trying to crush the national-liberation movement with force and to meddle in the domestic affairs of other countries. The position of the Chinese leaders increasingly converges with this policy of imperialism.

By their unprecedentedly brazen bandit-like attack on a small neighboring country — socialist Vietnam — the present Peking rulers have completely unmasked for the whole world the perfidious and aggressive essence of the great-power hegemonistic policy which they are conducting. Everyone sees today that it is precisely this policy which at the present time represents the most serious threat to peace

throughout the world. The full danger of any form of complicity with this policy is clearer now than ever before.

The Soviet people, together with all peace-loving peoples of the world, demand an immediate end to Chinese aggression against Vietnam and the withdrawal from the territory of Vietnam of all interventionist troops, down to the last soldier. Our friendship with fraternal Vietnam has been tested in practice over a period of many years. And today, too, at this crucial hour for the Vietnamese people, we are wholly and fully in solidarity with them. No one need doubt that the Soviet Union stands by the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation which binds our countries. The Socialist Republic of Vietnam is waging a just and noble struggle. Upright and peace-loving people everywhere on Earth are on its side. That is why the cause of Vietnam is invincible, and the aggressor's schemes are doomed to failure.

In this situation, comrades, the Central Committee of our party and the Soviet government are exerting every effort to promote cooperation with the forces of peace, freedom and progress, frustrate the designs of circles that support aggression, uphold and deepen international détente, and to reliably ensure that the Soviet people, our allies and friends can continue to live and work in conditions of peace.

Assessing the results of the past years, we can say with satisfaction: major successes have been scored in practically every direction of foreign policy activity laid down by the historic documents of the 24th and 25th congresses of the party.

One of the main features of our era is the confident and dynamic development of the socialist world and the steady growth of its beneficial influence on the international situation. The reunification of Vietnam, the socialist revolution in Laos, and the victory of the forces of socialism and democracy in Kampuchea have made this world still larger, stronger and more varied.

We devote particular attention to relations with the fraternal countries. They are becoming increasingly closer and diversified.

Studying and assimilating one another's experience, the socialist community countries have made major new steps in these years in state construction and in the development of socialist democracy.

The role of CMEA in the field of economic relations has grown noticeably. It has become an important instrument in solving the socialist countries' national economic tasks. CMEA is celebrating its 30th anniversary in a businesslike way: it is getting ready for the signing of a number of new collaborative economic projects, and the

elaboration of two more long-term purpose-oriented programs is drawing to a close. Doing good deeds is the best way to celebrate a jubilee anniversary. But another thing is clear, namely, that far from all possible forms of cooperation have been tried out, and a creative and vigorous search is necessary.

Ending the arms race and averting the danger of a nuclear world war has become the most imperative, the most pressing task for mankind in our time. The Soviet Union, like the other socialist countries, spares no effort in working for these aims.

The collective initiatives of our countries, aimed at strengthening peace, have acquired tremendous significance in modern-day international affairs. This refers, in particular, to the Declaration adopted at the recent Conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Organization in Moscow, which contains a number of major new ideas directed toward improvement of the international climate and toward disarmament.

One of the biggest tasks in this respect is certainly the drawing up of a new Soviet-American strategic offensive arms limitation treaty. It now looks like the more than six years' work is nearing its end. Of course, from our point of view, the treaty could be better in some respects. Not everything in it fully meets our desires. But it is a sensible compromise, which takes the interests of both sides into account. By and large, it is an important and good thing.

First, the new treaty, if it is signed, ratified and enforced, will for a number of years — up till 1985 in some major aspects — be a definite obstruction in the way of the further buildup of the most destructive and expensive types of weapons. The principle of equality and equal security of the sides will also find its expression in the treaty. It can be said definitely that its implementation will not diminish the security of the Soviet Union — any more than, incidentally, the security of the United States. On the whole, I would say that it will be of advantage to both countries.

Second, the enforcement of the treaty will signify that the process of curbing the arms race, started on the initiative of the USSR, is continuing. The first agreement on the limitation of strategic arms, or SALT-1 for short, will be followed by SALT-2. When the latter goes into effect, work will begin on SALT-3. This should go still further, holding back the creation of new types of weapons, and encompassing not only the limitation of the growth of arms, but also their reduction by both sides. The present treaty, most likely, will also help to enliven other talks going on now, for instance, on the total prohibi-

tion of nuclear weapons tests, on restrictions on sales of conventional arms, and also, we hope, the talks on the reduction of arms and armed forces in Central Europe.

A third and final point is that the conclusion of the SALT-2 treaty will undoubtedly have a favorable effect on the international climate as a whole. The new treaty, when its remaining details are worked out, will, most likely, be signed during my meeting with President Carter, I hope, in the not so distant future. We are also figuring on discussing a number of questions concerning the further development of Soviet-American relations, the consolidation of détente and the strengthening of universal peace.

There are also other achievements in containing the arms race. Conventions on the prohibition of bacteriological weapons and on the prohibition of military use of environmental modification techniques have come into force. There has been a definite consolidation of the system of nuclear non-proliferation. This has been also facilitated by the creation of the world's first nuclear-free zone embracing most of the Latin American countries. The UN General Assembly has approved our proposals on guarantees of security for non-nuclear states, and on the non-stationing of nuclear weapons on the territories of those countries which do not have them now. Moreover, and this is particularly important, it has called upon the nuclear powers to start talks on the complete termination of the production of nuclear weapons and a reduction of their stockpiles. We regard this as an extremely important matter, and are ready to launch such talks.

The political climate in Europe has changed noticeably in the past few years, and, again, largely under the influence of the policies of the USSR and other socialist countries. The European Conference and its Final Act, signed during the meeting in Helsinki, became a major landmark in this respect. The main routes of progress to détente were correctly mapped out there.

The changes in Europe are visible in many things. The political relations between the countries of Eastern and Western Europe have a new look. Contacts and consultations between governments and reciprocal visits — good-will missions — of leaders have become a common thing. The scale of peaceful cooperation has increased. For the Soviet Union, it now embraces Portugal and Spain as well. Our relations with Turkey are developing quite well.

Economic relations between the European countries are growing more stable. In recent years, for example, we have signed long-term economic agreements with Finland, France, the FRG and several

other countries. There is no reason why we should not establish similar relations with Italy as well. These relationships are, as it were, a common East-West contribution to the very important and mutually beneficial cause of maintaining and strengthening world peace.

True, we do not underestimate the problems that stand in the way of strengthening peace and the security of nations. The most urgent task today is to spread détente to the military field. This is all the more important, because the NATO bloc is frenziedly building up its armaments, complicating the situation in Europe. What we are trying to do is to reach agreement on practical measures to lower the level of military confrontation on the continent. This would strengthen the foundations of European peace. Unfortunately, no progress has yet been made here.

Take the Vienna talks. They have become bogged down in an argument about how to count the troops of the sides to the last cook and aidman. Frankly speaking, it is simply a tactical maneuver employed by the Western countries to dodge agreement now that the positions of the sides on the substance of the problem have come much closer. In the final analysis, it is now a fact that there is an overall military balance in Europe, even though the structures of the armed forces of each side are somewhat different. This should serve as our starting point.

The proposals made by the socialist countries are well known. I would like to recall here that within the framework of these proposals the Soviet Union is prepared, as a first step, to withdraw from Central Europe within a year 30,000 troops and a considerable amount of military hardware, including 1,000 tanks, provided the United States reduces, even by a smaller number, its armed forces in the area. We are still waiting for a constructive answer to these proposals.

More and more reports have been appearing of late saying that the Pentagon is putting pressure on the FRG to allow the United States to deploy in that country — in addition to its other theatre weapons — medium-range nuclear missiles trained on the Soviet Union. This apparently has caused protests in the FRG. Such anxiety is understandable, since the implementation of these plans, just as the plans of the American military on the neutron weapon, would only aggravate tension in Europe, stimulate a new spiral of the arms race and greatly increase the danger for the FRG itself.

As regards the Soviet Union, it has repeatedly said that it wants nuclear-missile weapons to be limited by agreements based on full

reciprocity, rather than built up. The same applies to medium-range weapons in Europe, taking into account the presence of American military bases there, of course. The joint position of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries on that problem was recently restated in the Moscow Declaration of the Warsaw Treaty member countries.

One more point. So as to strengthen confidence, the participating nations of the European Conference have started notifying each other of military maneuvers held in a certain area and inviting foreign observers to attend them. We can perhaps now extend this practice so as to notify each other in advance not only of maneuvers, but also of all major troop movements within this area, as well as of major naval exercises if they are conducted in areas lying close to the territorial waters of participants of the European Conference.

We are prepared, of course, to consider any other confidence-building proposals.

In 1976 the Warsaw Treaty member countries came forward with a proposal for the participating nations of the European Conference to pledge themselves to refrain from ever being the first to use nuclear weapons against one another. The Western reply to this has been to claim that this would make conventional wars more likely. Well, then, let us agree never to be the first to use either nuclear or conventional armaments. In other words, let us have a kind of non-aggression pact between the participating nations of the European Conference. I think that would be perfectly in tune with the spirit of Helsinki.

In recent years we have developed a still closer type of relationship with many of the nations which have liberated themselves from colonial or semi-colonial oppression.

To support the struggle of the peoples for national liberation and social progress is a principle of our foreign policy written into the Constitution of the USSR. It is being consistently put into practice. We are proud of the unselfish aid which the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community have given, for instance, to the peoples of Angola and Ethiopia in their struggle against aggression and for their right to determine their own future independently. Progressive changes going on in Afghanistan following the revolution have won the solidarity and sincere sympathy of the Soviet people.

Our friendship and cooperation treaties with Angola, Ethiopia, Mozambique and Afghanistan are an important sign of the times. These are not military alliances or coalitions spearheaded against someone, but simply documents of friendship and cooperation with

states that have set out to build a form of society without oppression and exploitation.

There is no area in world politics where our party and the Soviet government would not come out for justice, progress and peace. It is from this standpoint that we view the struggle for freedom and democracy, be it in far-off Nicaragua or neighboring Iran; this is how we approach the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe and Namibia to rid themselves of racist rule, and the fight to abolish the apartheid system in South Africa. This, too, is what determines our attitude to the problems of a Middle East settlement. Here, just as anywhere else in the world, we have no axe to grind, nor do we lay claim to any natural resources belonging to other nations. We are for a lasting peace and we firmly stand on the side of the legitimate rights of the Arab peoples, their struggle to undo the consequences of Israeli aggression, as well as against imperialist bidding, defeatist deals and traffic in the vital interests of the Arabs.

The popular anti-imperialist national-liberation revolution in Iran deserves special mention. We, like all honest champions of peace, progress and independence of the peoples, hail the victory of this revolution which has put an end to a despotic oppressive regime which had turned that country into a object of exploitation and a support base for foreign imperialism. We wish the new, revolutionary Iran success and prosperity, and we hope that the good-neighborly relations between the peoples of the Soviet Union and Iran will prosper in the new setting, based on a solid foundation of mutual respect, good will and non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

We shall go on strengthening friendship and cooperation with the liberated nations, non-aligned countries and the peoples fighting for their freedom and independence.

We have been conducting our entire foreign policy in close alliance with the fraternal socialist states, and with the support of independent freedom-loving nations in Africa, Asia and Latin America, as well as in cooperation with all peace-seeking states and public forces in the capitalist part of the world, and will continue to do so.

Our goal is lasting peace and security for the Soviet people, and lasting peace and peaceful cooperation between all the nations of the earth. And we shall work tirelessly, unsparing of our effort and energy for the achievement of this goal.

Abridged from *Pravda*, March 3, 1979

AGAINST THE CRIMINAL VENTURE

THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE WILL WIN

*Appeal of the Central Committee, Communist
Party of Vietnam*

Compatriots and combatants,

On the morning of February 17, the reactionary Chinese rulers, having concentrated numerous army units, totalling some 500,000 men and a large number of tanks and planes, launched a massive offensive against our country along the entire border from the Quang Ninh to the Lai Chau provinces. Their troops indiscriminately destroyed our property, killed our compatriots, including women and children, and committed heinous crimes.

Fighting valiantly, the population of the border regions and regional armed forces countered and attacked the columns of the aggressors, eliminating tens of thousands of enemy soldiers, hundreds of tanks and a large quantity of other weaponry. Despite the heavy losses, the enemy is stubbornly escalating the war. Heavy fighting is going on. Our people and armed forces are fully resolved to defend every inch of our homeland. Our compatriots and combatants throughout the country are ready to do battle, fully resolved to defeat the Chinese expansionists.

The Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries, communist and workers' parties, progressives throughout the world are indignantly and vigorously exposing the crimes of the aggressors, while warmly supporting the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

The reactionary Chinese authorities, in a deal with the U.S. imperialists, have long sought to annex our country, to realize their great-Han expansionist policy. In 1974 they high-handedly occupied the Vietnamese archipelago Hoang Sa (Paracel Islands). In recent years, on their orders large troop contingents were stationed near our northern borders, with daily provocations and seizure of territory.

The reactionary Chinese rulers were hastily preparing for a large-scale war against Vietnam. They used the fascist Pol Pot-Ieng Sary

clique — which conducted a policy of genocide — with the aim of launching a war and seizing territories along the southwestern border of our country in an attempt to attack us from two sides. They incited ethnic Chinese in Vietnam to start disturbances inside our country. The defeat of Chinese expansionism in Kampuchea prompted them to launch a war of aggression against Vietnam.

The truth is clear: the reactionary Chinese rulers are carrying out their perfidious plot with the aim of annexing our country and then, step by step, to achieve their great-Han, expansionist and hegemonistic goals in the Indochinese peninsula and in Southeast Asia as a whole.

At the present time, the reactionary Peking rulers are an outright and dangerous enemy of our people. By their aggression against Vietnam they have fully exposed themselves as pseudo-revolutionaries who have entered into a shameful deal with the imperialists and the most reactionary forces of our time. Conducting their policy of expansion and aggression, they have perfidiously violated the sacred right of the Vietnamese nation to independence and freedom, undermined the traditional friendship between the Vietnamese and Chinese peoples, definitively betrayed the cause of revolution, the interests and trust of the Chinese people. They have become a dangerous enemy of all the socialist countries, the movement for national independence, for democracy and peace in Asia and the rest of the world.

Humanity has once again been challenged. It must once again be on the alert. By their revolting maneuvers the aggressors are trying to deceive world opinion in the hope of disguising their sinister plans and barbarous crimes, but the whole world has condemned them and demonstrated their warm sympathy and support for the heroic Vietnamese people in their struggle against the reactionary Chinese aggressors.

Compatriots and combatants,

The enemy is trampling our land. Our people's independence, freedom and the socialist cause are endangered. Peace and stability in Southeast Asia are threatened. Our people must rise to defend themselves. Our resistance against the reactionary Chinese aggressors is mounting.

Compatriots of all nationalities, of diverse religious beliefs and party affiliation, young and old, recalling the traditions of Dien Hong, arise in common to defend your homeland!

Compatriots and combatants of the border regions from Quang

Ninh to Lai Chau, having shown a lofty revolutionary heroism and fought selflessly, march forward on the wings of your victory! Close your ranks! Destroy the enemy, arise to heroic deeds, strike at the enemy on land, the sea and in the air with powerful blows! Take the enemy in pincers, destroy his manpower! Actively defend the population and its property, ensure security everywhere! At this hour, your glorious task is to sweep away all the aggressors from our territory and to steadfastly defend the borders of our homeland.

Compatriots and combatants across the country, develop your revolutionary activity, multiply efforts on the labor front, ensure high productivity and firm discipline to supply the front with everything necessary, participate actively in the military training, enhance vigilance and be ready to defeat the enemy who has launched the war of aggression.

With each historical trial, in labor and in battle, our people grow stronger and more courageous, their wisdom and creative consciousness are enhanced, all their physical and spiritual strength is mobilized to defeat the enemy.

Every village, every factory, every cooperative, every settlement, every administrative region is an indestructible bastion against the aggressor. Every province, every city is a battlefield, the entire country is a battlefield.

The members of the Communist Party and the Communist Youth League, who have the responsibility, and honor, of being in the forefront in production and in battle, in work and in study, must be worthy of the people's trust.

Vietnamese living in other countries, display your patriotism and sense of unity, develop friendship with the peoples of the country you live in, make your contribution to the sacred struggle of your nation.

Peking's great-Han expansionism and great-power hegemonism pose a threat not only to the Vietnamese people, but to the peace, independence, freedom and social progress of the Southeast Asian countries and the whole world.

The Communist Party of Vietnam insistently calls on the communist and workers' parties of the world, the revolutionary movements and international democratic organizations, peoples and governments of all countries to vigorously condemn, in the name of peace and justice, the reactionary Chinese aggressors and to give a timely rebuff to the extremely dangerous and criminal adventurist policy of war followed by the reactionary Peking aggressors, and not to permit them to deceive world opinion and to ignore it in the hope of con-

cealing the crimes of their barbarous aggression against the Vietnamese people.

In the name of peace and traditional Vietnamese-Chinese friendship we insistently call on all genuine Chinese communists and the Chinese people to energetically protest against the aggression in order to give a timely rebuff to the reactionary policy and unjust war launched by the reactionary Peking authorities.

The Communist Party of Vietnam and the Vietnamese people express their sincere gratitude to all friends who have extended timely, powerful and energetic support for the just struggle of the Vietnamese people.

The Vietnamese people are clearly aware that in conducting a vigorous struggle for the independence and freedom of their homeland till complete victory they are at the same time fighting for peace for all the peoples their glorious national duty, their lofty internationalist responsibility consists in defeating the Chinese reactionaries.

Dear compatriots and combatants across the country,

Once again all our people, to a man, are taking up arms to fight foreign invaders. Our heroic forebears have time and again defeated the aggressors of feudal China. Under the leadership of the Communist Party the Vietnamese people won a glorious victory over the French and U.S. imperialist aggressors. Now, thanks to the combined strength of a united nation and the three revolutionary streams of our epoch, we are more powerful than ever.

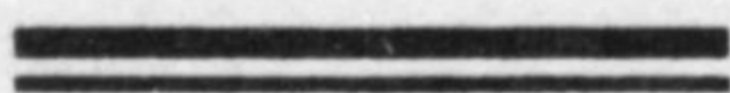
The longer the Chinese reactionary aggressors expand and continue the war, the stronger will become our armed forces from battle to battle and the more united will be the people of our entire country. Complete victory will certainly be ours.

"Nothing is dearer than independence and freedom" — this behest of Ho Chi Minh will always lend us added strength.

Let our party, our entire people, all our armed forces advance fearlessly, resolved to fight until victory is won!

The Chinese reactionary aggressors will be defeated!

The Vietnamese people will win!



STATEMENTS BY COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

COMMUNIST PARTY OF ARGENTINA

Following in the footsteps of the U.S. imperialists, 400,000 Chinese have invaded the territory of the glorious homeland of Ho Chi Minh.

This is outright betrayal. The last cover has been torn off the chauvinistic crusading camarilla now ruling China contrary to the interests of their own people.

The imaginary differences which the Chinese leaders at first used as a pretext in attacking the world revolutionary movement have turned into a shameful alliance with the ultra-reactionaries in all continents: Pinochet, South Africa, Zionism, the Shah of Iran, NATO and others, an alliance culminating in subordination to U.S. imperialism. The notorious ultra-revolutionaries who in the 1960s denounced the USSR for its tireless efforts in defense of peace and for peaceful coexistence, are culminating their farce by demanding that their U.S. imperialist masters conclude an aggressive military alliance directed against the Soviet Union, the socialist camp and all the peoples fighting for their freedom and independence.

The unprecedented criminal aggression against the heroic Vietnamese people serves to open the eyes of the deceived. However, as it has been aptly put, the courageous and legendary people who successfully countered one after another the attacks of the Japanese, French and U.S. imperialists, will be able with the same courage to counter also the intervention of aggressive Chinese militarism and to drive it back to where it came from.

It is noteworthy that the criminal, carefully prepared attack took place shortly after Teng Hsiao-ping's visit to the United States, during which he once again threatened Vietnam, and shortly after President Carter's conference with the National Security Council, which, on the basis of CIA reports, discussed the question of this attack.

It is now absolutely clear that the aggressive and bellicose policy of the Chinese camarilla and its plans of dominating Asia stem from its long-standing philosophical-political conceptions and its thesis on the inevitability of war. Now this line plays into the hands of U.S. imperialism, which has suffered a fiasco in Iran and other regions of the world. Continuation of the aggression against Vietnam is fraught with the threat of a world war.

Therefore we warmly hail the new manifestation of proletarian internationalism on the part of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries, members of the Warsaw Treaty, which have expressed their readiness to immediately extend aid to the fraternal Republic of Vietnam, and to implement in practice bilateral mutual aid and friendship agreements.

That is why we urge the Argentine people, particularly the working class, our youth and all peace-loving political and social forces, patriotic circles of the armed forces and the Argentine government itself to express broad solidarity with the Vietnamese people, who have repeatedly demonstrated their heroism.

Vietnam was not alone in the struggle against U.S. aggression. Today, in the struggle against Chinese aggression, Vietnam once again enjoys the solidarity of all the peoples of the world.

End the Chinese aggression against Vietnam immediately!

Rodolfo Ghioldi
Rubens Iscaro
Pedro Tadioli
Jorge Pereyra
Irene Rodriguez
Fernando Nadra
Oscar Arevalo

COMMUNIST PARTY OF CANADA

Maoist China has undertaken an act of aggression against socialist Vietnam. China has declared it is undertaking a "defensive" war against Vietnam to "teach it a lesson." This is the language of the Big Bully, not that of a socialist state.

Why has China taken the road of military aggression?

It sees a free and united socialist Vietnam as an obstacle to its expansionist and chauvinist designs in Indochina and Southeast Asia. The defeat of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime in Kampuchea by the Kampuchean people took away one of its instruments of pressure on Vietnam. Having lost in Kampuchea, Maoist China is now undertaking direct war against socialist Vietnam, a country which has just recently gone through the travail of horrible aggression by U.S. imperialism, and is today striving painfully to rebuild, reconstruct, rehabilitate that which U.S. imperialism destroyed. Maoist China is now continuing the U.S. imperialist tradition. It does not want a united and socialist Vietnam. They want a satellite which will dance to their tune.

Maoist China's act of aggression shows how far the leaders of that country have moved away from socialist principles and into the camp of imperialism.

This shameful act of aggression was undertaken by the reactionary forces of U.S. imperialism when Teng Hsiao-ping was in Washington. It is part of a deal cooked up at the expense of peace in the world. U.S. imperialism is playing with the Chinese card while Maoist China plays with the American card. Maoist China would like to see the USA and USSR go to war against each other. U.S. imperialism would like to see China and Vietnam, China and the USSR in conflict. This is playing with fire with a vengeance.

Canadians can't ignore this dangerous situation which threatens peace not only in Southeast Asia but in the world. The Canadian people should call upon the United Nations to halt this act of aggression and demand that China withdraw its troops from Vietnamese territory. Vietnam must be given assistance to defend itself.

The Communist Party calls upon the working class and democratic forces in Canada, on all anti-imperialists to tell Maoist China in clear and categorical terms — **HANDS OFF VIETNAM! GET OUT OF VIETNAM!**

Central Executive Committee

COMMUNIST PARTY OF COLOMBIA

The Peking government has ordered the invasion of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, which is the culmination of this government's threats and provocations. Large contingents of Chinese military units are advancing, sowing death and destruction in the border provinces, compelling the heroic Vietnamese people, who had earlier experienced the occupation of several imperialist powers, to once again take up arms in defense of their national independence.

The aggression corresponds to the threats made by Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping during his recent visit to the United States, when he declared his intention of creating a Washington-Peking-Tokyo axis directed against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, while simultaneously urging the imperialists to "punish Vietnam and Cuba" for their consistent anti-imperialist stand. This aggression corresponds also to the invariable policy of the Chinese leadership, which has long since proved an avowed enemy of peace and a champion of war.

Thus the Maoists have dropped the guise of "revolutionaries" behind which they had hidden, cynically demonstrating their propen-

sity for an alliance with imperialism and participation in its expansionist policy. Peking's new colonialist aggression has nothing in common with socialism, which is continually being discredited by the Maoist leaders. There can no longer be any doubt of the reactionary character and militarist plans of the Chinese leadership.

But the Maoists are mistaken if they think that Vietnam is alone. Side by side with it are the socialist countries, led by the Soviet Union. Vietnam has already defeated the colonialist aggression of the Japanese, the French and the North Americans. It will certainly resoundingly defeat the new colonizers in Asia, the Peking rulers.

The Chinese invasion of Vietnamese territory signifies a critical stage in international events. This invasion threatens peace not only in Asia, but throughout the whole world. The threat of a world war, with which Mao Tse-tung's heirs are so irresponsibly playing, is becoming extremely dangerous.

The Communist Party of Colombia condemns the unprecedented crime of the Peking leadership, and urges the Colombian people to display broad fraternal solidarity with glorious Vietnam, just as they did earlier, during the North American occupation, to rebuff the attempts of U.S. imperialism — that rabid enemy of humankind — to implement its plans through the hands of Peking, and to fight for peace and for respect of the people's right to self-determination.

Executive Committee of the CC CPC

FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY

China's attack against Vietnam with the use of heavy military equipment has aroused intense concern among the communists and working people of our country. We are witnessing the deliberate use of armaments as Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping had threatened during his recent visit to the United States. The hard-won independence of the Vietnamese people is endangered. This impermissible aggression is fraught with danger for world peace.

The French Communist Party demands the immediate withdrawal of Chinese troops from the territory of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam which they have invaded; it urges the party organizations, the communists, all French men and women who hold dear the independence of the peoples and peace to express this demand in messages, resolutions and telegrams addressed to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China.

The French government must, in the name of the peoples' right to themselves decide their destinies and in the name of the special ties

linking France with Vietnam, insist in the United Nations and before the Chinese government that it stop the aggression immediately.

The French Communist Party expressed profound solidarity with the Vietnamese people. It urges all those who today, too, want sovereignty and peace for the Vietnamese people to express their solidarity with them.

It is particularly deplorable and unjustifiable that one socialist country has launched an aggression against another socialist country instead of fighting jointly against imperialism — the sole enemy of the peoples following the road of national and social liberation.

It is all the more distressing since the Vietnamese people after more than 30 years of heroic fighting and incredible sacrifices are facing enormous difficulties and, consequently, need peace and solidarity, and above all the solidarity of the other socialist countries. The solidarity of the French communists is ensured them.

Internationalist solidarity is a constant aspect of our policy. It is a matter of principle. When People's China was isolated and attacked by the very same forces which now are inciting it against the USSR, the French Communist Party waged a struggle for France's establishing normal relations with it, for its admission into the United Nations, for its full international recognition. The FCP hailed every progress on this road. This was also the case just recently, when China was recognized by the United States.

The deep-going political discord between the French Communist Party and the Communist Party of China has never prompted the French communists to reject the Chinese communists.

Hence the French Communist Party is now all the more vigorously demanding that China stop the attack against Vietnam and hopes that it will, as befits a socialist country, exert efforts to follow a policy of peace and support for the independence and sovereignty of the peoples.

Political Bureau, FCP

COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDONESIA

Communists of Indonesia and the country's entire population learned the news of China's barbarous attack on the Socialist Republic of Vietnam with wrath and indignation. By launching this invasion the leaders of the PRC have torn off their mask and shown their true face as aggressors in the tradition of the Chinese emperor-enslavers. For a long time the Peking leaders perfidiously concealed their treacherous plans, deftly masking them behind various pseudo-

revolutionary catch-phrases and pretending to be friends of liberation movements. In their own day, the communists and all patriots of Indonesia realized only too late the reactionary essence of Maoism, the perfidy of the Peking Maoists, and this cost our people enormous sacrifices.

The Chinese militarists have unleashed their aggression against the peace-loving Vietnamese people, who endured huge losses in the hard and lengthy struggle against imperialism and were engaged in peaceful labor to rehabilitate their country. This is a serious lesson and warning to all Asian peoples, especially those of Southeast Asia; it is an ominous reminder of the threat Peking presents to our security and sovereignty. Recent decades have demonstrated how cunningly and insidiously the Peking politicians seek occasions for aggression in the interests of their expansionist, hegemonistic goals. The facts show that they often use the local Chinese bourgeoisie as agents of their policy in Indonesia and other Southeast Asian countries.

The Socialist Republic of Vietnam is an outpost of peace and socialism in Southeast Asia, and the main obstacle in the way of Chinese expansion in our region. That is why Vietnam has become an object of open Chinese aggression.

The Maoist leaders of the PRC have long been traitors to the cause of the popular revolutionary liberation struggle and have entered into a counter-revolutionary deal with imperialism, become its accomplice and junior partner. The imperialists have sanctioned China's aggression in the hope of achieving by its hands what they were unable to do themselves — strangle socialist Vietnam. Shame on the Chinese aggressors — traitors to the cause of socialism!

The whole world has risen in a powerful wave of wrathful condemnation of the Chinese aggression, of brotherly solidarity with the heroic Vietnamese people. In the vanguard of this struggle stand the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community, communist parties and democratic organizations.

The Communist Party of Indonesia adds its voice to the demand of the world's nations, which sounds forth again today on all continents, as it did during the days of American aggression:

“Hands off Vietnam!”

ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

The ICP leadership reiterates, in connection with China's attack against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, which has deeply shocked the working people and democrats of our country, the Italian com-

munists' condemnation, and states that an immediate stop to the military operations and withdrawal of Chinese troops back within the borders of their country is an indispensable condition for the settlement of differences and restoration of peace.

The ICP expresses the hope that the Italian government will immediately adopt the appropriate measures at all levels for the creation of these conditions. The ICP undertakes to support by its struggle and initiatives any step aimed at a peaceful settlement in the region.

This conflict is taking place in an extremely serious international situation. We are witnessing an alarming departure from the policy of détente, which is marking time and shows dangerous signs of regress, which negatively affects international equilibrium. The freedom and independence of nations are threatened. Therefore it is essential to champion and vigorously assert the principle of non-interference: under no circumstances should the right of any nation on any continent to decide on its regime and its government, be questioned.

Consistently adhering to this position, the Italian communists have already expressed serious concern over the situation in all of Southeast Asia, particularly over the events in Kampuchea, the tragic experience of this country and the conflict linked with it. In this connection the ICP Leadership declares once again that the rehabilitation of Kampuchea should take place in conditions of complete independence and freedom, without any restriction in any form of its sovereignty, so that the Kampuchean people can independently determine their social system and decide their own destiny.

For the rehabilitation of all the countries of the region — Kampuchea, Laos and Vietnam — it is essential to ensure broad economic and technical aid on the part of all democratic forces, all governments and, in particular, the Italian people and government.

Clearly, it is the imperialist forces, militarist circles and reactionary groups who bear the responsibility for the emergence of a situation dangerous for world peace. The policy of the U.S. government, despite the fact that some actions of the Carter administration aroused the hope of a positive course of events, turned out to be a factor of uncertainty and instability: from attempts at a unilateral settlement of the Middle East conflict to the difficulties obstructing the conclusion of the SALT talks, and to the ambiguity of U.S. attempts to establish a framework of international relations between the big powers. All these elements engender a situation characterized by tension and instability. Moreover, in the United States itself they have led to open political polemics with some making extremist critical remarks while

others come out in favor of stability and the weakening of tension.

All the peace forces are faced with the imperative need to give a new impulse to the policy of disarmament and peaceful coexistence. In this connection the socialist countries have a big role to play, and they should realize the importance of promoting a settlement of complex unresolved problems, and above all of avoiding the use of force. Tension and conflicts between socialist countries are already a cause for alarm. Therefore they should be surmounted exclusively through negotiations and by peaceful means, while stringently adhering to the principle of independence, sovereignty and non-interference.

This is essential above all for the maintenance of peace, which in future too should be the supreme goal of all democratic and socialist forces. It is essential also because any conflict between countries guided by the ideals of socialism not only seriously prejudices the working-class movement and the common struggle for the liberation of the peoples and undermines the fundamental principles of internationalism, but also opens up new opportunities for imperialism's actions, providing it with convenient opportunities and pretexts.

The arms race is being stepped up. Annually, \$400 billion are spent throughout the world on ever more destructive, sophisticated and costly weapons, which leads to the non-productive use of important resources, hampers the economic, social and cultural progress of the peoples and aggravates the backwardness of entire regions of the world. Already now we are witnessing rivalry, tests of strength and conflicts, which cannot but cause serious concern. If this tendency is not stopped in time, mankind will again be threatened by an appalling catastrophe. At this grave hour the governments of the West European countries and all democratic European forces of a socialist, secular and Christian orientation should actively work for the renewal of détente and the assertion of peaceful coexistence. As for the role of Italy, the ICP is convinced that irrespective of the outcome of the present government crisis, the coincidence of viewpoints of the democratic parties regarding Italy's foreign policy, finalized in resolutions adopted by the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate, remains in force and should be further strengthened.

We are dealing with an international situation that is fraught with serious danger for the future. The broadest possible movement must be launched for peaceful coexistence, reduction of armaments and international cooperation in the interests of development. There are powerful forces capable of making this movement really effective.

The ICP Leadership urges the communists, working people, the democrats of Italy to once again demonstrate their solidarity, to extend every possible aid to a population that is badly in need of this, to fight for a new policy of economic cooperation between the industrialized countries and the developing countries. The ICP Leadership calls on all party organizations to mobilize their forces so as to inform the public of the gravity of the present moment and, with the aid of a broad, active, diversified campaign, to express the striving of the Italian people for the victory of a course toward détente, disarmament and peace.

ICP Leadership

COMMUNIST PARTY OF NORWAY

The Norwegian communists were shocked on hearing that the Chinese armed forces had attacked the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. We vigorously condemn this aggression and demand that the Chinese troops immediately leave Vietnamese territory. The Vietnamese people, who had fought with arms in hand for their liberation from the French and U.S. occupation and oppression, must now be given every opportunity for peaceful construction.

China's aggression against Vietnam is a clear act of vengeance because Vietnam supported the Kampuchean people in their liberation struggle against the Chinese-inspired regime of terror. This aggression also clearly shows the imperialist strivings of the Chinese to establish their hegemony over the peoples of the Far East. No claims by the Chinese side that alleged Vietnamese "border violations" led to this conflict can cover up the real truth.

By this crime against a much smaller neighboring country the Peking leaders have once again shown their true colors. They have violated peace in Vietnam and endangered world peace.

The Communist Party of Norway expresses its complete solidarity with the government and people of Vietnam. The Chinese interventionists are condemned by the peoples of the whole world, who demand: "Hands off Vietnam!"

SYRIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Having acquainted itself at its session with the reports on the perfidious aggression of the Chinese authorities against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, a sovereign state which is a member of the UN and belongs to the group of non-aligned states, the Political Bureau of the SCP Central Committee vigorously condemned this foul crime,

culminating the course reflected in China's position on a whole series of questions and characterized by its support of all the forces of reaction, fascism and imperialism throughout the world. On behalf of all the Syrian communists the CC SCP Political Bureau declares its complete solidarity with the heroic Vietnamese people, who are rebuffing aggression and defending their sovereignty and national independence. It is convinced that it is expressing the will of broad masses of workers, peasants and the revolutionary intelligentsia, the will of all patriots and progressives in our country in demanding an end to the aggression and the immediate withdrawal of Chinese troops from Vietnamese territory.

The Arab people of Syria who have vigorously expressed their support for the struggle waged by the Vietnamese people over many decades against the French and Japanese invaders, and then against the aggression of U.S. imperialism, a struggle which culminated in the winning of national independence and the country's reunification, are today resolutely siding with them, being convinced that this great heroic people will emerge victorious.

At a time when all progressive humanity is hailing the great victory of the Iranian people who have carried out a national-democratic revolution, the perfidious Chinese aggression against Vietnam is a most foul reactionary act and an open attempt to impede the revolutionary upsurge of the peoples after the victory of the revolution in Iran.

The perfidious Chinese aggression against independent Vietnam represents not only an expansionist imperialist action born of the alliance between China, the USA and Japan, but also a heinous crime against all national-liberation movements throughout the world and a threat to world peace.

The Syrian Communist Party calls on all progressive patriotic forces in Syria, on all workers, peasants and the intelligentsia to raise their voices in protest against the Chinese aggression and demand an immediate halt to it.

The Syrian people emphatically demand: Hands off heroic Vietnam!

CC SCP Political Bureau

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

A perfidious aggression has been committed by China's armed forces against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

The invading Chinese forces have taken the lives of hundreds of

Vietnamese people. Homes, factories and fields have been laid waste. The cowardly assault upon Vietnam by China is designed by the Chinese ruling clique of traitors to socialism to nullify the progress made toward reconstruction and the consolidation of Vietnam and convert Vietnam into a vassal in its scheme to take command of Southeast Asia.

But the people of Socialist Vietnam are a nation of heroes. They have held fast against every diabolical act of war that could be imposed upon a people in 30 years of freedom struggle against the Japanese, French and United States imperialist marauders and they overcame the ruthless invading foes. Where the United States' armed forces and the other aggressors failed in their imperialist transgression of Vietnam's soil, soil made sacred by the blood of its patriots, China's ruling clique of adventurers, overseers and cat's-paws for imperialism in Southeast Asia, will not succeed.

Zbigniew Brzezinski, the arch Soviet-phobe of the White House, made sure that on his U.S. tour, Teng would have a spotlighted platform for his campaign of slander and incitement against the Soviet Union and war-mongering against Socialist Vietnam. This was part of the strategy of "playing the China card" — of using China — against the Soviet Union.

By not clearly and strongly disavowing Teng's anti-Soviet slanders and war-mongering against Vietnam the United States tacitly approved and encouraged them. Teng, therefore, not only did not feel restrained; he felt encouraged to launch his bloody Vietnam invasion. China is acting the role of a surrogate police force for U.S. imperialism in Southeast Asia, while pursuing its war-mongering aggressive expansionist course. The cause of Vietnam is the cause of world peace, of national liberation, of democratic advancement, and of socialism. Vietnam is an honored symbol of courage and integrity to revolutionary principle enshrined in the hearts and alive in the minds and deeds of tens of millions of activists for peace and progress the world over. Neutrality in this situation is objective complicity in aggression. Let none remain silent or inactive. Let a hundred initiatives be taken to bring forcefully the full weight of world public opinion down upon the Chinese violator of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam:

Hands off Socialist Vietnam!

*Henry Winston, National Chairman
Gus Hall, General Secretary
for the CC of the CP USA*

A RESOLUTE REBUFF TO PEKING'S AGGRESSION

Peking's armed aggression against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam is developing further. Confronted with the heroic and effective rebuff of the Vietnamese armed forces, which have inflicted heavy losses in life and materiel upon the aggressor and frustrated the Chinese strategists' plans for "a Peking-style blitzkrieg," the Chinese leaders are not, however, relinquishing their adventuristic plans. Again and again they are trying to step up their offensive in several directions and to hold on to the occupied Vietnamese territory. Heavy fighting is going on in a number of places. Peking is transferring reinforcements from China's central regions to the Vietnamese border to replace those bled white in battle.

At the same time, the Maoist leaders and propagandists are resorting to maneuvers. They cannot ignore the worldwide wave of indignation and protests against China's incursion, which is growing into a powerful international movement under the slogan "Hands off Vietnam!" They cannot but see that not a single government of those Western powers, which actually are in solidarity with Peking's policy of hostility toward the socialist-community states, finds it possible to publicly express its approval of China's attack against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

Hence the efforts to deceive world opinion as to the character, scale and aims of the Chinese action. A cynical misinformation and slander campaign is under way in an attempt to depict black as white: the planned attack against Vietnam as a "forced" counteraction, and the military invasion of the territory of a neighboring state as a limited one-time operation, which China is about to stop "voluntarily." The wild invention of a "Vietnamese threat" to China is also shamelessly being put about.

It should be noted that while hardly mentioning the battles in Vietnam, Peking's domestic propaganda is seeking to create the impression that China's aim is to rebuff "Vietnamese aggressors," "return" territories allegedly seized from China at some indefinite time, that the Chinese troops entered Vietnam only in "pursuit of the enemy." This is not accidental. The Maoist clique is once again deceiving the Chinese people by inventions and slander in relation to neighboring states, inciting chauvinistic sentiments so as to cover its real, expansionist and hegemonistic plans, which are threatening to

draw the country into unpredictable disaster and ordeals. All this runs counter to the fundamental interests of the Chinese people.

The aggressor is usurping the right to "punish" Vietnam, a sovereign state, to determine the "limits" of his aggressive actions and the time he considers opportune — if in general — to halt them. His stand clearly illustrates the great-China, chauvinistic scorn for other peoples that lies at the basis of the Maoist leaders' world view. This is hegemonism in practice.

The Chinese leaders, in refusing to stop the aggression against Vietnam, are intent on demonstrating that despite humanity's apprehension and the calls to listen to reason they intend to continue the irresponsible adventuristic gambling with world destinies. Thus, and only thus, can their actions be assessed.

Other explanations are now being sought to the aggression against Vietnam, which are taken up by imperialist reaction. The outbreak of popular indignation which wiped out the criminal Pol Pot clique is being depicted by the Peking rulers as inspired from outside, and the formation of People's Kampuchea as the result of "foreign interference" that must be "countered." Obviously, Pol Pot and his flunkies suited them. They were quite satisfied with the criminal regime of the clique of degenerates who exterminated almost a million Kampucheans every year and committed endless provocations against neighboring states.

And why not? Pol Pot and his lieutenants came to power with Peking's help, were maintained on its money and blindly followed the Chinese instructors' directives. It was they, the thousands of Peking emissaries, who planned in detail the mass extermination of the Kampuchean people which was, however, merely the first stage of a disguised military-strategic operation. In the framework of this operation preparations were made for the further development by the Chinese of the devastated and oppressed country, to turn Kampuchea into an important Chinese stronghold, to encircle the "recalcitrant" Vietnam with its direct outlet to Malaysia, Thailand and Indonesia. The tragedy of the Kampuchean people was that they were the first victims of Maoist expansionism.

The Peking rulers would like to obscure the real picture, to have the peoples forget the horrendous crimes committed at their command and incitement in Kampuchea. They are pretending that they are not now obliging their bankrupt stooges. To believe Chinese propaganda, Peking took to arms not to resort to arbitrary actions and violence, but to stop "arbitrary actions by others," to "teach a lesson" for the

disregard of China's interests, which it "will not permit." Is this not the morals and "logic" of bandits?

The Peking leadership has long considered Indochina and all of Southeast Asia in general its sphere of influence. This is evident from its great-power vocabulary ("will not permit," "punish," "teach a lesson," etc.), as well as — and this is the main thing — the actions to which it is having recourse. In the Maoist provisions — which Mao Tse-tung's heirs have certainly not disavowed — many countries of the region are not even designated as spheres of influence, but as "lost Chinese territories." As far back as the mid-1960s Mao urged the Chinese leadership to spare no effort to "secure" Southeast Asia for themselves.

The present Chinese aggression against Vietnam is not the first, by far. Over the centuries Chinese emperors have coveted Vietnamese lands. This line was continued by the Chiang-Kai-shekists. Mao Tse-tung reverted to the attempts to subordinate Vietnam to China. He contemplated establishing control over Vietnam after the victory of the people's revolution, but failed. These attempts were renewed after Vietnam was attacked by the U.S. During that period the Chinese leaders solicited permission to station their troops in North Vietnam, allegedly to aid and support the embattled Vietnamese people. The Vietnamese refused, declaring that they themselves would cope with the interventionists, and would cope all the better if Peking did not obstruct the shipment through its territory of strategic materials from the fraternal socialist countries. Peking drew its conclusions: far from lessening, the obstacles increased.

Peking's pressure assumed a particularly flagrant form after the expulsion of the U.S. interventionists from Indochina and the reunification of Vietnam. The day of the Vietnamese people's triumph, the day when the Socialist Republic of Vietnam was formed, served as a signal for the Chinese rulers to launch military, economic and other hostile actions against a neighboring country, for the organization of continuous provocations both on the northern and southern borders of Vietnam.

Political circles in a number of Western countries tend to forget the fact that Peking opened a front in the south of Vietnam two years ago, when, on China's orders, the Pol Pot clique dispatched tens of thousands of soldiers there armed with Chinese weapons. All SRV's efforts to normalize the situation on the border with Kampuchea were rejected out of hand. China intended to make Vietnam fight simultaneously on two fronts, to take it into pincers.

The victory of the Kampuchean people, which created conditions for the normalization of Kampuchea's relations with its neighbors, frustrated Peking's plans. Both the planned breakthrough to the Gulf of Siam and the encirclement of Vietnam failed. That is what is infuriating Peking. That is the real connection between the events in Kampuchea and Peking's actions against Vietnam.

In general, bourgeois propaganda has no scruples whenever the interests of this or that policy require false arguments, but in the case of Kampuchea it has broken all records. The most hated and inhuman regime in the world — that was how the Pol Pot clique was called a year, half a year, a few months ago in well-nigh every Western capital. Now all of a sudden the same Western leaders are lovingly embracing it, pretending that it still exists instead of having been flung out into the backyards of Peking.

More. Some people in the West are inclined "not to notice" that the Peking leaders are today publicly declaring their intention to continue the provocative attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of Kampuchea, to smuggle its agents and weapons there, using for the purpose the territories of neighboring Southeast Asian states, without account for the sovereignty and interests of these states. In vain are Peking's hopes to re-establish on Kampuchean soil a stronghold for subversive, expansionist activity of the Maoist rulers of China.

Significantly, during its aggression against Vietnam China's territorial claims stand out ever more clearly as an important motive of Peking's expansionism. Many regions of Vietnam are either declared to be territories "indisputably belonging to China," or lands regarding which "negotiations must yet be held." The slogan is advanced of "secure borders" for China, the meaning of which could best be explained by the Middle East peoples, where under this pretext Israel has occupied Arab territories for over a decade. In short, each of Peking's theses is a lie, each of its arguments is false. The aggressor is seeking in every way to justify his actions.

Aggression is a very unpopular pursuit and the Peking leaders' attempts to embellish their criminal plans is not surprising in the least. Other aggressors, including the Hitlerites, have sought to depict every attack and criminal action as necessary defensive measures, and have posed as defenders of justice and upholders of order. Even the methods now being used by China in the temporarily occupied regions do not differ from the familiar procedure of fascist aggressions and colonial wars: extermination of the populace, plunder, destruction of buildings, enterprises and houses. A number of capitalist states

are pretending not to see any of this. Some are echoing Peking's explanation of the present dangerous events not because they are unaware of who is speaking the truth and who is lying. No, the causes apparently go much deeper.

Many observers point out that the U.S. government's reaction to China's aggression resembles — if not approval — then, at least, indirect encouragement. Washington sought merely to tone down the impression created among the public as well as the ruling circles of most countries that there exists a direct link between the aggression and Teng Hsiao-ping's visit to the USA. At the least, the ambiguous position adopted by the U.S. ruling circles in face of the Chinese leadership's outright threat to Vietnam was conducive to Peking's openly taking the path of war.

The decision to begin the invasion was adopted by China's rulers immediately after Teng-Hsiao-ping's return from the USA and Japan and in accordance with his report on the results of the talks in Washington. A substantial part of the troops now engaged in the attack against Vietnam was stationed far from Vietnam's borders, facing Taiwan. After the establishment of diplomatic relations between the USA and China, during which the deal on Taiwan was confirmed, these troops were hurriedly dispatched to the Vietnamese border. Peking does not deny the connection between the date of the aggression, the conclusion of the Sino-Japanese treaty and the "normalization" of U.S.-Chinese relations.

The U.S. government, as everyone knows, noted pro forma that it "does not approve" of Peking's actions. It worded this very carefully: God forbid clouding the prospects of further "normalization" of relations with China. It speaks of the "Chinese troops crossing the Vietnamese border." Not a war, not an aggression, not even an attack, but merely a crossing of the border, allegedly caused by "Vietnam's invasion of Cambodia," as some are trying to say in the USA.

Even the U.S. mass media, which in general support the Carter Administration's foreign policy, note that owing to U.S. Treasury Secretary Blumenthal's visit to the PRC, it is fair to speak of U.S. support for the Chinese aggression.

In the West, no secret is made of the fact that the U.S. insistently recommended that its allies in their official reaction to the events adopt a similar line, including during discussions in the United Nations.

The question arises, what are the governments counting on when,

on the one hand they declare that they see the dangers of the situation, that they are apprehensive over the impact of these events on the destinies of peace, on the international situation as a whole, while on the other, displaying an inclination to "understand" Peking, to equate the aggressor and his victim.

Any objective, unprejudiced person cannot but see that Peking is actually going over to the blood-spilling stage of the expansionist policy proclaimed not today and not yesterday, but stemming from the man-hating, aggressive substance of Peking's great-power ambitions. And something else should be just as clear: if Peking's aggression against Vietnam is not stopped, if the aggressor is not forced immediately to go back to where he came from, the flames of war might very well expand. And whoever hopes to warm himself at this fire risks finding himself the next victim of the aggressor and his adventurist policy.

Just recall how in the 1930s the war of militarist Japan began in China, or the intervention of nazi Germany and fascist Italy in Spain. Then, too, there were not a few governments and politicians who hoped to wait "while the others fought," who preached non-interference, restraint and neutrality. Then, too, there were those who were ready to supply the aggressors with capital, strategic materials and weaponry so as "not to alienate" them from the international community. The morning after was a sad one for these politicians, but it was the peoples who paid most of all. Such lessons must not be forgotten.

In Vietnam, Maoist China is trying out its aggressive hegemonistic policy. It is in the interests of all peoples to make sure that Peking loses its appetite for others' lands, for others' rights.

The attack against the SRV is an act of aggression against a people which had staunchly and heroically borne the protracted ordeal of struggle for their freedom and independence. They will withstand this time, too. Socialist Vietnam has the firm and unconditional support of the fraternal states of the socialist community, which the latter have clearly reaffirmed.

As for the Soviet Union, it will — true to its internationalist duty, and invariably championing world peace — fulfill — as declared in the Statement of the Soviet Government — its commitments under the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between the USSR and the SRV.

These days the peoples of all continents are wrathfully condemning the piratical attack of the Peking expansionists against the SRV, and

are calling for an immediate stop to the intervention against a sovereign state.

The Soviet people, together with all the peoples of the world, emphatically demand an end to Peking's criminal aggression and the immediate withdrawal of Chinese troops from Vietnamese territory.

Hands of socialist Vietnam!

I. Alexandrov

Pravda, February 28, 1979

MUCH IN COMMON WITH IMPERIALISM

Will they stop at the ten-kilometre zone from the border they have reached since the shameful day of February 17, or will they continue advancing toward Hanoi? In any case the Peking government's troops are aggressors and invaders. They are occupying Vietnamese territory after shelling numerous settlements, taking a toll of many Vietnamese lives, both civilian and military.

This is a punitive operation, as stated by Chinese circles and confirmed in Washington, which became known when Teng Hsiao-ping "confidentially" told President Carter about it.

A punitive operation undertaken by a state born in the crucible of the great anti-imperialist Chinese revolution against another state, the offspring of the most heroic struggle against imperialism in our epoch!

Chinese soldiers whose uniform bears the red star, the symbol of socialism, have invaded Vietnamese territory. China's incursion into Vietnam surpasses all our fears and forebodings.

On February 18 our newspaper reported on "China's unjustifiable aggression against Vietnam" on its front page. No aggression is justifiable, of course. But, in writing this, we foresaw the Peking government's attempt at justification by referring to the recent events in Kampuchea and Vietnam's involvement in them. Any interference by any state in the internal affairs of another state is unlawful. But the armed intervention undertaken against Vietnam on February 17 defies the imagination. It can only be compared with the punitive expedition of imperialist states at the height of their power, when they were most brazen and cynical.

Yes, there is much in common with imperialism here. The United

States not only knew about it, but wished it. This is evidenced by Carter's smiling at Teng Hsiao-ping. Now the United States is gleefully rubbing its hands. What better revenge for its defeat in Vietnam than "punishment" of those who at one time with the aid of Chinese soldiers defeated U.S. aggression? We object to the Chinese aggression against Vietnam not only on moral and ethical grounds. Communist morality exists and it is of the highest order. We condemn this aggression totally and unconditionally. Armed aggression by one state against another, whether in Europe or Asia, is evidence of hegemonistic, dictatorial proclivities.

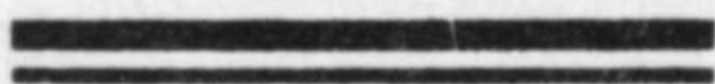
There is much in it of imperialist practice and nothing of socialism.

Now the Peking government is asserting that, acting from positions of strength (we would say, from positions of conquest), it wants to discuss the Kampuchean question during negotiations (again we would say, impose the discussion). The United States is now saying (why, as a matter of fact, did it not say so after its Chinese guest confidentially acquainted it with the Chinese intentions?) that all this is impermissible, that the Chinese troops must return to their borders. The Soviet Union expresses solidarity with Vietnam. Though UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim has demanded the withdrawal of Chinese troops from Vietnam, the Security Council's actions may be paralyzed because of the right of veto.

Foreseeably, the two great socialist countries — China and the Soviet Union — were heading for a conflict. The first indication was the events in Kampuchea, and now the events in Vietnam. Where will the fast-moving events set off by China's punitive operation, by its incursion into Vietnam, lead to? To an armed conflict between the great socialist states, to a new extermination of the Vietnamese people? A retaliation by the United States and of imperialism not only for the defeat in Vietnam, but also for the Chinese revolution and the October 1917 revolution as well!

If this is not so, let the Peking troops return within their borders. Let these troops leave Vietnam. This is required by world peace and the cause of socialism.

Mundo Obrero, February 20, 1979



DOCUMENTS

TO GUARANTEE THE FUTURE MEANS TO CONTINUE DETERMINED EFFORTS FOR A BROAD ANTI-IMPERIALIST ALLIANCE AND A PROGRESSIVE POLICY

*Appeal to the people by the Socialist Vanguard Party
of Algeria*

Working people, citizens,

On February 7 you will go to the polls to declare your attitude to the presidential candidate nominated by the Fourth Congress of the National Liberation Front Party (FLN).

At the congress Chedli Benjedid appealed to the nation's healthy forces to support him in his responsible office to uphold the National Charter orientation mapped out under Houari Boumedienne.

Today imperialism wears many masks. It is particularly active in its covert intrigues. Many pressing social and economic problems still await their solution. What are your interests and the interests of the nation in this situation? What contribution has the FLN congress made to the cause of our people?

Many of you — those who hoped ardently for change — have noted with disappointment that on the level of the executive (Political Bureau) there has been no noteworthy extension of representation of the healthy forces. You justifiably feel that the changes on that level are by no means consonant with the far-reaching changes that have taken place in our country as a result of the agrarian revolution and industrialization, of the introduction of socialist forms of administration, of the democratization process in mass organizations, and the involvement of more women and young people in public life. Many of you who at the funeral of Houari Boumedienne pledged to continue the work of the late President, can only feel depressed at these developments.

Of course, to assess the congress results correctly one should bear in mind other results and the positive changes achieved during the preparations for the congress and while it was in session.

The death of Boumedienne was not, as many patriots feared, followed at once by changes of policy. The nation's healthy forces closed ranks and won greater representation and influence. The unity of these forces, a unity that is still inadequate, continues to gain ground despite the efforts of the splitters. In spite of our irreplaceable loss, the death of the outstanding leader Houari Boumedienne, all the conditions exist for enhancing the beneficial role of these forces in the nation's life. However, to achieve this they must pursue a policy of broad alliance and concentrate on constructive work.

The joint actions of the revolution's social forces that have the support of the masses, the people's army, mass organizations, and progressive personalities have been mirrored in the communiqué of the Revolutionary Council of December 3, 1978. Thanks to the political atmosphere shaped by these joint actions, the Fourth Congress of the FLN achieved the following results:

(1) It summed up, specified, and in some cases enriched the content of the concrete aims of the National Charter in many areas of political, economic and social life. These are gains which reactionary forces have repeatedly attacked.

All this will stimulate the *implementation of the action program* aimed at boosting the efficiency of the public sector, strengthening our international ties, and extending the social, democratic, and cultural rights of working people, of citizens.

(2) Despite some essential shortcomings, the composition of the Central Committee, which is, in principle, the main leading organ in the interim between congresses, mirrors the actual growth of representation in the new political leadership. This creates the conditions enabling the patriotic forces to press for the realization of the National Charter.

In this collective body it will thus be easier to counter the intrigues of those who dream of a regime based on capitalist exploitation, of the infamous "infitah" way,* i.e., the policy of neo-colonialist infiltration.

(3) Lastly, it is of inestimable *significance* that it has been possible to expose and cut short the attempts to remould policy, as called for insistently by imperialist radio stations, while *preserving stability and*

*Open door policy. — Ed.

national cohesion. The possibility for peaceful and constructive progress thus exists, despite all provocations of the type that occurred in Cap Sigli and Maghnia, despite the calls for division on a personal, regional, or ideological basis, and despite the innumerable attempts to delude the people and sow confusion or fear. The struggle for the realization and deepening of the set tasks, inevitable on this road, can take place in an atmosphere consistent with the interests of national construction and unity.

Of course, those who stress that the finest documents and the best policy acquire significance only when they are translated into *practice* are absolutely right. That is precisely the reason that the reactionary and imperialist forces count chiefly on the discouragement and disenchantment of the masses. If we do nothing but enumerate weaknesses and losses, no force on earth will take over the fight for independence, democracy, social progress, and the defense of our democratic gains.

The only way to advance toward alliance in a situation marked by difficulties and threats created by imperialism and reaction is to mobilize our forces. rely on what has been achieved, harmonize the moral and material interests of the people with the defense of national interests, and follow the course set by the Charter and the socialist option. This is the way we can sustain and enlarge the progressive potentialities of the new political leadership in order, as Chedli proclaimed, *to make the socialist option irreversible*.

The duty of the nation's healthy forces, of its most consistent political fighters, wherever they may be — in or outside the FLN — is to remain vigilant and vigorously help to form *the broadest possible anti-imperialist front* around the patriotic policy of the leading organs headed by Chedli. The conditions will thereby be created for consolidating the socialist option and for progressive, revolutionary processes.

This support by consistent patriot-revolutionaries for the new enlarged FLN leadership in carrying out the *progressive tasks* set by the congress should not weaken on the grounds that in this leadership there are elements representing the national bourgeoisie, including those whose activities are not always directed toward the defense of the public and cooperative sectors and the socialist option.

Although the need for setting up a vanguard party was justifiably reaffirmed at the congress, everybody understands that the renewal of the FLN is only just beginning. The formation of a strong vanguard party based on the principles of socialism is a long process. To this

day the FLN continues to assure unity. All patriots who in fact support the orientations of the Charter should be in the FLN or some other anti-imperialist association affiliated with the FLN regardless of its forms. Only those will depart from the alliance in and around the FLN who reject the gains of the people and strive to subordinate the nation's interests to those of the multinationals, of imperialism, of the big landowners and other reactionaries, whose aspirations come into conflict with national construction. This idea will find embodiment in the policy of a broad alliance as the mobilizing force at all levels — the masses, the government, and the party membership — and will serve national construction and social progress.

Profound lessons remain to be drawn from the recent congress, but the cardinal conclusion is obvious today:

“In the same way that yesterday you participated in the discussion and adoption of the Charter, today the results of the recent FLN Congress *must be used to mobilize all forces for the implementation of the Charter.*” This is the significance we attach to our positive vote at the February 7 elections.

Therefore, although the elections are to be held soon in conformity with the Constitution, a campaign of explanation and mobilization must be conducted around the program, on whose basis the candidate to the office of president has been nominated. This will prevent turning the elections into a mere formality.

The efforts now being made should be continued after the elections in specific orientations of work and struggle.

Not a moment should be lost in invigorating work in the country. During the past six months that witnesses a decline of activity and the people's further disenchantment stemming from the price rises last July, the holiday period, Ramadan, and the long illness and death of the President, some major problems have not been resolved despite the certain relaxation of the wait-and-see tendencies. Many issues await a solution: the external debt, the dangerous situation on the frontiers, and the construction and development projects in all areas. All this demands united action, persevering effort, and vigilance. Algeria will be free, independent, and flourishing provided it wins the battle for production and does not place itself at the mercy of imperialism because of the weaknesses of its economy.

On the example of the volunteers who along with their peasant-brothers continued the winter campaign of voluntary work during the congress and the elections, on the example of the working people whose mobilization is increasingly acquiring a new quality, and on the

example of the officers and men of the People's Army, whose mission is to safeguard the nation's territory, let us unite our efforts to promote the economy at enterprises, strengthen and extend the socialist management of enterprises, renew the people's assemblies and communes, and draw up the next plan for the nation's development. Let us consolidate the gains of the agrarian revolution, which is the guarantee of the upswing of agricultural production. Let us strengthen solidarity and cooperation with the anti-imperialist and democratic forces in the world. Let us achieve a realistic solution of the vital problems of purchasing power, housing construction, education, public health, transport, national culture, and the vocational training and leisure of unemployed young people. Let us extend revolutionary democracy in the nation's economic, social and political life.

This will beneficially influence the people's choice, the creation of political instruments, and the distribution of responsible posts.

At a time when the entire world is shaking off the fetters of exploitation the imperialists cannot intimidate our people. The Iranian people overthrew the imperialist, feudal tyranny with their bare hands. In our country the Fourth Congress of the FLN gives the healthy forces of our people — the civilian population, the military, the workers, the administrative personnel, the peasants, the young people, and the women vast opportunities for jointly building an independent, flourishing, and democratic Algeria.

Algiers, February 2, 1979

NEW PROBLEMS AND TASKS OF THE MEXICAN TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

*Resolution of National Conference of the
Mexican Communist Party*

Decisions of the MCP National Conference on work in the trade unions (January 1979) noted that in recent years the trade union movement had acquired new aspects. A most important change taking place in the movement is the fact that participating in the struggle today are not only the most militant spokesmen of the working class, who were in a minority before. Today this struggle

also involves major trade unions which were politically passive but whose leadership is now compelled to reckon with the branches' growing dissatisfaction with the existing state of affairs. Another new aspect of union activity is the influx into the organized working-class movement of new groups that form professional organizations of their own. These groups comprise administrative personnel, university lecturers and specialists of the oil industry, the health services, banking and the atomic industry. The trade union movement is on the rise at all levels, the resolution states. The main factor for this uptrend is increasing general disagreement with the official policy, which is aggravating the political and economic crisis.

Following is the section of the resolution called "The Struggle for Trade Union and Communist Tactics."

The trend toward unity is a traditional and organic feature of the working-class movement. It meets the interests of the struggle at present and will do so in the future. Division among the working people only benefits the bourgeoisie as a class and the organs of its political rule.

Divisive tendencies, when they do not come from the bourgeoisie or its machinery, are expressive of a narrow view on the trade union movement stemming from the insufficient maturity of various contingents of the working class.

The basis for unity is the community of the workers' interests deriving from their class homogeneity, which is a result of increasing socialization of production. The opportunity to act which Mexico's workers have — regardless of their political or organizational disunity, their membership of this or that trade union center or sectoral union or political party, or their independence of any party — arises today from deteriorating living and working conditions and the fact that their needs, born of the development of capitalism, are not met. This desire for unity expresses itself in diverse forms.

The important thing is to bring it home to the trade union movement as a whole that only unity at diverse levels of the movement will enable the working class and all other working people to achieve their present and future aims. Unity is indispensable if the working class is to become a social force capable of influencing national politics and public affairs.

The struggle for labor unity is now taking more complex forms. The tendency toward a class approach to the struggle for unity is spread-

ing gradually to even those trade unionists who earlier took no interest in the problem. The working people's declining standard of living, their politicalization and increasing social awareness, the policy for unity being pursued by democratic parties, the growing community of objective class needs, the rise of a new generation of workers, and so on, all objectively encourage the working class to seek unity at all levels, and make it the decisive force in the democratization of the trade unions and of national politics.

The effort for unity is becoming a universal task. It assumes diverse forms. Today it is not only labor unions but also spokesmen of other social groups represented in the Labor Congress that are putting forward this demand. All actions aimed at carrying into practice statements on the need for unity that are made in trade union quarters must be encouraged.

The struggle for unity of action and for the organizational unity of wage workers will be successful to the extent that the union leadership appreciates and properly formulates the workers' basic demands, gives their struggle the right direction, takes into account diverse points of view, and uses and carries forward coinciding ones, at every level of the movement.

Demands should be so formulated as to accord with the mood of the masses. They should have the support of all or most factory and office workers so that the effort to have these demands met should serve as an example for the future and as a lesson, and so that its fruits should be really enjoyed by the working people and other forces interested in a transformation of society.

It is the communists' opinion that to increase the working people's purchasing power, extend social benefits, overcome the barrier of wage curbs raised by the government and the IMF and win other improvements in the social sphere and the sphere of labor, the unions should advance the following demands:

- Raise wage rates in view of the continuous and accelerating growth of the cost of living.

- Introduce a mobile scale of wages to keep pace with rising prices for necessities.

- Nationalize the big monopolies controlling the food industry.

- The state should aid non-monopoly enterprises in this industry in order to stimulate greater output.

Other demands:

- Change the system of incomes distribution; increase minimum wages.

— Establish guarantees of re-employment for the dismissed; prohibit deductions from wages.

— Set up an unemployment relief fund at the expense of the employers and the state.

— Allow the jobless to form their own organizations.

— Introduce a 40-hour working week everywhere, with pay as for a 56-hour week.

— Improve social security, unify medical service and concentrate its management in one national agency; nationalize the pharmaceutical industry.

— Protect the nation's natural resources; prevent their injudicious utilization in the interests of the big bourgeoisie and imperialism; use these resources rationally for the democratic and independent advancement of the country.

— Make reasonable use of oil surpluses, which should help implement the industrialization plan, increase employment and create better conditions for the working people.

— Pass an urban reform law providing for a rent freeze, the construction of housing in the interest of society and the prohibition of the use of public lots by big speculators.

— Unify the public agencies which are in charge of building homes for the working people; these agencies should increase investments and democratize their procedures.

— Revalidate Section XII of Article 123 of the Constitution, under which the employers should provide employees with inexpensive and hygienic housing.

“Our work in all trade union organizations should be based on the above demands. This will enable us to pursue a policy reflecting our revolutionary conception more and more effectively.”

Another fundamental aspect of communist tactics in respect of the trade union movement is realization of the need to see to it that general demands are supported by the working class as a whole and are formulated as demands of the entire class and not of only one part of it. This means leaning on the trade unions as the broadest and most representative organizations expressing the interests of their membership. However, it also means that the mainstay should not be this or that union but organizational forms common to the whole class: unions' coordinating bodies, agreements between unions, agreements between national unions in favor of unity, and so on. In the first and second cases, trade union alignments may be formed for a specific purpose and will operate until this purpose is achieved or until their

further existence is decided to be unnecessary. There may be consensus on one or several points but this does not at all imply the loss of independence by any one of the organizations. In other cases, the task is to create more permanent instruments on general trade union principles as instruments of joint action to attain more lasting objectives.

Given these conditions, working-class organization will attain a higher political level. And this means that demands leading to agreements on joint action, alliances or unity of the working class will not be perceived as demands of narrow circles, but as common demands of large groups or the class as a whole that must be embodied in standards recognized by the state and hence binding on the whole of society.

Growing class trends and the weakening of the positions of collaborationists and the employers widen the revolutionary trade unions' field of action. Class positions which in the past were upheld by limited sections of the trade union movement are increasingly evident in organizations affiliated to the Labor Congress.

We consider that to speak on behalf of the class, it is necessary to evolve a policy, tactics, a program and strategy for the class as a whole and not merely for its various contingents. We are consistent fighters and we see the working class as the main force which must replace today's society by a society in which labor and freedom will reign supreme and in which there will be no exploitation of man by man.

In accordance with this perspective, the National Conference of the MCP on work in the trade unions reaffirms its instructions for members active in the trade unions to the effect that they must promote a policy and tactics encompassing all federations, confederations, sectoral trade unions and coordinating centers at both local and national level. In our policy for unity, we must not stay away from any sector which we can influence from our positions and through our activity. Our advocacy of unity should not be restricted to a critical study from the sidelines of the activity of organizations that as of now unite the greater part of the organized trade union movement.

The Mexican Communist Party has always championed unity of the trade union movement and the strengthening of a genuine class trend in it. Affiliation or non-affiliation to a federation, union center or national or local coordinating center should not be regarded as an obstacle to the application of this principle.

FROM THE PRESS

The communist parties and progressive forces of the Arab countries regard the Camp David accords and Sadat's capitulatory policy as betrayal, as an attempt of imperialism and its lackeys to undermine Arab unity.

At the same time, the anti-imperialist forces of the Arab world take steps toward unity and cohesion. One of these steps is the incipient rapprochement between Syria and Iraq.

SEEKING CLOSER UNITY

The Supreme Political Committee (SPC) formed under the Joint National Action Charter (JNAC) of Iraq and Syria held its first meeting in Damascus from January 28 to 30, 1979.

The meeting approved the decisions and guidelines of the subcommittees set up by the SPC and issued new instructions on increased effort for unity in various fields. It examined the state of relations between the two fraternal countries, Syria and Iraq, and the likely forms of their constitutional unity.

The meeting also considered the Arabs' struggle against Zionism and stressed the need to further Arab solidarity as a counter to the Sadat regime's conspiratorial policy.

Our people and their progressive parties, as well as progressive forces in the Arab world and on the international scene, have always wanted closer bonds between the two liberated fraternal countries, Iraq and Syria. This is particularly necessary in the complex situation created by the new upsurge in the Arab national-liberation movement against the imperialist, Zionist and reactionary plans embodied in the Camp David accords and the agreement in the making between the Zionists and Egypt.

This is why that serious event aroused keen attention among the Iraqi masses and their progressive forces.

"The Iraqi Communist Party has always backed every step to build up the unity of action of progressive Arab forces and countries," said the CC ICP in a statement released on October 28, 1978. "It has done so according to its principles, being aware of the national interests as

well as the dangers and hazards threatening the Arab national-liberation movement, the Palestinian problem and the right of the Arab people of Palestine to return to their homeland and decide their destiny independently on the soil of their own country. It has also been prompted by the desire to provide the prerequisites of a successful struggle against imperialism, Zionism and their plans." Prompted by the same principles, the ICP now expresses its resolute support for the JNAC and reaffirms its determination to contribute by every means to its success and strength.

With due regard to the principles on which our party believes unity should be based and in line with our position on the JNAC, we express our support for this unity, which we see as a dependable factor in resisting the intrigues of imperialism and its lackeys and in defeating their encroachments and the traitorous Camp David conspiracy.

The Arab nation's fight for unity is developing into a mass movement and gaining in progressive democratic content, as the ICP program notes. But to achieve the ultimate goal of unity, it is necessary to seek unity of the liberated Arab countries in the economic, military, cultural and political spheres and pass through a series of transitional forms, which means establishing relations of alliance and federation between the two or more Arab countries when conditions favor it.

In common with other forces of socialism and progress in Arab countries, we emphasize that any step toward unity must be based on resolute struggle against imperialism, primarily U.S. imperialism, Zionism and reaction, and on an effort to promote the popular character and progressive social content of the struggle for unity. This process must be carried out in the interests of the masses, particularly the working people. It must be backed by progressive sectors and parties, which are a force defending it from enemy conspiracy and subversion. Unity must also be based on a firm renunciation of every slogan or action undermining national unity, above all anti-communist slogans and practices.

These ideas have also found expression in the Charter of the National Patriotic Front of Iraq. "The Front's policy in the Arab world," the Charter says, "is determined by the resolve to fully make an effective contribution to the Arab liberation movement, whose aim is to eliminate every manifestation of imperialism and to fight against Zionism and reaction, for social progress, complete liberation, Arab unity and the mobilization of patriotic popular forces for the national

liberation struggle . . . for an all-out struggle to bring about complete Arab unity on the basis of national democratic liberation, a unity in which the masses will be the instrument of accomplishing the historic process of unification."

The process of forming unity is intensifying and stabilizing itself as increasing sections of the peoples of the two fraternal countries join in it and as their democratic freedoms and their participation in the making and implementation of decisions gain in scope. This, in turn, arouses the enthusiasm of the masses, mobilizes their creative energies and increases their role in the revolutionary fight against Arab forces advocating capitulation and betrayal.

It goes without saying that the primary condition for success is unity of the progressive forces and parties of the two fraternal countries and the Arab world as a whole, closer bonds of friendship and alliance with the revolutionary forces of the world at whose head are the countries of the socialist community, above all the Soviet Union, which have always supported the Arab nation's just struggle and its legitimate aspiration for unity.

May the struggle of the Arab nation against imperialism, Zionism and reaction end in victory!

Abridged from *Tariq al-Shaab*, February 4, 1979.

HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE FIGHT FOR SOCIALISM

Ever since the signing of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the West has unleashed a fierce propaganda war against the socialist countries. After all, the purpose of Helsinki was to encourage better relations between East and West, consolidate détente, strengthen the bonds of peace. For the monopoly arms dealers and cold warriors who naturally want to escalate the arms race and increase international tensions, this was bad news! But they have a problem. How to discredit the socialist world at a time when in the socialist countries people enjoy rising living standards, the right to work, rapid educational and cultural advances, good pensions, guaranteed holidays, etc. (to name but a few of the advantages of living under socialism), while in the capitalist world dole queues lengthen, public services are cut back and leading

politicians announce that "full employment is impossible in a free society?"¹ And this of course is not to mention the 500 million hungry people who live in the wretched conditions of the underdeveloped world where every minute of the day someone dies from starvation.

Attacks on the socialist countries cannot possibly focus in today's world on questions of living standards, economic growth, educational provision, welfare facilities, housing policies, etc.

This "human rights" hullabaloo led by a racist USA and repressive West Germany has nothing at all to do with the worldwide struggle of apartheid. Nevertheless it provides a useful opportunity to think a little more deeply about the question involved for while it is useful to rebut the so-called "human rights" campaigners with factual information about life under socialism, it is also important to understand the philosophical and theoretical issues at stake.

Some liberal theorists present human rights simply as a timeless set of values which man possesses as part of his human nature. This of course begs the crucial question which Marxists must always pose when they study the world, namely, how do things arise in the first place?

Tribal societies certainly settle their affairs through customary practice and democratic discussion, but the basis of the community is far too narrow to allow of a conception of "the rights of man." There are two aspects to this conception. The first is the notion of "rights" as a set of entitlements embodied in codes of law and political constitutions and these only emerge as tribal societies dissolve into larger territorially based communities and the expansion of trade and accumulation of wealth brings into being class-divided societies in which a minority of exploiters protect their privileges with the help of an institution alien to the tribal world — the state.

This fact tells us something absolutely central about all legal and constitutional "rights" — their *class character*. All "rights" express the interest of one particular class in society against those of another class or classes in society. They cannot possibly be "neutral" or "equal for everybody" and in the ancient world of the Greeks, this is made quite explicit. "Rights" extend to "citizens" but not slaves, men but not women, Greeks but not foreigners.

With the breakdown of the Greek city states a broader conception of "rights" begins to develop and the doctrine of Christianity introduces the potentially revolutionary view that all men are equal in the eyes of God. It is however only with the famous Declaration of In-

dependence of the American Revolution in 1776 that a conception of Man is fused with the older notion of rights so that it is proclaimed that *all* men — not just Protestants or Christians, Englishmen or Americans but man as a human being has “inalienable” rights to “life, liberty and happiness.”

What had made such a noble-sounding declaration possible? It was of course the rise of the bourgeoisie who, as the *Communist Manifesto* recalls, played “a most revolutionary part” by nestling everywhere, settling everywhere, establishing connections everywhere, thereby bringing a “cosmopolitan outlook into existence.”² This was certainly progress but it was progress purchased at a frightful price for humanity in general and Africa in particular. As Marx writes in a famous passage in *Capital*: “the discovery of gold and silver in America, the extirpation, the enslavement and entombment in mines of the aboriginal population, the beginning of the conquest and looting of the East Indies, the turning of Africa into a warren for the commercial hunting of black skins, signalized the rosy dawn of the era of capitalist production.”³

Yet it is precisely *this* era of history which proclaims the “rights of man”! The men who proclaimed the “rights of man” in America were also slave owners and an estimated 40 per cent of the American people at the time of the Declaration were excluded from those very rights which had been declared “natural” and “inalienable.”⁴ How are we to explain this monstrous paradox?

Once you understand the *bourgeois* character, the particular *class* character (abstract references to “mankind” notwithstanding) of these “rights,” the absurdity can be explained. The “inalienable rights of man” meant and could only mean, despite their support from the people in general, the rights of the bourgeoisie — at this particular time, the rights of merchants and landowners to own property including slaves, free from the interference of a colonial power.

In the same way, the French revolutionaries in 1791 who closed down the public workshops and outlawed trade unions in the name of “liberty, equality and fraternity” understood the “rights of man” as the right to exploit workers “fairly and freely” without any interference with the “natural” working of market forces.

“Human rights” like democracy are, under capitalism, “truncated, false and hypocritical” in Lenin’s words: “a paradise for the rich and a snare and deception for the poor”⁵ and this is because, of themselves, they do nothing to eliminate the exploitation, unemployment,

inequality, misery and suffering which are inherent in the capitalist system.

On the contrary, the relative absence of these "human rights" under capitalism in the form of explicit *political* discrimination, *legal* inequality or the restricted right to vote is, Marx and Engels observed, often a product of immaturity and underdevelopment, for these kinds of legal and political restrictions impede the free flow of capital and labor from one part of the economy to the other and can make for continuing political and social unrest. This is why, for example, some liberals believe that the nakedly political and legal character of discrimination under apartheid threatens capitalism in South Africa because it does not allow the market itself to do the discriminating!⁶

Then one can blame unemployment, bad housing, class and social division upon what used to be called "the invisible hand" — the forces of the market which nobody can control.

This is the reason why "rights" under capitalism can appear "universal" — the worker has the same rights as the capitalist, both are "independent citizens" under the law and hence when the market "dictates," the worker can be hired and fired without any problems. These rights appear "natural" because they seem to follow the laws of the market place with a minimum of "artificial" interference; "inalienable" since the property which each citizen "rightfully" owns should be his forever; and "individual" because class divisions have no recognition in the eyes of "justice" and the "law."

It is one of Marx's most important discoveries that the very nature of capitalist exploitation fosters the illusion of equality between exploiter and exploited so that society appears to be no more than a market place of "free floating individuals" apparently doing as they please, with each personally responsible for any misfortune which may befall them. A vicious and inhuman system of exploitation in which a tiny minority owns the major means of production and runs society in the interests of private profit thus appears to the gullible and the naive as "a very Eden of the innate rights of man."⁷

In every bourgeois revolution that has occurred, like the English revolution in 1640, the American in 1776 or the French in 1789, radical currents have emerged in the popular movement wanting to take the struggle "much further" than wealthier sections of the bourgeoisie would allow. These radical forces have sought to turn the slogans of "national rights" and the "rights of man" ... the "promise" of

freedom and equality into a basis for demanding real social and economic change. *Of themselves*, formal freedoms offer nothing to the people, but they can and must be used to demand and secure *real* change. In most Western European countries today, for example, the working people have been able to use formal political freedoms — the vote, freedom of speech and assembly, right to strike etc. — to win important and meaningful social reforms, however fragile and insecure these reforms remain in the context of a system of monopoly capitalism.

The struggle for greater democracy under capitalism — the fight to use such “human rights” as exist in order to advance the interests of the working class and its allies — is absolutely essential if communists are to develop an effective strategy of moving *from* capitalism *toward* socialism. . . . This is why Lenin, who so often exposed the empty and hypocritical character of bourgeois freedom, also insisted that “Whoever wants to reach socialism by any other path than that of political democracy, will inevitably arrive at conclusions that are absurd and reactionary . . . ”⁸ for how can an oppressed people make human rights a reality if they have not even secured them in “outward form?”

This is surely the significance of the Freedom Charter⁹ which calls for a democratic South Africa and demands “rights which are honored — at least in theory — in almost every country.” It is not a socialist manifesto because it does not call for the elimination of capitalism and the establishment of working-class power. But does this mean that it is merely a “capitalist manifesto,” hypocritically promising formal rights which will be used to justify a more deceptive form of capitalist exploitation than the one which prevails in South Africa today?

To answer this question, two observations are in order:

(i) The Freedom Charter does more than echo the “rights of man” tradition of the American and French revolutions. It also follows the UN Declaration of Human Rights which goes beyond this classic liberal tradition, much to the irritation incidentally of some bourgeois writers,¹⁰ by referring to the right to work and other important social and economic rights.

Clearly these latter kind of rights involve significantly more than simply freeing the individual from external restraints: they have a *positive* content and are not really compatible in any lasting sense with the capitalist system. Already that is to say, thanks to the pressures of the socialist and progressive countries, international

public opinion now acknowledges as *human* rights demands which, if conscientiously fulfilled, must move society beyond capitalism.

(ii) The Freedom Charter while not socialist is "a revolutionary document" because it seeks to break up the *economic* basis of white supremacy by transferring all mineral wealth, banks and monopoly industry into the hands of the people so that their newly acquired political rights will mean *far more* than the existence of similar rights in the bourgeois democratic countries. These rights will enable the masses to exercise *real* political power because in contrast to the situation under monopoly capitalism, the key levers of economic power will also be in their hands.

In other words, the Freedom Charter demonstrates how human rights of a formal, liberal kind can be utilized *and transformed* into human rights of a popular and democratic kind. While it is not socialist, therefore, the Freedom Charter is nevertheless radical and revolutionary, suffused with the spirit of what Lenin called "proletarian" rather than "liberal democratism"¹¹ and provides that vital transitional basis for the advance to a socialist and communist future.

In the course of the revolution, human rights merely lose their old class content and acquire a new one and it would be naive indeed to imagine that the traditional bourgeois freedoms can be simply transferred *as they stand* to a socialist society, for what gives human rights their real meaning, scope and substance is the nature of the system in which they operate.

Human rights must be revolutionized for now the people themselves, the working class and their allies, are in power!

The classic heritage of the "rights of man" must be given a new social and class content: any confusion between the *new* socialist human rights and the *old* bourgeois human rights will only allow reactionaries freedom of maneuver to strangle the revolution.

Abridged from *African Communist*,
No. 76, First Quarter 1979

1. The statement of Margaret Thatcher, the British Tory politician on British TV.

2. K. Marx, F. Engels. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 6, p. 487.

3. K. Marx. *Capital*, Moscow/London, 1979, p. 751.

4. "... the hand which wrote the Declaration of Independence also wrote the advertisements for fugitive slaves," Herbert Aptheker, *The Nature of Democracy, Freedom and Revolution*, NY, 1967, p. 9.

5. V.I. Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 28, p. 243.

6. When Rowan Cronje, Minister of Education and Health in the Smith government was recently asked whether "new" health and education plans meant replac-

ing racial discrimination by monetary discrimination, he replied: "Monetary discrimination is part and parcel of every single country in the world outside the iron curtain." *Morning Star*, 11/10/78.

7. K. Marx. *Capital*, op. cit., p. 176.

8. V.I. Lenin. *Coll. Works*, vol. 9, p. 29.

9. Action program of South African progressive forces adopted by the African National Congress in 1955. — *Ed.*

10. "... 'economic and social rights' cannot logically be considered universal human rights, and ... the attempt to do so, has vitiated the whole enterprise of protecting human rights through the United Nations." Maurice Cranston, *What are Human Rights?*, London, 1974, p. 54.

11. V.I. Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 9, p. 124.

IMPERIALISM AND SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY

Former Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, still one of the leaders of the Israeli Labor Party, said not long ago that "the events in Iran, the Shah's overthrow are the greatest blow to the United States and the entire free world since the end of the Second World War," and voiced his regrets that the "West had been so passive" in recent years.

The White House, caught unawares by the "belated estimation" of Iranian events, to the last moment backed a "reliable" man, Shahpur Bakhtiar, who it mistakenly believed capable of restraining the outburst of the people's wrath. In his early statements Bakhtiar insisted he was a "social democrat."

At the other end of the world the Brazilian military, after 14 years of dictatorship, are trying to improve their image with a semblance of "democracy." On the front page of one Argentinian newspaper the future President Figueiredo also proclaimed himself "a social democrat."

The domestic bourgeoisie and American imperialism are highly alarmed over the upsurge of the democratic movement in Italy, France and Spain and the strength of the communist parties there. No holds are barred when it comes to anti-communism. By readily agreeing with this the leaders of Socialist parties, despite all their carefully worded speeches, are moving close to the rightist parties that are in power. This is a frequent occurrence.

Imperialism feels its positions are endangered and is responding

with a counter-offensive, adapting to the conditions of a given region, of a given country and proceeding from two basic factors. First, the capitalist crisis, not a transient phenomenon, affects all sides of life, spawning a movement threatening the existing economic and political structure. Second, the desire for freedom, independence, justice and a change in society has grown noticeably the world over, expressing itself in various and often unexpected ways.

Imperialism's interference, global and many-sided, must be adapted to the new conditions. The imperialists feel they must coordinate their actions and devise new formulas of interference. In the not too distant past, their favorite tactic was to establish a brutal dictatorship, for this seemed to be the most effective means of throttling any moves for freedom.

Despite their brutality, however, they were rarely able to crush the popular movements. The giant financial and industrial groups who have invariably used dictatorships to achieve their aims, today need more "presentable" and effective" methods. Imperialism has, step by step, tested and applied other methods as well.

The first goal is coordination. Two world structures were created: private and official.

The first is trilateral and is an "unofficial" amalgamation of international political personalities and businessmen which, according to the most recent official list, includes such names as Zbigniew Brzezinski, Carter's top adviser; Raymond Barre, German and British social-democratic ministers, Michel Crepeau, President of the Movement of Left Radicals (MRG); the Socialist Pierre Uri, and the leader of the French Democratic Confederation of Labor (CFDT) Rene Bonety (claiming to be a private individual). It would be no exaggeration to say that this trilateral amalgamation is a veritable laboratory where international capital churns out analyses and decisions.

The second structure is official. With increasing frequency the big capitalist powers hold top level conferences, tending to limit the number of participants. We are not dramatizing when we say that top level meetings, such as the January conference in Guadeloupe, have nothing in common with a politico-mundane coordination of action, for this really concerns a conference of the directors of what is called the "Western" world.

The second goal is to find new forms of interference, i.e., new preferable partners capable of curbing the struggle for structural changes. Today, this is the function of the social democrats. Several prominent social democrats are discreet members of the trilateral

amalgamation. Two social-democratic leaders attended the meeting in Guadeloupe — the Englishman Callaghan and the German Schmidt.

At the recent Socialist International Congress in Vancouver, Willy Brandt told the delegates: "It would be appropriate to remind you that to a certain extent Washington's ability to enforce its influence remains significant." He also suggested "a more equitable world economy." The Chairman of the Socialist International never attempts to do away with the roots of evil, as is also the case with the ruling social-democratic governments, which represent a graphic illustration of management of the capitalist system.

If it would be wrong not to see the differences within the Socialist International, one should note the similarity between this statement and statements made by French socialist leaders.

It should also be noticed that as the social democrats become imperialism's main refuge, it is the social democrats in the FRG, with their European election campaign under the slogan of "We are and will remain anti-communists," who are to play the leading role in Europe.

It is Washington's most cherished dream that the FRG, which extended financial support to Mario Soares and today is financing the split in the Portuguese trade union movement, should be Europe's banker-gendarme.

The White House is elated when the Chairman of the Social-Democratic Party in the Dominican Republic forgets his election promises and displays such servile concern for U.S. interests.

When the Deputy Chairman of the Socialist International Leopold Senghor of Senegal (like Giscard d'Estaing) campaigns for a "third way" for Africa, he is fulfilling the wishes of the U.S. State Department.

And when Europe's social democrats, including the French Social Democratic Party, with the exception of the All-Greek Socialist Movement (PASOK) speak out for broadening the Common Market and granting supra-national powers to a European Parliament where the strongest will play the leading role, this is also in the interests of the United States which is attempting to create a Europe where its West German vassals would rule.

All this is food for thought.

Jose Fort
L'Humanité, February 15, 1979

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