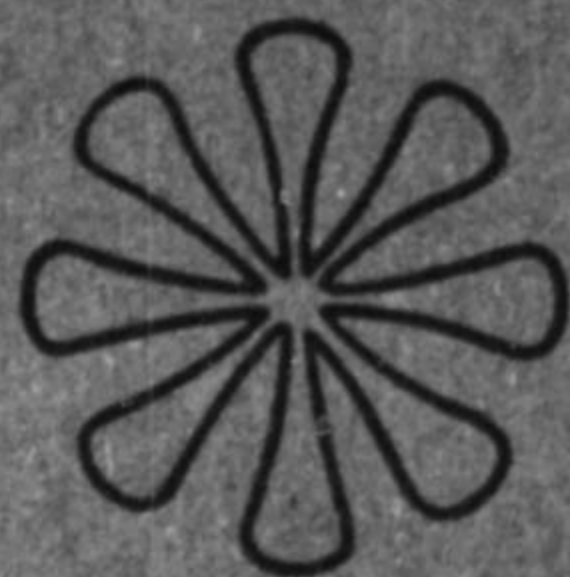


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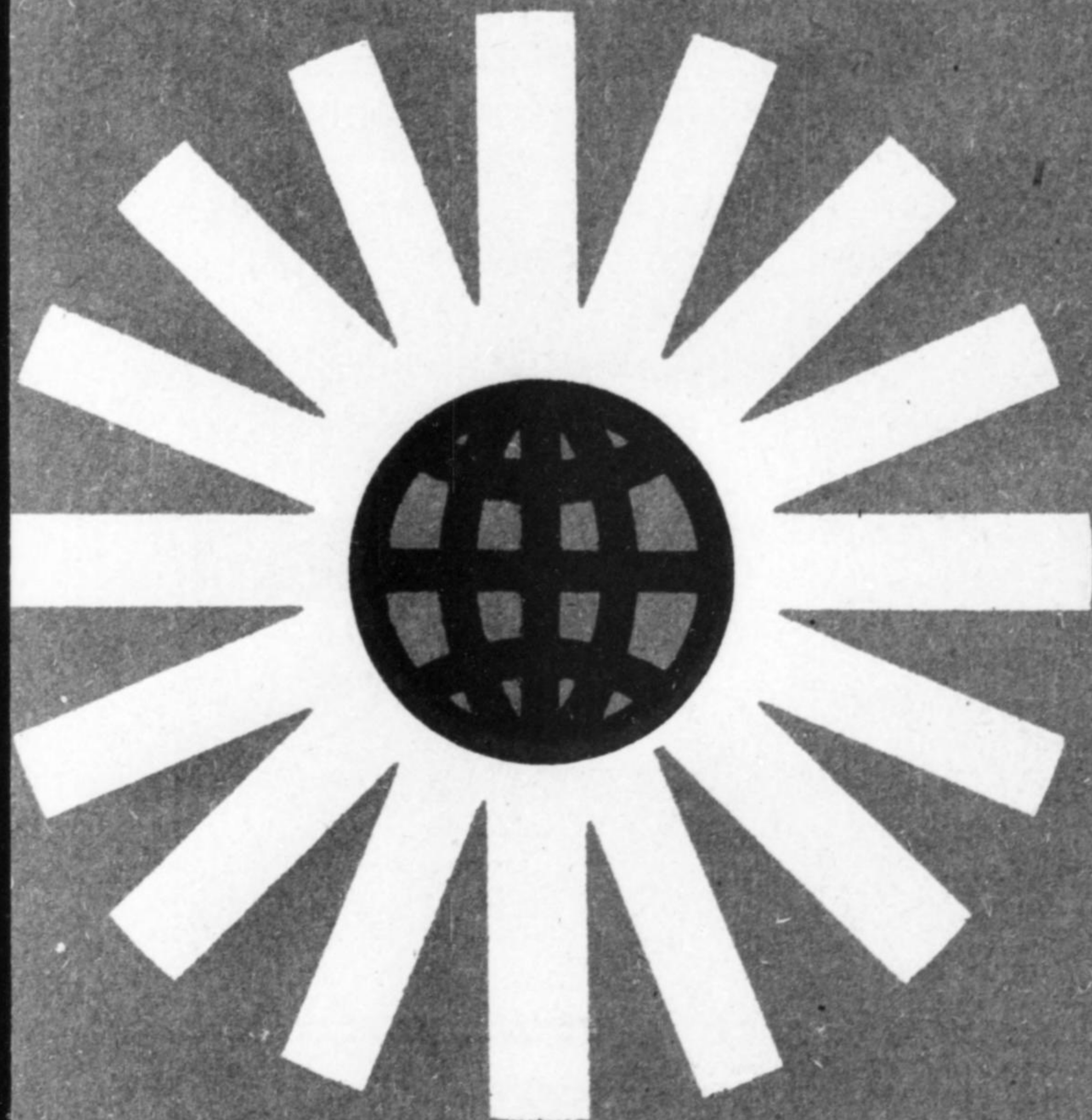


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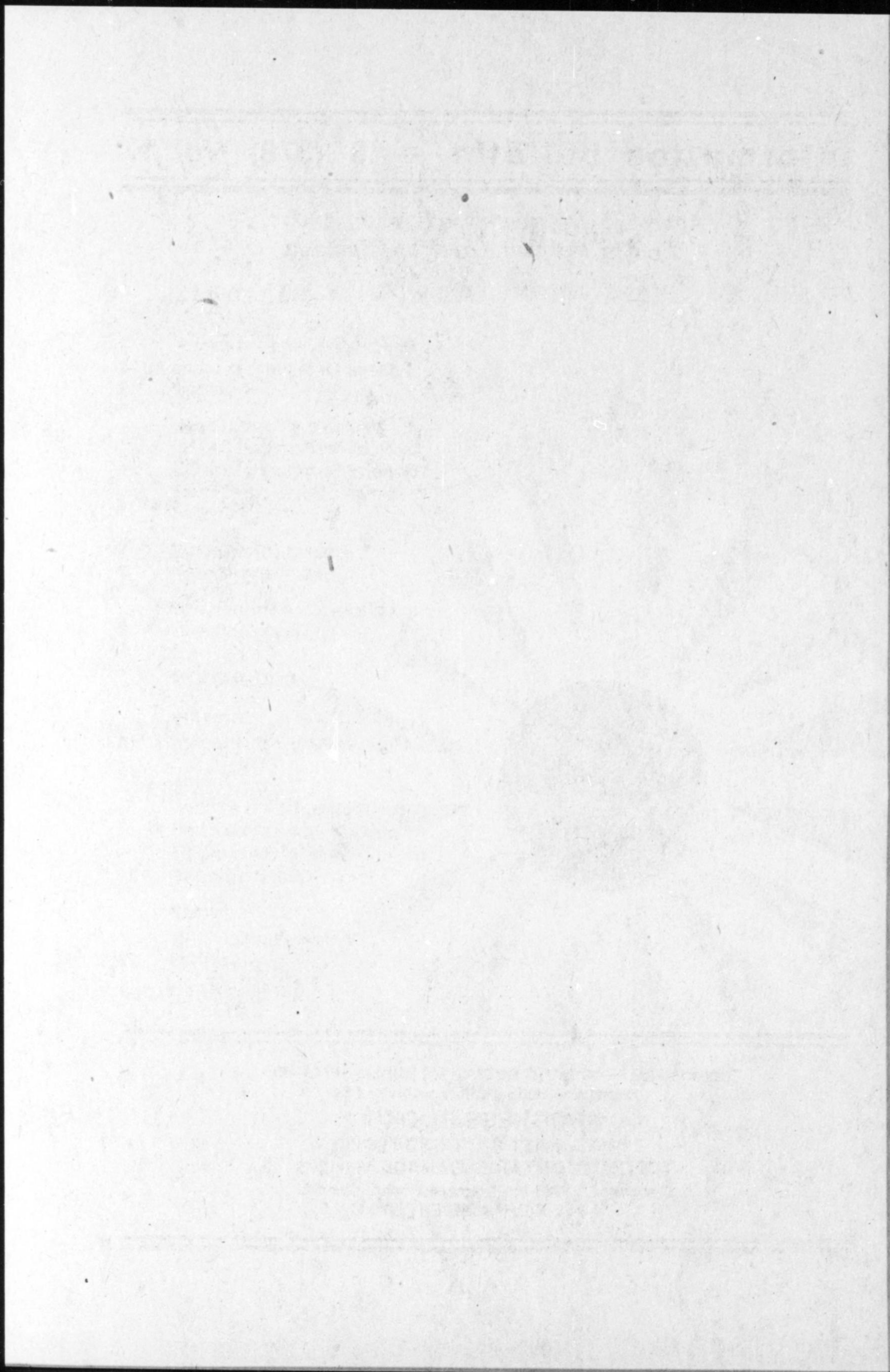
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PEACE TODAY AND TOMORROW, PEACE FOR ALL TIME TO COME

The Socialist World — Triumph of Great Ideas, by Politizdat Publishers brought out in Moscow in November 1978, contains speeches and articles by Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, for the period 1974-1978 that together give a vivid picture of the development of the socialist-community countries, their impact on the course of world events, and their purposeful efforts in the cause of peace and social progress. In the foreword, Leonid Brezhnev writes in part:

The extraordinarily diversified and steadily expanding cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries consistently receives priority in the foreign relations of our party and state. The experience of our friends and allies is, as it always has been, of immense interest to the communists and all other peoples of the USSR.

In 1944-1945 I had the good fortune of directly participating in the great liberative mission of the Soviet Army, to feel and see with my own eyes the joy of the peoples of Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia at their deliverance from fascist tyranny. In that unforgettable time there were, however, not only flowers and happy smiles, not only jubilation. Having gone through the most agonizing experience, people began thinking how to prevent new tragedies, how to make life happy. Subsequent years showed that for many countries the dawn of peace that rose over war-ravaged Europe was the dawn of socialism.

Since then I have visited the socialist countries on many occasions and participated in the congresses of communist and workers' parties. As a rule, these visits were filled with meetings, both official and unofficial. To be candid, there has practically been no day in my work when I did not deal with questions concerning our cooperation with fraternal parties and countries.

It should not be forgotten that history has left the communists a bitter legacy. The exploiting classes, who were in power, not least Russian tsarism, had for centuries fanned discord between peoples and deliberately cultivated national prejudices. Of course, a major

achievement of the communists of socialist countries is that the former estrangement, hostility, and suspicion have long ago given way to friendship and fraternal cooperation among equal peoples. This friendship has become a great creative force.

Within a little over three decades the socialist countries have traversed a long road. On that road there were not only triumphs and victories, but also ruts, pits, and errors. However, life has proved beyond the shadow of a doubt that we have chosen the correct road to the aims we have set ourselves, that this road becomes smoother and shorter as cooperation among socialist countries grows closer, as they interact more effectively in carrying out both national and international tasks.

The development of the socialist world system is a living, difficult and uncommonly interesting matter for tens and hundreds of millions of people building the new life and, I would add, new socialist international relations.

Communism's adversaries are inclined to portray the socialist world as humdrum, where, it is alleged, everything is regimented. But reality, and reality is the material of this volume, testifies to the wealth and diversity of the forms and methods employed in society's socialist reconstruction.

Taken as a whole, the achievements of the socialist community — and I am deeply convinced of it — constitute the most striking revolutionary accomplishment of modern times. The aggregate experience of socialism that has been built (naturally, nobody is imposing it on anybody), is an outstanding gain of the entire international working class. This experience is helping all the revolutionary forces operating on national soil to find the dependable road to liberation from capitalist domination and to the building of socialism.

In assessing the practice of developing the socialist community, we have every grounds for repeating the words of our great teacher Lenin: "The teaching of Marx is all-powerful because it is true." Developed by Lenin and constantly enriched by the revolutionary thought of our days, the Marxist-Leninist teaching is a dependable guide for reshaping society along the principles of benefit, reason, and justice.

In this volume some pages are devoted to the past, much concerns the present-day affairs of the socialist world, and, as the reader will see, there are reflections about the future. We communists see this future in the harmonious advance of the socialist countries to the communist organization of society, which alone can create all the

conditions for the all-round development of the individual and the full satisfaction of man's requirements.

I believe that the triumph of communism in a group of countries does not demand that capitalist practices should disappear throughout the world. This is by no means mandatory. Where external conditions are concerned, it requires something else: the elimination of the threat of war, the transfer of military expenditures to constructive needs. It demands peace today and tomorrow, peace for all time to come. Communism and peace are the beacon by which together with our friends and like-minded people we are blazing the road to the morrow.

VISIT TO THE SOVIET UNION BY NOOR MUHAMMAD TARAKI, GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CC, PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AFGHANISTAN

Noor Muhammed Taraki, General Secretary of the CC, People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, Chairman of the Revolutionary Council and Prime Minister, Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, was on an official friendly visit to the Soviet Union from December 4 to 7, 1978 at the invitation of the CC CPSU, Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and Soviet government.

The negotiations that were held resulted in signing a Treaty of Friendship, Good-Neighborliness and Cooperation between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, as well as a number of other documents.

On December 5, the CC CPSU, Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and Soviet government gave a dinner in honor of the distinguished guest. Leonid Brezhnev and Noor Muhammed Taraki made speeches.

EXTRACT FROM LEONID BREZHNEV'S SPEECH

The Soviet Union and Afghanistan are good neighbors. This is a tradition now. The foundations of equal and friendly relations between us were laid 60 years ago by the great Lenin. Time has shown

convincingly how very well these relations meet the fundamental interests of our two countries.

But in April 1978, a truly people's revolution brought about a radical change in the centuries-long history of Afghanistan. Nor is it surprising that in these conditions the traditionally friendly relations between our countries assumed what I would describe as a qualitatively different character.

Today they are not merely good-neighbor relations but a deep, sincere and lasting friendship inspired by comradeship and revolutionary solidarity.

All these new aspects have found expression in the Treaty of Friendship, Good-Neighborliness and Cooperation we have signed today. We will not exaggerate if we say that the treaty is an outstanding political act. It will not only underlie the further promotion of Soviet-Afghan friendship but serve the interests of peace and security in Asia and hence throughout the world.

Soviet people are following with warm sympathy the early steps of the Afghan revolution, which has set about accomplishing its construction tasks. We express our fraternal solidarity with you.

We wholeheartedly wish the People's Democratic Party, the government and the people of Afghanistan success in realizing the goals and tasks of the April Revolution.

People in the Soviet Union have deep respect for the foreign policy of Afghanistan, for its policy of peace, non-alignment, promoting equal and mutually beneficial relations with all countries, and settling disputes by peaceful means.

Our Afghan friends undoubtedly know well of the Soviet Union's tremendous efforts which the Soviet Union makes for more durable international peace and security.

We consider that the important thing in today's conditions is to prevent a new world war, which would be a terrible disaster for all mankind no matter in what corner of the globe it were to break out.

This is why the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community declare invariably for the limitation and scaling down of the arms race and for going over to disarmament.

We would like all rubles and dollars, zlotys and marks, lei and francs to be spent for peaceful purposes. But a solution in this case can only be found on a reciprocal basis.

It is this position of the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries that also found expression in the recent decisions of the Moscow

meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Organization.

Needless to say, if the socialist countries proceeded to disarm unilaterally and enabled the imperialists to achieve their coveted position of superior strength, that would be a disservice to peace.

I repeat, we are prepared for the most radical steps leading to disarmament. But the principle of equal security for the sides must be respected at every stage of the effort to attain this objective. We will not agree to a weakening of our defenses in the face of the growing military strength of imperialism, no matter what demagogical arguments are advanced to support appeals for it. This would have irreparable consequences for the socialist cause, for the cause of the freedom and independence of peoples.

The Soviet Union would like international détente to gain in depth and breadth and to spread to the most populous continent of our planet, Asia. We believe the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, for its part, will make a fitting contribution to the attainment of these goals.

EXTRACT FROM NOOR MUHAMMAD TARAQI'S SPEECH

The friendly and fraternal relations between the Soviet and Afghan peoples are of long standing and have stood the test of time and practical experience. They have been developing successfully over the past six decades and have now reached a high level.

The foundations of these good relations were laid by the great leader of the progressive and revolutionary working people of the world, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, and by the freedom fighters of Afghanistan. In those days the great Lenin, proceeding from the principles he had creatively evolved, carried through to the end the unprecedented Great October Socialist Revolution, which was accomplished under the leadership of the Communist Party, a party of fighters and standard-bearers of freedom, and founded a great socialist state of workers and other working people, the first ever. Our country's freedom-loving people, who fought under the guidance of national leaders against their oppressors, put an end as a result of the third Afghan-British war to the domination of the British colonialists and exploiters and won full political independence for our beloved Afghanistan.

In those years, for the first time in the history of Soviet-Afghan relations, the Leninist principles of relations between states were applied. These principles are recognition of the national indepen-

dence of other peoples, respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs, and disinterested and fruitful assistance. After the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the traditional colonialist and exploitative methods of injustice and inequality that had marked relations between the two countries disappeared for ever.

Soviet Russia was the first friendly state to officially recognize the independence and national statehood of Afghanistan. It signified its full support for the sovereignty and national independence of its southern neighbor and granted Afghanistan financial and economic aid. Afghanistan was also the first state to recognize Soviet Russia, which was led by the great Lenin. The recognition of Afghanistan's independence by a great revolutionary state, the Soviet Union, which was inspired by friendship and readiness to give support, will for ever be engraved on our memory as an exceedingly important and valuable political act that laid the groundwork for friendship and cooperation between our two countries, two good neighbors.

While the Afghan people's victory in the third Afghan-British war put an end to direct colonialist military domination, our country continued to suffer until the Afghan people's Great April Revolution from colonial and imperialist exploitation which persisted in disguised forms. The principal reason why direct imperialist domination by foreigners and oppression by exploiters persisted until very recently was that power in Afghanistan was taken over by the Nadir dynasty — a tragic phenomenon in Afghan history. That tyrannical and reactionary dynasty, a puppet of international imperialism and an embodiment of all that was exploitative, feudal, aristocratic and anti-popular, raised obstacles for 50 dark years of tyranny and medievalism to the political, economic, social, cultural, scientific and ideological development of Afghanistan, of its noble and hard-working people. The dynasty deliberately held back the country's development and progress. Using diverse forms of exploitation and pursuing a reactionary, inhuman policy, it kept Afghanistan among the world's most backward countries. Whatever development took place in the country was negligible. The dynasty, using all the riches and benefits of the state in the interest of a corrupt minority, doomed the workers, peasants, intellectuals and other working people, who make up the overwhelming majority of the population, to unprecedented privations. That dynasty of despots and exploiters maintained strong relations with the international forces of colonialism, imperialism and reaction. Never in the course of its brutal reign did it

allow the country's foreign policy to develop according to the hopes and interests of its people. The foreign relations of our state were developed in the selfish interests of the ruling anti-popular clique and of imperialism. The anti-national home policy of a dynasty subservient to the imperialists was the reason why Afghanistan's useful, mutually beneficial cooperation with friendly countries, especially with working people's socialist progressive revolutionary states, was hampered in every way or stagnated instead of really developing in every respect.

But the revolutionary-minded people of Afghanistan were not indifferent to that anti-popular policy. They resisted it and never stopped fighting for liberation from the rule of tyrants and reactionaries linked with international imperialism. But as they lacked unity and their struggle was not well organized, it did not produce proper results and the fighting sons of the country who waged the struggle were either killed, or jailed by the ruling dynasty and kept in appalling conditions. Being a national-liberation struggle of awakened Afghan people against colonialism, imperialism and their puppets, this struggle raised in some measure the political and class consciousness of the disinherited working people of our country. But it had no advanced revolutionary theory to rely on and so could not put a definitive end to the reactionary power of the ruling tyrants, could not lead to final victory over them.

The people's struggle was not wasted, however. It led logically to the founding of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, the vanguard of the working class, which embraced the scientific and revolutionary ideology of the working class and held its First Party Congress in Kabul in January 1965.

The party, which had united real sons of the revolution, began a principled struggle on all lines: against feudalism, the aristocracy, colonialism, exploitation, home and foreign reaction. It raised the workers', peasants' and other working people's class and political consciousness so as to prepare the people for a decisive revolutionary uprising. In accordance with the objective situation and subjective factors, the Great People's April Revolution led by the PDPA triumphed in Afghanistan at the appropriate stage of social development. It set a vivid example for revolutions led by a working-class party whose aim was to win political power. The revolution added new and unique experience to the experience of earlier progressive revolutions, particularly revolutions in societies like ours. The Afghan revolution, which has its distinctive aspects and was carried out

under the leadership of the PDPA through an armed rising by courageous and heroic army officers coming from the families of workers and other working people, has triumphed. It has fully eliminated the ruling regime linked with reaction and imperialism, which has been replaced by a new, progressive, democratic republican regime.

The victory of the Great April Revolution provided all the working and oppressed people of Afghanistan with the opportunity to participate consciously and actively in the construction of a new and prosperous society in Afghanistan under the leadership of our glorious party, the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, which is the vanguard of the working class, as I have said. Being at the stage of final liberation from the chains of feudalism and following the non-capitalist road, the Afghan people are striving through steadfast and dynamic revolutionary activity to build a society whose every member will work according to his ability and will be remunerated according to his work and in which there will be no exploitation of man by man. In the brief span of seven months, the government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has set out to effect vast and fundamental changes in the political, economic, ideological, cultural, scientific, technological and social spheres in order to improve the people's life and the conditions for their spiritual development. The decrees of the DRA Revolutionary Council have dealt powerful, crushing blows to the last stronghold of reaction, the aristocracy feudalism and exploiters. Its Decree 6 has freed about 11 million landless and land-hungry peasants from oppression and bondage to usurers. The Council's Decree 7 has abolished the disgraceful legacy of feudalism which raised great obstacles to the education of the rising generation of workers, peasants and other working people of our country, and has guaranteed the equality of men and women. Decree 8, which is concerned with a democratic land reform, has struck a blow at feudalism and delivered the Afghan peasant for ever from the feudal lords' age-long oppression.

The industrious and valiant people of Afghanistan, who fully backed the Great April Revolution, greet with deep satisfaction every measure adopted by their party, government and state as measures expressing the people's expectations and aspirations. However, an insignificant minority which is instigated by imperialism and international, regional and domestic reaction and is anti-national and anti-revolutionary by nature, whose purely personal and selfish interests are jeopardized by the measures our people's state is carrying out,

has begun a hostile propaganda campaign; it carries on intrigues, hatches dirty conspiracies, lays insidious plans and resorts to other counter-revolutionary devices against the revolution, the party, the government and the state as a whole, against all working people of our country. Flunkeys and puppets of reaction, imperialism, the aristocracy and feudalism, who are hangers-on of the former monarchic regime or hereditary aristocrats, "shaitan-brothers," "leftists," extremists, conservatives and nationalists, as well as all venal anti-popular, anti-democratic elements and groups whose anti-revolutionary activities have fortunately been uncovered and exposed, have been swept away by the government and the people, who stand vigilantly on guard of the revolution. The same lot is in store for them in the future because their anti-revolutionary and anti-popular activity runs counter to the general development trend of history and mankind.

The Afghan people's Great April Revolution, which has overthrown the ruling anti-popular class linked with imperialism and international reaction, has removed all obstacles to friendship between the Soviet Union and Afghanistan.

The Soviet Union, a friendly state, was the first to recognize the new, democratic republican regime of Afghanistan immediately and officially. It expressed full support for the people's revolution in Afghanistan on the part of the Soviet people and increased its disinterested assistance to the people and government of Afghanistan. The people and government of Afghanistan greatly appreciate this friendly, fraternal support. Good-neighbor, friendly relations between the DRA and USSR based on equality, brotherhood and mutual respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity, mutual understanding, non-interference in internal affairs, and fruitful and disinterested assistance are developing successfully in the interests of the peoples of both countries.

The friendly relations between the Soviet Union and Afghanistan based on the principles proclaimed by the Great October Socialist Revolution and Great April Revolution not only meet the interests of the peoples of both countries but are a weighty factor for more durable peace in Asia and play an effective role in consolidating world peace and security.

Our warm sentiments are expressed in the treaty signed between our countries today. Fifty-seven years have passed since the first Treaty of Friendship was signed. While that treaty was in force,

relations between our countries developed and became fraternal; they are expressive of a proletarian class character. The new treaty not only reflects the friendship linking the peoples of our two countries but is an emphatic reply to the common enemies of the country of the October Revolution, the Soviet Union, and the country of the April Revolution, Afghanistan. Afghan-Soviet friendship, which has been developing in the interests of our two states and world peace, is not directed against any third state. My revolutionary associates and myself, and the whole people of Afghanistan, greeted with great warmth the important speech made in Baku by esteemed Comrade Leonid Brezhnev. Speaking of Afghan-Soviet relations and the Afghan revolution, which is genuinely Afghan, he refuted the falsehoods of reactionary and imperialist circles.

It is gratifying to note that the positions of Afghanistan and the Soviet Union, which are peace-loving countries, coincide on a majority of important international problems. The DRA, whose devotion to the policy of non-alignment, lasting peace, international security and the cause of bringing about complete disarmament has drawn the attention of the progressive and peace-loving peoples of the world, consistently supports all initiatives of your great state. We know of the great sacrifices which your courageous and brave people made in their heroic fight against fascism, nazism and imperialism; we know that the friendly Soviet people have a special stake in world security and peace. The world knows your numerous peace initiatives aimed at achieving complete disarmament. The Soviet Union has put forward all of the most important initiatives in favor of disarmament, including nuclear disarmament, in favor of bringing about greater international détente, settling international disputes, reducing military budgets, furthering international relations and cooperation, promoting progressive rules of international law, strengthening the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries and solving other problems. These are vivid examples of how every action of the Soviet Union is prompted by concern for the good of mankind and by the desire to maintain peace. Your new and important proposal, which has been submitted on behalf of the Soviet government by the Soviet Foreign Minister, Andrei Gromyko, and is being discussed by the UN General Assembly at its current session, envisages stronger guarantees for the security of non-nuclear countries, including Afghanistan. I am glad to point out that the DRA has also supported that Soviet peace proposal and will actively make common cause at all international forums with your country, other socialist countries and

other progressive peace-loving states for peace and greater security in our region and the rest of the world.

On the international scene, the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan pursues a peace-loving and independent national foreign policy based on allegiance to the principles and criteria of active non-alignment, and seeks disinterested and mutually beneficial cooperation with all countries. A progressive participant in the non-aligned movement, the DRA is fighting in common with other participants in the movement against imperialism, colonialism, exploitation, Zionism, racial discrimination, apartheid, injustice and oppression, for the safeguarding of peace and international détente. Afghanistan took an active part in the Havana meeting of the non-aligned countries' coordinating bureau and the Belgrade conference of the Foreign Ministers of all non-aligned states. It expects to make an effective and useful contribution to the sixth conference of heads of state and government of the non-aligned countries to be held next year in Havana, the capital of heroic Cuba.

The DRA seeks good-neighbor, friendly relations with neighboring states as well as with other countries of the region. It wants to preserve and further its friendly relations with India, Bangladesh, Iran, Pakistan and the PRC.

The DRA hopes that the only political difference with Pakistan — the one over the destiny of the Pashtun and Baluchi peoples — will be definitively settled with due regard to the past history of the problem, through friendly negotiations and by peaceful means.

Afghanistan supports the idea of turning the Indian Ocean into a peace zone and favors the abolition of the bases of military aggression situated there. It stands for lasting peace and security in Indochina and hopes that the international disputes existing there will be settled by peaceful means. The DRA hails the victory of the heroic people of Vietnam over imperialist aggression, the unification of Vietnam in one socialist state and its allegiance to the principles of proletarian internationalism.

The DRA regards the Democratic People's Republic of Korea as the sole lawful spokesman of the Korean people and has severed the diplomatic relations with the so-called South Korea that were established by the reactionary Daud regime. Afghanistan hopes that in the near future all foreign troops will be pulled out of South Korea and that the country will be unified on the basis of the realistic proposals of the DPRK.

The DRA maintains friendly relations with the socialist and pro-

gressive countries of the world and cooperates with them. We express our particular appreciation to all the friendly and progressive states which support the victorious April Revolution and have expanded their cooperation with the DRA.

Prompted by an anti-colonial foreign policy, the DRA resolutely supports the right of every people to shape their destiny independently, their right to state sovereignty and political independence. It supports national-liberation movements and gives its unqualified backing to the progressive peoples of the world and the struggle of the proletariat for democracy, freedom, peace and social progress. The DRA firmly supports the struggle of the peoples of Ethiopia and Angola against interference by international imperialism and reaction, for their territorial integrity. It fully approves of the friendly, disinterested aid which the Soviet Union and Cuba have extended to the lawful governments of these countries in repulsing the aggression of international imperialism and reaction. The DRA hopes that it will not be long before the fighting peoples of Zimbabwe, South Africa and Namibia win their lawful rights and independence.

Afghanistan stands for the right of the people of West Sahara, led by the Polisario front, to self-determination, and hopes that the problem will be solved peacefully with the assistance of the Organization of African Unity.

Friendly relations between Afghanistan and Cuba, two progressive non-aligned countries, are developing successfully. The visit paid by the Foreign Minister of that friendly country to Afghanistan made a tangible contribution to closer bilateral relations.

Afghanistan fully supports the struggle of the peoples of Latin America against imperialism, reaction, oppression, fascist dictatorship, colonial interference and brutal exploitation. It wishes them success in their progressive national democratic struggle.

As regards the Middle East, the DRA considers that the Israeli aggressors must withdraw their troops from the Arab lands they have seized. The rights of the fighting people of Palestine, including the right to establish an independent national state, must be guaranteed. This problem cannot be settled through talks without the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization, for the fate of the people of Palestine is the heart of the matter. No final solution can be found to the problem, nor can a durable peace be established in the area through partial and separate agreements and accords between third countries.

The DRA declares for settling international conflicts by peaceful

means, without using force. It resolutely supports international détente, including military détente, and favors its promotion and its extension to every part of the globe because it considers that this process must not be restricted to one continent or region. Afghanistan fully supports the UN Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It stands for applying the principles of peaceful coexistence in relations between countries having different social and political systems, for this is a most important condition for ensuring world peace, furthering détente and settling international conflicts.

In pursuing its progressive, independent national policy of active non-alignment, Afghanistan is emphatically against the very idea of war, against aggression, armed seizure, the threat of force and the extension of aggressive military blocs. It holds that fanning the cold war and pursuing a policy designed to step up international tensions seriously endanger world peace and security. Considering that the existence of foreign bases of military aggression on the soil of various countries poses a threat to peace and increases the war danger, Afghanistan declares for the immediate dismantling of the bases.

Being a developing country, Afghanistan hopes that cooperation between rich and poor countries will develop with due regard to the latter's interests and that greater heed will be paid to the financial and economic difficulties of the least developed countries, especially those having no access to the sea, so that these countries may adopt effective measures for their economic and social development. The world is faced with great economic difficulties that have a particularly strong impact on the least developed and developing countries. International economic relations have not improved at all; on the contrary, new difficulties are added daily to the existing ones and the gap between rich and poor countries is widening. This is due to the existence of an unjust international economic order serving the interests of the forces of world colonialism and exploitation. It brings profit to exploiting capitalist countries which ruthlessly plunder the natural resources of developing countries. The establishment of a new international economic order, which is favored by all countries of the world that stand for justice, as well as by the developing and exploited countries, is resisted by imperialist and capitalist countries, which see it as a threat to their interests. The DRA hopes that in the near future the existing unjust economic order will be replaced by a new, just economic order fully guaranteeing justice and worldwide equitable cooperation, and will contribute to lasting peace.

Pravda, December 6, 1978

DOCUMENTS

FIGHTING VANGUARD

The communists and all the other working people of fraternal Hungary have marked the 60th anniversary of the Communist Party. The Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party held an enlarged plenum devoted to this outstanding event. Janos Kadar, First Secretary of the HSWP Central Committee, gave a report at the plenum, excerpts from which are given below.

We are marking an outstanding event in the history of the Hungarian revolutionary working-class movement and our people, the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of Hungary. Hence it is fitting to consider the road travelled by our party, the key aspects of our struggle and, finally, the present situation and our objectives.

By the autumn of 1918, the development of Hungarian society and the international situation led to the maturing of the historical conditions essential for the creation of a Communist Party, so that its founding was the logical result of prevailing conditions. It was a natural step corresponding to the needs of the time.

The Great October Socialist Revolution charted the way for the exploited classes and oppressed peoples, for those who sought deliverance from the hell of war. The example of the October Revolution had an exceptionally strong impact on Hungary, where social contradictions, as in pre-revolutionary Russia, were extremely acute. On November 24, 1918, the left social democrats, revolutionary socialists and the revolutionaries returning to their homeland from Russia set up the Communist Party of Hungary in Budapest, elected its first Central Committee, and its first chairman, Bela Kun. Thus the Marxist-Leninist Party of the Hungarian working class was born 60 years ago, which was a turning point in its history, in the history of our people, an event that exerts a powerful influence to this day.

In a short period, the party won the confidence of the bulk of the workers and peasants, attracted to its side those among the intelligentsia who were concerned with the fate of the nation and sought to facilitate social progress. In accordance with the will of the over-

whelming majority, a socialist revolution was carried out in our country on March 21, 1919.

The first proletarian dictatorship in Hungary, which was hailed by the working masses and peoples of Europe, was overthrown by external forces as a result of armed intervention by international imperialism. The Horthyist counter-revolutionary regime, imposed on the Hungarian people by foreign armed forces and the white terror, destroyed the gains of the Hungarian Soviet Republic; for a quarter of a century they ruthlessly oppressed the people, brutally persecuted the communists and suppressed all progressive aspirations. During this period, the communists and other democratic forces fought without let-up against the fascist regime, and in defense of the Hungarian working people.

Fascism suffered a crushing defeat in the Second World War, with the Soviet Army liberating Hungary as well. Emerging from clandestinity, the party entered the political arena as a powerful and vigorous organizing force with a clear program of action. As the most consistent champion of popular democratic change, it rapidly extended its influence, to become in a short period the country's strongest party.

Under the leadership of our party and as a result of class struggle, three years after the country's liberation the Hungarian working class won a second victory and took over power; the dictatorship of the proletariat was established and our motherland set out on the road of socialist development.

The sweeping socialist construction was interrupted by the 1956 events. The party coped with the difficult situation, and has for two decades now been carrying out, with a full sense of responsibility, the role in our society which the workers and working people in general expect of it. Its policy enjoys the support of the broadest masses. Thanks to this, the power of our working class and other working people is on a firm footing, the internal political situation is stable, the economy is developing, and living standards are improving in accordance with our potentialities. The results achieved by the people in socialist construction, and the fact that the Hungarian People's Republic is making a fitting contribution to the universal struggle for progress and peace, have won wide international recognition.

The party owes its successes above all to the fact that it is following scientific socialism, the teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin, and seeks creatively to implement this teaching in practice. The HSWP has always considered it imperative to take account in its theoretical and practical work of the general uniformities discovered by Marx-

ism-Leninism, the historical experience of the Hungarian workers and of the people as a whole, the existing conditions and national peculiarities. We strive to learn from the fraternal parties and attach special importance to the experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, founded by Lenin. In our view, today, with the communist parties working out their policy independently, it is more important than ever for each party to possess the fullest knowledge and understanding of each other's struggle and activity, for in our time the combined experience of the communist and workers' parties is the primary source for developing our theory and practice.

We often hear threadbare bourgeois arguments, including "innovative" ones, according to which Marxism, or, Leninism at any rate, has become "outdated." We are witnessing how far the Maoist trend has deviated from the principles of scientific socialism. Our stand is clear: in our time, there is no Marxism without the teaching of Lenin, no more than there is Marxism without the teachings of Marx and Engels. In our view, Marxism-Leninism is a science that discovers the social laws of the entire historical stage of the transition from capitalism to communism, a developing science that is in step with reality, which is why its meaningfulness is ever more clearly manifested in the universal processes of our time.

The working class can fulfill its social mission both in the struggle against capitalist exploitation and in the fierce struggle for power, and in conditions of socialism only if it is led by an organized revolutionary vanguard which, while representing its everyday interests, never for a moment loses sight of its historical goals. Implementation of the leading role of the party, of the working class under socialism, when the party is in power, also depends above all on a policy based on solid Marxist-Leninist principles.

The party's historical mission is to lead society to communism. In working for this splendid goal, the party and all its members take upon themselves the brunt of the work while neither asking for nor getting any privileges. Hence we say that the role of the party is selflessly to serve the people. At the same time, the party must see farther than the masses, must seek to make the working classes realize their true interests and to take upon themselves the monumental task of transforming society. Hence we speak of the leading role of the party as the most conscious and forward-looking contingent of the working class and of all the other working people. At the present development stage, the program statement adopted at the 11th Party Congress states that our party is the vanguard of the

working class and that it is gradually becoming the vanguard of the working people as a whole.

Our experience of struggle for socialism confirms the basic Marxist proposition that the winning of political power is of crucial importance in the class struggle.

The power of the working class, the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat wherever they have been established, Hungary included, represents the power of the overwhelming majority. The working class enlists the services of the working masses in exercising power, creating a broader democracy than the people have ever known in their whole history. Back in 1919, during the civil war and the struggle against the interventionists, Lenin in his message to the Hungarian workers pointed out that "the essence of proletarian dictatorship is not in force alone, or even mainly in force. Its chief feature is the organization and discipline of the advanced contingent of the working people, of their vanguard; of their sole leader, the proletariat, whose object is to build socialism, abolish the division of society into classes, make all members of society working people, and remove the basis for all exploitation of man by man."

Socialism has now become a world system. The victory of the socialist revolution in what was once tsarist Russia, the formation of the world's first socialist state, the Soviet Union, its existence, example and experience exert a powerful influence on the peoples fighting for social emancipation and national liberation. Yet it is quite evident that, while the fundamental basic features are identical, the socialist revolution in each of the existing socialist countries has won in a different way, a different form, at a different time. This is only natural in view of the differences in national traditions and conditions, the relation of forces in the given country, in view of the changing international situation. According to a fundamental tenet of Marxist-Leninist theory, the roads to a victorious socialist revolution are many, and as more and more peoples opt for socialism, the more varied will its forms become.

In the social systems' dispute over democracy and human rights, the proponents of capitalism formulate the question of political system so as to suggest that the specific feature of the socialist system is "a one-party system and dictatorship," and that of the capitalist system, "a multi-party system and democracy." Such assertions are also fundamentally false and far-fetched in the light of reality. It is common knowledge that among the socialist countries, as well as the developing and capitalist countries, there are some with one or more

political parties, but this alone does not determine the democratic or non-democratic character of the given system.

The Hungarian communists, who fought in clandestinity for a quarter of a century, are far from underestimating the importance of bourgeois-democratic freedoms, but in the dispute between the two systems one should deal with substance of the matter. In the capitalist countries, where actual power is in the hands of big capital, where the working people are exploited and have no legal right to participate in making decisions on such basic conditions of human existence as, for instance, job opportunities, the existence of any number of political parties alone, does not make for a democratic system.

In the socialist countries, where the exploitation of man by man has been eliminated, where the people have become the masters of their fate, where the interests of the citizenry is protected by the state itself, where the working people take a direct part in resolving questions of ensuring the basic living conditions, the political system stands on a higher level and is more democratic, even when there is only one party.

As a Marxist-Leninist, revolutionary vanguard of the working class, our party has always proudly proclaimed the principles of proletarian internationalism and has proven by deed its loyalty to it. It is in solidarity with the communist and workers' parties of the whole world, with the Soviet Union, the Warsaw Treaty countries, with all the peoples building socialism, with the peoples fighting for freedom, with the progressive forces of the world. Our comrades — who during the civil war in Russia took up arms in the name of victory of the revolution, who fought in the international brigades for the Spanish Republic, who in almost every European country joined the armed contingents of the anti-fascist Resistance — fought far beyond its borders for the motherland, for our people, for the freedom of all peoples.

Our party has always rejected and continues to vigorously reject both bourgeois nationalism and cosmopolitanism. It adheres to the principles of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism and educates our people and our youth in that spirit. In our view, these two concepts are indivisible. We are defending the life of our people and ensuring their socialist future by strengthening friendship and solidarity with the Soviet Union, with the countries and peoples of socialism and progress, with the communist and workers' parties of the world. Socialist patriotism and fidelity to the ideas of inter-

nationalism, to the cause of friendship of the peoples genuinely serve the national interests of the Hungarian people.

Let us consider the work of the party at the present stage. Our party, which now has some 790,000 members, is united ideologically, politically and organizationally and has close ties with the masses. We have made good headway in economic and cultural construction and in raising living standards. Today the Hungarian people are building a developed socialist society and confidently looking to the future. Our society has developed steadily over the past two decades. We have upheld and strengthened the working-class power, carried out the socialist reconstruction of agriculture, improved economic management which ensures socialist planning, expanded and promoted socialist democracy, a basic, key feature of our state and society.

The Hungarian society is successfully tackling the tasks charted by the 11th HSWP Congress in 1975. The Central Committee's April (1978) plenum noted that the course endorsed by the Congress has justified itself in practice. Our people approve of it and endeavor to facilitate its implementation. Substantial headway has been made in fulfilling the fifth five-year plan. The crucial task at the present development stage is to consolidate the successes achieved in the sphere of material production and to raise living standards. Hence the key question in this sphere is to ensure more balanced development of the economy, with the accent on quality and efficiency.

Our people approve and support the country's foreign-policy aspirations. In its foreign policy, Hungary allies itself with the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Treaty countries, and seeks to strengthen unity with the socialist countries and solidarity with the peoples fighting for their freedom and with the developing countries.

In the world communist movement, we seek to promote stronger unity and cooperation on Marxist-Leninist principles. Accordingly, we seek comradely ties with all fraternal parties.

Peace, we believe, is the crucial question for humanity. The Hungarian people need peace above all to enable them to continue the construction of socialism and to enjoy its fruits. The party and the state are doing everything they can to promote international détente, to resolve disputed international issues at the negotiation table, and to make peace sound and lasting.

The international situation remains complicated, but from the historical standpoint it has acquired some new aspects: imperialism no longer rules the world, it can no longer act at will. The peace-loving forces are powerful and invincible. Our party, the Hungarian people

believe that the common interests of humanity and reason will prevail, that the efforts of those who are fighting for détente will be crowned with success, and that a way will be found to totally block another world war.

Looking back on the road we have traversed, we above all pay homage to the comrades who gave their lives for the idea, for the cause of socialism, for the freedom and happy future of our people. We hail with due respect the veterans who fought in many battles and whose revolutionary experience is even today of incalculable assistance to the party, the comrades who have joined the party since our country's liberation, the young members on whom the future of the party, the future of the Hungarian people largely depends.

On the day of our anniversary we hail especially the fraternal parties, the communist and workers' parties of the world, comrades with whom we are linked by the common ideas of socialism, communism, proletarian internationalism, and common struggle in the international arena.

The party will continue to wage a selfless struggle for the happiness of our working class, of our people, for the peaceful, social future of the world.

Nepszabadsag, November 21, 1978

THE U.S.-CHINA MILITARY-POLITICAL CONVERGENCE AND THE OBJECTIVES OF THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE AND PROGRESS

*Resolution of the Central Committee, Communist Party
of Greece*

1. The Tenth CPG Congress (May 1978) expressed the concern of the communists and all the country's working people in connection with the policy of the Chinese leadership, particularly because, as emphasized in the Political Resolution of the Congress, it is "strengthening its ties with the imperialists of the USA and NATO," "undermining the anti-imperialist and progressive forces across the world" and "rejects the policy of peaceful coexistence."

The CPG Central Committee noted that in the post-congress period relations between U.S.-NATO imperialism and the post-Maoist leadership of China have entered a qualitatively new stage. These relations are now quite openly developing on the basis of joint struggle against peace and against the efforts for disarmament. Indeed, the U.S.-China convergence is increasingly acquiring the character of a military-political cooperation. Its aim is to set up a "united front" consisting of Peking and U.S.-NATO imperialism that is directed against détente and peace, against the socialist system, the world communist movement and the peoples fighting for national independence and social progress.

2. The Peking leaders are officially referring to the Soviet Union as "enemy number one of the peoples" and are openly calling, through the Hsinhua Telegraph Agency, on the United States to side with China in the struggle against the Soviet Union. They are stepping up hostile actions against the other socialist countries, they are not concealing their striving to annex the Mongolian People's Republic and are seeking to outdo the imperialists in their propaganda campaign against socialist Cuba, raising their hand against the heroic people of Vietnam, annulling their commitments to Albania, thus showing that they are ready to come out against their "friends," if the latter are unwilling to submit to all their orders.

The Chinese leadership is directing its efforts against the peoples of Angola, Ethiopia, Afghanistan and other countries which are carrying out anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolutionary changes. Along with imperialism, it is extending all-round support to fascist and reactionary imperialist regimes such as the regime of Pinochet in Chile, Mobutu in Zaire, the Shah in Iran and others.

Peking is intensifying its subversive, divisive activity in the international communist movement. It is supporting, strengthening and attempting to multiply Maoist groups in the capitalist countries, groups which increasingly regard struggle against the communist movement as their only goal.

3. The Peking leaders are persistently popularizing the wild idea that every generation should have its own war. They speak of the "inevitability" of a third world war and are stepping up preparations for it, which run counter to the vital interests of the Chinese people themselves. Their pro-war, anti-Soviet and social-chauvinistic policy includes open defense of NATO. The Chinese leaders are encouraging the revival of Japanese militarism and West-German revanchism.

4. On the other hand, U.S. imperialism is stepping up its efforts to

utilize the Peking leaders' policy in its own interests. It is dispatching an increasing number of military and technical delegations to and receiving reciprocal delegations from China, it is extending military and technical aid to them and is urging the West European militarists to do likewise. Orientating on a military-political alliance between the United States and China, it is stepping up the U.S.-China convergence.

5. The Chinese leadership is increasing its activity in the Balkans with the aim of eroding the cohesion of the socialist countries and of uniting the Balkan countries against the Soviet Union. At the same time it is causing disturbances, stirring up nationalist tendencies and a "minorities' problem," and sowing discord and aggravating relations between countries. These aims are enmeshed with corresponding NATO aims and its cold-war plans, as well as its attempts to strengthen its positions in the Balkans and the Eastern Mediterranean.

Peking's policy in the Balkans is directed above all against the Balkan peoples themselves. It is jeopardizing peace and security in that region and throughout the world.

6. The views reflected in Chinese propaganda, particularly on questions of our country's foreign policy, as well as on major international issues, converge with those of imperialism.

By their "two superpowers" theory and foolhardy references to the Soviet Union as "enemy number one" the Peking leaders are exculpating the U.S.-NATO imperialists of responsibility for the tense situation in our area and for the problems in Greek-Turkish relations. They defend the imperialists' criminal actions against Cyprus and are devising new political and ideological pretexts for interfering in its affairs. In the United Nations and at other forums Peking's representatives oppose the internationalization of the Cyprus question, that is, the way to its correct solution. In Peking's view, the Cyprus problem should be settled within NATO, which would be disastrous for the country. Characteristically, during Huang Hua's official visit to Ankara he openly stated that the Cyprus question should be "resolved" within the NATO framework. At the same time he did not fail to "remind" the Turkish government of the existence of China's war industry and the possibility of Turkey's making use of it in its military rivalry with Greece.

All other aspects of the Chinese leaders' policy toward our country are also imbued with the spirit of imperialism and anti-Sovietism. Their recommendations to the delegation of the "New Democracy"

party during its visit to Peking that the Balkan countries should unite against the USSR, that Greece should support U.S.-NATO policies and speed up its official return to the NATO military organization are well known and so are their calls (which Huang Hua repeated in Athens, advancing the "united Europe" formula) for our country to join — however tough the conditions — the EEC of the monopolies because, he said, its entry, like that of Spain and Portugal is of strategic importance for NATO. Understandably, all this cannot but cause concern and indignation in the working class and among all the working people of our country, cannot but be condemned by every Greek patriot.

7. Far from condemning this policy of Peking's, the leaders of the revisionist party are actually helping to strengthen it, which runs counter to the interests of our people and of all the peoples. Blinded by their anti-Sovietism and anti-internationalism, they are calling their policy a policy of "neutrality," of "equidistance" from the USSR and China, and speak of some kind of "argument" between these two countries, deliberately ignoring the now quite obvious fact that the Chinese leadership is openly advocating a world war and actively seeking China's military-political convergence with imperialism and reaction in the struggle against the Soviet Union, all peace-loving, anti-imperialist and progressive forces of the world. Any "neutrality" with respect to this dangerous policy only serves to facilitate it and runs absolutely counter to the interests of progress and peace, to the vital interests of our people and of all the peoples of the world.

Actually the revisionist leadership's "equidistance" policy signifies ever more open support of the Maoists' policy in the Balkans and throughout the world. That is why it calls the activity of the Maoists on the international arena "a positive aspect of international development from every point of view." Closely linked with this support is its growing convergence with the Maoist groups in our country — on the basis of their common hatred toward the CPG and the Soviet Union — which can only prejudice the popular movement.

8. The Maoist groups in Greece are acting in unison with the pro-imperialist, pro-NATO, Anti-Soviet policy of Peking. Just like reaction, these groups have declared our party their "enemy number one." They in effect exculpate the U.S. and West European imperialism from responsibility for the hardships it is inflicting on Greece and its people. Like all reactionaries, they see the greatest danger for our country in the peace-loving policy of the socialist countries. They

seek in every way to undermine and divide the mass movement, all manifestations of popular struggle and engage in provocative action against them.

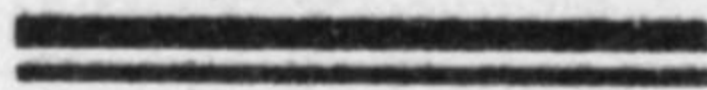
The emergence of what practically is the "Peking-imperialism" axis poses a serious threat for the progressive movement all over the world. The formation of such a "united front" is aimed against international détente and increases the danger of a new world war.

9. The socialist countries, all anti-imperialist, progressive, peace-loving forces of the world, and together with them the most progressive part of the Chinese people as well, come out against the "Peking-imperialism front."

The interests of universal peace, just as our national interests, demand that we condemn and vigorously counteract the political line of Peking, which has now turned into a policy that is clearly hostile to the cause of peace and social progress. Irrespective of one's intentions, underestimation of this fact will in no way help the cause of universal peace or the interests of our people.

10. The CPG Central Committee urges its membership, cadres and supporters of the party and the Communist Youth of Greece, all democrats and champions of peace to step up the struggle for a just and peaceful settlement of the Cyprus problem and the crisis in the Aegean Sea, in defense of peace in our area, universal peace and international cooperation, and an independent, peace-loving foreign policy for our country. The Central Committee urges them to safeguard and strengthen the unity of the progressive, anti-imperialist and peace forces of the world against the U.S.-NATO "united front," against the enemies of peace, progress and the national independence of the peoples.

Central Committee
Communist Party of Greece
Rizospastis, November 7, 1978



A NEW SITUATION, NEW OBJECTIVES

*Political Resolution of the Central Committee,
Brazilian Communist Party*

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Brazil held a plenum in November 1978. The plenum discussed the domestic situation and the party's tasks, the Brazilian trade union movement, organizational questions and adopted a number of documents, including a statement on the trade union movement, a resolution on organizational questions, and others. Following are excerpts from the political resolution.

The development of events in Brazil in recent months point to a deepening antagonism between the majority of the nation and the military-fascist regime, which is confirmed by the conclusions of the political resolution of the BCP Central Committee meeting, held in November 1977. This is due to the aggravation of the problems engendered by the socio-economic situation and above all the persisting dictatorial instruments and methods of government. . . .

The changes that have occurred during this period attest to the emergence of a new situation in the country that is characterized by the successes of the opposition and symptoms of the regime's decline.

THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC SITUATION

Political changes are based on the increasing aggravation of the country's economic and social situation. The economic development model chosen by the military-fascist dictatorship, based on the super-exploitation of the working people, concentration of profit, monopoly growth in agriculture, unbridled capitalist accumulation and growing dependency on imperialism is beginning to show its defectiveness. . . .

The strikes and numerous political actions by the trade unions show that the working class and groups of the middle strata are fighting ever more actively against the policy of super-exploitation. At the same time, a substantial part of the business circles seeks to interfere in the government's economic decisions and demands new forms of participation in the country's political life. . . .

INDICATION OF A NEW SITUATION

What is new in Brazilian reality is the expansion of mass actions and the growing, though still inadequate, level of their organization and consciousness, as well as the obvious decline of the regime and the successes of the opposition movements.

The activity of the masses in defense of their specific demands and their organization around these demands expand the frontiers of the democratic forces' political struggle. Everyone who strives for the common goal of setting up a regime that will respect and guarantee democratic freedoms is drawn into this struggle. . . .

Since 1964 the working-class movement has been coming out against arbitrary rule and has accumulated substantial experience in the struggle. However in recent years the workers' actions for the satisfaction of their requirements and for democratization of trade union and political activities have begun to play a decisive role in the general advance of the democratic forces. The workers have been able to use the relatively favorable political conditions, whose appearance they themselves facilitated, and have taken the lead in the struggle to redemocratize the country.

The recent strikes showed that a united and organized struggle is the sole road for the working class to win their rights, to occupy a place and exert an influence in the political life of Brazil that corresponds to its actual importance in the economy and society. . . .

In the rural communities where the brutality of reaction is continuously felt, the agricultural workers are taking an increasingly active part in the struggle, demanding basic guarantees for employment, higher wages and better living conditions, implementation of labor legislation, as well as the posseiros,¹ who demand a right to the land that they till. Not infrequently, this struggle coincides with the struggle in defense of national territories, huge tracts of which are handed over to the multinationals. . . .

Influenced by the situation in the country, quite a few servicemen come out in favor of the country's democratization, for direct elections, the independence of the three powers² and constitutional guarantees, in defense of human rights and national dignity.

Discontent with the present situation is manifested not only among the opposition forces, including the Brazilian democratic movement (BDM)³ whose role in the struggle against the dictatorship is growing, but also in circles which until recently were linked with the regime or were compromised by ties with it, which leads to the formation of a diffused movement, including even elements from the ARENA⁴. . . .

Faced with the¹ upsurge of the mass movement, which stimulates the organization and unity of all the opposition forces, the dictatorship, while continuing to suppress the actions of the democratic forces, is impelled more and more often to resort to political maneuvering, and occasionally even to retreat.

The present "reforms" confirm this. The regime seeks to give the impression that it is "democratizing" itself, but it can no longer deceive even circles which until recently believed in its "slow, gradual but sure" liberalization. . . .

While actively participating in the unitary struggle for democratic freedoms, the communists are well aware that there are various conceptions of democracy among the opposition forces. For the communists, the struggle for democracy, and the effort to maintain and expand the gains won are part of the struggle for socialism.

Without concealing our end goal — socialism, which epitomizes the broadest and most deep-going democracy, we seek to ensure that such conceptual differences will not obstruct or hamper the political unity of all forces that are fighting, or can fight, for the establishment of a democratic regime. In the present conditions priority should be given to the struggle for democratic freedoms. This is what all forces that want to put an end to the existing regime should unite for now, irrespective of their economic interests and political views. . . .

BCP POLICY IN THE NEW SITUATION

Without minimizing the regime's strength, and mindful of the possible authoritarian or fascist retaliatory measures on the part of the forces which support the interests of the ruling oligarchy, it can, however, be said that the chief tendency today is the sharpening of political and class battles and the progressive growth of the movement for the restoration of democracy in the country, which leads to aggravation of the dictatorship's crisis. That is why *our activity must be directed at expanding and strengthening the unity of the opposition, at organizing these forces in the struggle for democratic freedoms.*

Thus our key task is to fight for the mobilization, organization and permanent participation of the working class and other population strata in the present political process.

Every possible means should be used now to expand and strengthen the unity of the working class, to prevent its isolation, defend the victories scored by the working people, and expose any act of repression on the part of the dictatorial regime.

The communists will work vigorously for the inclusion in all demo-

cratic programs of the key demands of all forces in opposition to the regime and, in particular, the demands advanced by the workers' leadership: annulling the wage-freeze policy, providing the right to strike, the right to conclude collective agreements on wages and working conditions at all enterprises between the hired labor and employers, with trade union participation; to change and democratize the trade union structures, while maintaining the unity of the trade union movement; permission to set up commissions at work places and to create a single trade union center of the working people; eliminate from labor legislation everything that runs counter to the interests of the working people and hampers the implementation of the working class' hard-won gains; eliminate state tutelage over trade union organizations. . . .

The mobilization and organization of the rural masses, as well as the alliance of the peasantry and the working class, are essential conditions in stepping up the effort to overthrow the dictatorship. . . .

Important church circles and the movements influenced by it have a big role to play in the struggle for popular demands and freedoms in town and countryside. Unity of the popular movement presupposes a correct assessment of the church's positive role and alliance with the Catholic masses.

We consider that the armed forces must not be used to carry out police functions, which is what the dictatorship is doing in an attempt to compromise them. In a democratic regime they have an important role to play in the economic, social and political life of the country. A traditional function of the armed forces that will be accented, but is ignored today, is defense of national sovereignty and democracy, which presupposes rejection of the "national security" doctrine imposed on the country with the aim of subordinating our people to the interests of the most aggressive circles of North American imperialism.

It is especially important at the present stage to step up the struggle for broad and unrestricted amnesty for those arrested, condemned and persecuted for political reasons, without which democratization of the country would be impossible and, in particular, to create the necessary climate for the convocation of a truly representative and democratic constituent assembly.

In this context, it is imperative to repeal the present law on national security, which was enacted under the false argument that the country's security is threatened by "internal agents of external enemies"

and serves directly the perpetuation of arbitrary actions and fascist repressions against all democrats. . . .

We want the unitary platform of the democratic front to be based on the principles of free organization of all parties and public opinion trends and, of course, the Brazilian Communist Party. The legality of our party — provided it enjoys equal rights with other parties — will serve as an indication of Brazilian society's high level of democratization. As long as we are forced to work clandestinely, which facilitates reaction's slander against us, and as long as our presence in political life is hampered, discrimination against communists will affect not only us, but all democrats and patriots fighting against arbitrariness and monopoly domination. Over a number of years all arbitrary acts and repressions perpetrated against the Brazilian people, against all democrats, have been carried out in the name of anti-communism. For this reason the struggle against this chief ideological instrument of reaction should become the goal of all who exert maximum efforts to make the future constitution as advanced as possible. This will depend above all on the relation of forces, on the active and organized actions of the working class and popular masses in the political arena. The communists and other forces, who represent the interests of the peoples (the Trabalhists,⁵ socialists, progressive Christians and others) must fight at all levels and in close alliance with the mass movements so that this constitution will not only ensure fundamental freedoms, but will open up constitutional opportunities for the inevitable struggle to promote and expand the political, economic and social gains of the broad popular masses.

The struggle for democratic freedoms and, in particular, to create the prerequisites for the convocation of a freely-elected and sovereign constituent assembly, in which all currents of opinion are represented, for the elaboration and approval of a constitution that will open up the road to a democratic, political, economic and social renovation of the country: the road which the communists propose to all the opposition forces, to all democratic circles in the country. . . .

Our duty is to seek alliances and conditions enabling the working class to continuously win positions, rally and strengthen its forces, and advance in its struggle.

TRANSFORM THE BCP INTO A MASS PARTY

For the working class and its allies to reach the charted goals, a large and strong Communist Party is needed, with deep roots in

society and, in particular, in the factories where the proletariat is concentrated. The striving to reorganize the party, to strengthen it as a working-class party both ideologically and politically, as well as with respect to its composition, is an urgent and important objective.

While fighting for the legalization of the Communist Party, we come out in our practical work against any discrimination against the communists, which is an important form of struggle for democracy, ideological struggle and of strengthening the vanguard party of the working class.

While putting resolute struggle for the party's legalization on the order of the day, we are aware that despite its growing difficulties, the dictatorship is far from being defeated. We are under no illusions that it will be easy to win legality. This victory will be the fruit of the struggle of the working class, all the other working people and all genuine democrats.

Our duty is to enhance our vigilance, to ensure the party's security, to rectify mistakes in our practical work, particularly regarding questions of the links between legal and illegal work. Here the main thing is the party's ties with the masses. It is essential to develop creatively and with initiative the most varied forms of the communists' legal work in the mass movements and simultaneously to strengthen the party's social composition. This is the basic requirement for our party to successfully fulfill the tasks stemming from the new situation in the country.

Central Committee
Brazilian Communist Party
(November 1978)

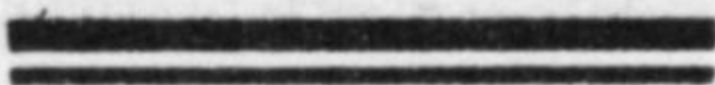
¹Land holders without title deeds. — *Ed.*

²The legislative, executive and judicial powers. — *Ed.*

³The BDM represents the so-called legal opposition. — *Ed.*

⁴Official government party. — *Ed.*

⁵Supporters of the Trabalhista party, now banned by the Brazilian government. In the years preceding the 1964 coup this party conducted a policy aimed at restricting the activity of foreign companies and advocated social reforms. — *Ed.*



THE STRUGGLE OF THE MASSES WILL LEAD TO THE DICTATORSHIP'S DOWNFALL

Statement by the Communist Party of Chile

Over the past year we have witnessed the intensification of mass actions against the dictatorship which were led by the working class, the principal force in the struggle against the tyranny.

Diverse population strata are coming out fearlessly in defense of their fundamental rights. There is growing and deep-going discontent. The majority hold that Pinochet must go, and go promptly.

This is the first time latterly that these actions have acquired such a broad scope. The most important is the struggle of the copper miners ... for better living conditions, restoration of trade union rights and for the reinstatement of dismissed workers. ...

The workers in the coal mining industry are demanding higher wages and job security. There is a growing protest movement in the metallurgical and textile industry, the service sphere, rail and maritime transport, among port workers and taxi drivers, in the national health service and in agriculture.

In September 1978 the Coordinated Trade Union Federation and Unitary Front of the working people addressed a statement to Pinochet in which the main aspirations of the working people and other sectors of the nation are expressed clearly and boldly. The document is an important milestone at the present stage of the people's struggle. It lists not only the immediate demands, but the fundamental political and socio-economic problems agitating the population. It is a great banner of struggle of the trade unions and federations. Everywhere campaigns are being organized in its support and it is being widely discussed and warmly accepted in the primary organizations.

Pinochet responded by escalating repressions against the organized trade union movement and against the people as a whole. Seven federations and confederations and some 600 trade unions affiliated to them have been disbanded and their property confiscated, which affects the interests of a large mass of working people. ...

At the same time the dictatorship's agents have attacked trade union premises, threatening the workers' leaders and plundering

public property. The measures adopted by the dictatorship affect not only those immediately concerned today. They represent a real threat for all public organizations coming out against fascism.

However, as our party noted in a recent statement: "... the present situation is not what the tyrant thinks it is. The population clearly sees the genuine content of government policy and, undaunted by threats, the overwhelming majority is opposing it. Five years after the dictatorship was established, no repressions can stop the masses' striving for freedom, democracy and basic rights."

The dictatorship's onslaught cannot stop the process of unification going on in the country, since it stems from the grass-roots level.

The gravity of the situation is also reflected in the unprecedented political crisis in the armed forces.

Pinochet has come up against the opposition of the Armed Forces Command and, above all, of the Air Force, which through its commander-in-chief General Leigh openly criticized his self-glorification, his social and economic policies, and said that it was essential to change the course and open the way for the creation of a non-fascist government. Pinochet carried out a "coup within a coup" and ousted Leigh.

The Leigh case, however, had its repercussions: loss of credibility, discontent, demoralization throughout the armed forces and the regime. The military realize that they have been embroiled in a venture that has no future, that they serve as a stepping stone for Pinochet's ambitions, an instrument of the finance oligarchy and the multinational monopolies. This deepens the gulf between them and the people. ...

"We must reach agreement with the armed forces, Comrade Luis Corvalan said. "Therefore we establish contacts with the officers, NCOs and men. Our goal is to reach an agreement to put an end to fascism, to work out and introduce in practice a new state system envisaging the transformation of the armed forces bearing in mind all that they can do tomorrow to strengthen a correctly understood national security and to rehabilitate the country. We expect that they, on their part, will also take certain steps to restore the unity with the Chilean people."

Junta propaganda seeks to depict us as proponents of revenge and liquidation of the armed forces. The truth is different, as evidenced by the history of the Chilean communists.

We see the armed forces as an element of Chilean society, as a

factor of primary importance in defending sovereignty and genuine national security.

We know that the overwhelming majority of officers, NCOs and men are affected by the sharp crisis into which Pinochet has plunged us, and we are intensely concerned over it. We know that they would like to see their country move toward progress, employing for this purpose its natural wealth and productive forces free of the oppression and domination imposed by the multinational companies. We know that they have no desire to serve some caste or the money moguls; that they stand for the development of a genuine national culture; that they do not want to see their country artificially split into camps, in which the working people live on the brink of poverty, without living quarters, or in search of jobs, with the young people frustrated for lack of any prospects; that they dream of a homeland where all Chileans can earn a living without having to emigrate in search of work or for political motives.

Pinochet's policy amounts to a total negation of patriotism, its only aim is to widen the gulf between the armed forces and the people, it represents a perennial threat to our sovereignty and the future of Chile. Members of the army, navy, air force and *carabineros* are increasingly recognizing this fact and seek changes.

In the name of Chile's future we must heal the wounds inflicted by fascism and help the armed forces to regain the prestige and respect that was theirs when they guarded the Constitution and the people.

To achieve these goals it is essential that a movement should emerge in the armed forces which would make its contribution to overthrowing Pinochet and the dictatorship.

Pinochet's draft constitution sets the aims of legalizing the fascist, autocratic system which would provide broad guarantees for the monopoly circles of the big bourgeoisie while at the same time excluding from public life all those who profess leftist convictions, relegating them to the role of second- or third-class citizens and banning the activity of Marxist parties.

The draft, which begins with the proclamation of various rights, represents, in effect, a set of laws denying all rights; political, social and economic. . . .

Pinochet and his henchmen intend to push through their new "creation" with the aid of a plebiscite, which is as fraudulent as the notorious "consultation with the people" of January 4, 1978.

We said then that any Pinochetist constitution will be illegal. No fraudulent plebiscite with its falsified results can enhance its value.

And as long as the tyranny lasts, it will serve only as an instrument of repression.

The intention to exclude from public life people who profess leftist ideas, or who just happen to disagree with the existing regime (the content of the constitutional articles is so broad that they could be applied to any dissenting Chilean), is a challenge that emphasizes the fascist character of the draft constitution. Moreover, the intention to exclude from public life millions of Chileans who profess leftist ideas is an attempt to change the national character, which has been in the process of formation for more than 60 years already under the impact of revolutionary ideas, which decisively affect social development in our century. Apart from everything else, dictators of all hues have earlier too used similar methods in an attempt to destroy Marxism, but have met with total defeat. Marxism-Leninism is attacked by the fascists but they are unable to destroy it because it meets the demands of the time and the interests of the majority of people. The implementation of its principles in a substantial part of the world is proof of its force and viability.

The struggle against the dictatorship and its anti-national policy, which is virtually aimed against all classes and population groups, has facilitated the emergence of a powerful resistance movement involving broad sections of the public.

Pinochet's isolation is growing. Day by day the camp of his opponents is gaining in strength. It includes both advocates of a return to democracy on the purely political plane and proponents of a democracy that would lead to the uprooting of fascism. The opposition camp also includes people who were opposed to Popular Unity and at first supported the junta. What they all have in common is their search for an option that would signify an end to the tyranny, help to heal the wounds dealt by fascism and forge the way for the free expression of the people's will. . . .

Reality is the force that is leading, if not to the unity of the democratic circles, then at least to coinciding viewpoints. It is the force that impels joint defense of the right to work and a fair remuneration for it, the right to health care, housing, freedom of speech, to organizing in trade unions, to education. It is reality — in all its aspects — that helps to create conditions in which this awareness is strengthened among the Chileans, who, while adhering to differing views, are linked by the common striving for freedom and democracy.

In the framework of this broad movement two major forces are

most important — Popular Unity and Christian Democracy, whose members are fighting together in the localities. Without minimizing the contribution of various groups, including the non-fascist rightist circles acting in the same direction, we are convinced that mutual understanding between the Popular Unity and Christian Democracy and their striving for common goals is the decisive factor in working out a democratic alternative. The permanent dialogue and coinciding viewpoints represent an important achievement. We are dealing with a complex process, which requires a clear understanding of the positions of each side and takes place in an atmosphere of respect and honest comparison of views. It is during this process that incomprehension, distrust and prejudices are being overcome.

We are convinced that it is possible and necessary to reach a minimum of accord which would involve the broadest democratic forces and put an end to the dictatorship. It is the most patriotic objective of the moment and life urgently demands its materialization.

Pinochet plays on the division in the opposition forces, and boasts that his going would signify chaos. This is totally false. The truth is that the opposition should propose a clear option to the Chilean people, presupposing not only the creation of a provisional government, but a real opportunity for the emergence of a stable and firm regime, enjoying universal support. And that is the direction events are taking.

In our opinion the conditions required for listing vital demands already exist.

First, with respect to the formation of a provisional government we hold that it should include representatives of all forces that oppose the dictatorship.

Second, the basic objectives of the provisional government should include democratization measures, that is, the establishment of a state genuinely based on law, the activation of mechanisms that will enable the people to express themselves in political, trade union and public organizations.

Among others, the following measures should be discussed:

- repeal of the state of emergency;
- dissolution of the National Information Center and paramilitary rightist formations;
- repeal of the repressive laws restricting trade union activity (return to trade union elections, conclusion of collective agreements and the right to strike);
- repeal of censorship of the press and other mass media;

- legalization of political parties;
- return of the émigrés;
- prosecution under the law of persons responsible for the crimes and brutalities against the people;
- free functioning of communal and public organizations;
- restitution of newspapers, radio stations and other property confiscated from the political parties, trade unions and individuals by the dictatorship;
- restoration of university autonomy, a stop to intervention by the military in the universities, guaranteed participation in their leadership by teachers, scholars, students and technical personnel;
- introduction of essential changes in the armed forces that will ensure defense of the democratic process;
- restructuring of the judicial system to enable it to adequately uphold human rights. . . .

Third, the provisional government should, in case of necessity, begin resolving urgent problems, such as:

- increasing the purchasing power of the working people;
- reactivating the economy in order to speedily stop dismissals;
- clearly defining the economic sectors: public, mixed, private, cooperative and self-employed;
- stopping the import of luxury items and manufactures that can be produced in the country;
- prohibiting speculative operations of the financial oligarchy and the activity of the multinationals plundering the country;
- ending the return of land to the latifundists and giving the usurped lands back to the peasants and Mapuche Indians, introducing an emergency agrarian policy to provide the people with food;
- protecting the Indian communities;
- returning the country to the Andes Pact;
- providing funds for the needs of education, health care, housing construction, etc.

On the whole, we stand for adoption of measures to substantially improve the living standards and eliminate the disastrous consequences of the market economy practised by the dictatorship.

This is what we expect a future provisional government to do. Only a successive government — elected in accordance with an orientation freely upheld by the people — will adopt a number of measures in the framework of a consistent plan drawn up according to the extraordinary program to be implemented in practice on the basis of agreement.

We stress that in our view it is possible and essential to reach an understanding between Popular Unity, Christian Democracy and other forces for the formation of a future government that will effect profound changes and will not encounter the people's opposition. It is essential for the above-mentioned forces to act in common in a prolonged (perhaps indefinite) process of change that will benefit the country. We are convinced that life will prove that we were right to pose the question in this way. However, we do not want to delay the fulfillment of any agreed objective facing us today, neither do we want to avoid discussing what can be done tomorrow.

An objective analysis of the present situation shows that nothing can impede the fall of the dictatorship, the fall of Pinochet. With every passing day the party's watchword — speed up the deposition of Pinochet — is becoming more and more topical. The tyrant, supported by imperialism and the oligarchy, is the chief obstacle in the way to changes leading to democracy, progress and genuine national security.

Our people are following with indignation the Chinese leaders' growing aid to Pinochet and the expanding cooperation between them. Apart from the advantageous credits and increasing trade, there are the additional copper purchases as well as direct political actions. Foreign Minister Canciller Cubillos' visit to China clearly showed the Chinese leaders' acknowledgment of the "identity of aims" between their regime and Pinochet's. This "identity of aims" is nothing but anti-Sovietism, hatred toward the national-liberation movements, and militarist aspirations characteristic of both regimes.

The people's struggle must be raised to a new level. It is essential to coordinate the actions of various forces so as to deal blows from various sides at the dictatorship and thus weaken fascism. No patriot can be satisfied with the present level of popular struggle. This struggle, though often very important and extremely heroic, is not yet strong enough to put an end to the dictatorship. The will of victory plays an important role. As noted in our February 1978 document, "in this respect subjective factors, the militant spirit of the masses, the will of all social and political circles acquire a decisive significance today."

Each of us can do more while working among the masses by explaining the situation, showing them how to resolve their concrete problems, seeking to start a dialogue with the most varied sectors, including the armed forces and tirelessly working for unity among the

other population strata and at all levels of our work, and employing new forms of struggle.

We cannot wait with folded arms for Pinochet's downfall. The personal participation of each of us will help bring down the dictatorship.

Communist Party of Chile
Santiago de Chile October 1978
Abridged

FINAL DECLARATION OF THE FIRST CONGRESS OF THE UNITED PARTY OF HAITIAN COMMUNISTS

The United Party of Haitian Communists (UPHC) recently held its First Congress. The party was founded in 1968 through the merger of the People's Unity Party and the People's Party of National Liberation.

Congress discussed the main report, adopted the Party Program and Rules and several other documents on various questions.

A new Central Committee and other leading party bodies were elected. Jacques Dorcilien was elected General Secretary of the UPHC.

Following is the final declaration of the Congress.

The First Congress of the United Party of Haitian Communists held in clandestinity has successfully concluded its work.

The First Congress of the UPHC hails the struggle of all Latin American peoples against imperialism, for social progress and well-being.

We salute in particular the communists and patriots of Nicaragua, Uruguay, Chile, Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Guatemala, where, as in Haiti, ruthless dictatorships hold sway.

We hail the peoples of the socialist countries for their contribution to the cause of peace and human happiness.

We hail the proletariat and progressive forces of the developed capitalist countries who are fighting to transform the exploitative

capitalist society into a society of fraternity, democracy and solidarity, that is, a socialist society.

We hail the struggle of the peoples who are still subjected to colonial and neo-colonial oppression, particularly the peoples of Puerto Rico, Guadeloupe, Martinique and Guiana.

The First Congress of the United Party of Haitian Communists declares its solidarity with the struggle of the peoples of Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa against the racist regimes and apartheid which are still dominant in these African countries.

The First UPHC Congress notes that the worldwide popular actions are increasingly challenging imperialist domination. Imperialism exploits the working people of Haiti, and serves as a support for the regime of unbearable oppression represented by the government of the Duvalier family.

The First Congress of our party is taking place at a time when mass resistance to the dictatorial methods of government is becoming increasingly more pronounced.

Aggravation of the people's living standards, their permanent opposition to the dictatorship, the consistent struggle waged by the Haitian communists at the cost of enormous sacrifice, the favorable international climate resulting from the peace policy pursued by the socialist countries and progressive forces, all this determined the genuinely new features of the situation in Haiti.

The numerous strikes by workers who are demanding higher wages and trade union freedoms, the peasant actions against the disposessions and abuses by local authorities, the movement for new general elections with the aim of ending the system of a life-long and hereditary presidency are evidence of the new upsurge of a general democratic mass movement for the restoration of public liberties and fundamental rights of the Haitian people.

The First UPHC Congress declares the Duvalier-government undesirable, since it sides with the exploiters, pursues a policy of national betrayal in favor of imperialism and seizes every opportunity to obstruct the working people's movement in defense of their demands.

The First UPHC Congress declares the Duvalier government unacceptable because it has installed a repressive, reactionary autocratic regime, that flouts the people's sovereign rights.

The First UPHC Congress demands:

- an end to the imperialist plunder of the country's wealth;
- abrogation of the anti-communist, terrorist law of April 28, 1969, as well as all other legislation of the same order;

— an end to the system of a life-long and hereditary presidency.
The First UPOCH Congress demands publication of the list of all political prisoners, and their immediate release.

The First UPHC Congress demands also:

— a general amnesty, including the right to unconditional return of all political exiles;

— the right to free organization of political parties and the holding of general elections at all levels.

The First UPHC Congress declares its solidarity with all mass actions that have taken place recently in Haiti. It appreciates the activity of independent journalists, who ever more audaciously publicize the protest of the popular masses against the dictatorship, seeking thereby to establish the freedom of information and expression.

The First Congress declares its support for all those who come out for the overthrow of the Duvalier regime and for the establishment of a system that will guarantee public liberties and national sovereignty.

URGENCY TO BUILD LEFT AND DEMOCRATIC FRONT

Following are excerpts from the review report of Political Developments — July to October, 1978, adopted by the National Council of the Communist Party of India in its meeting held in Delhi from October 29 to November 2, 1978:

Each passing day is witness to the ever-deepening crisis of Janata rule at the center and in the states and to the further erosion of its credibility in the eyes of the people. The government has exposed itself to such public contempt and ridicule that even the dignity and prestige of the country are getting devalued in the eyes of India's friends and foes alike. . . .

Over the country as a whole, including the capital city of Delhi, and particularly in the Janata-ruled states, ministerial incompetence, partisanship and in-fighting are creating chaotic conditions in the administrative apparatus. The bureaucrats and police on the one hand and professional criminals and anti-social elements on the other, are

having a field day at the expense of the ordinary citizen. The law and order situation was never so chaotic. . . .

The National Council of the Communist Party of India in its July statement had drawn pointed attention to the sinister "growth of reactionary communal and divisive forces and trends" which were threatening democratic unity and secular harmony in the country.

It is indeed ominous that these trends have been further aggravated during the last three months and have expressed themselves through various forms of clashes and tensions such as the communal disturbances in Hyderabad and Aligarh, the anti-Bengali campaign and attacks in Assam, the Akali-Nirankari violent clashes in Punjab and UP and the growing caste conflicts in different parts of the country, including further threats to and attacks on the harijans. . . .

Throughout the sensitive border areas of north-eastern India and particularly in the states of Tripura, Manipur, Meghalaya, Nagaland and Mizoram chauvinistic and divisive forces have become extremely active. Tensions between the tribal peoples and nontribals, between hill people and plains people are being fomented not only by various political parties and forces, but also by the RSS, Ananda Margis and the missionaries. The situation has been further aggravated by the Janata government's utter indifference toward and neglect of the legitimate needs and aspirations of the people of this undeveloped region. This provides fertile soil for the separatist forces, including the underground Nagas and Mizos who have links with the Chinese.

The virus of castism and communalism has to be clearly seen as a deadly enemy of the class unity of the toiling people, designed to divide the latter and involve them in fratricidal conflicts and weaken their power of resistance to the exploiting classes and reactionary vested interests. . . .

In the field of economy, the crisis of the capitalist path is, as anticipated by us, being steadily intensified under the dispensation of the Janata rule. While the policy of economic and technological co-operation with the Soviet Union in terms of the 1971 Indo-Soviet treaty is still being formally adhered to, the beneficial effects of this cannot by themselves overcome the negative consequences of the overall pro-monopoly line of a "free-market," denigration of the public sector, virtual abandonment of development planning . . . for new incentives to foreign private capital for investment in India. . . .

Industrial production in many key sectors is falling or is, at best, stagnant. Critical shortages have appeared in coal, steel, cement and power, the basic sinews of development. Accumulated foreign ex-

change reserves are being drained off by a totally unplanned "liberalization" of imports so much so that the country's favorable balance of trade has already been reversed and the current financial year may result in a trade deficit of approximately Rs 1,000 crore. It has to be noted that imports are being stepped up in many such items (rubber, machinery, artificial fibers, optical glass, etc.) which would adversely affect indigenous producers. Reserve Bank figures show that the volume of money supply in circulation is going up at an increasing rate of over 18 per cent. Rising budgetary deficits are expected to exceed Rs 1,500 crores in 1978-79. The pumping of this huge money supply into the market and particularly to the private commercial sector is bound to lead to cornering of stocks, speculation and rising prices. . . .

Despite the slightly higher procurement and minimum support prices announced by the government for paddy, coarse grains, jute, etc. in comparison with last year, the wholesale market in foodgrains and commercial crops like sugarcane, tobacco, cotton, jute, oilseeds, etc. is now so decisively dominated and manipulated by big traders and middlemen that the majority of farmers, who had little or no holding power, continue to be fleeced and are forced to part with their produce at prices which are not only uneconomic, but which do not even cover their production costs in many cases. . . .

All this has created acute discontent among the mass of land-holding peasants, their illusion regarding the Janata government with all its demagogic concern for the tillers of the soil are being shattered and an explosive situation is being built up in which the peasantry, given a proper lead, would be prepared to take to mass action in defense of their legitimate interests and, above all, for economic prices.

The World Bank prescription for a shift away from development of heavy industries in the public sector and in favor of so-called rural development, irrigation, small-scale and cottage industries, etc., export-oriented industries, import liberalization, relaxation of controls over foreign investment and so on finds as enthusiastic a supporter in the Janata government as it had done in the Indira Gandhi regime from 1974 onwards. This process has been stepped up during the last three months. . . .

Potential foreign collaborators, especially the multinationals, sensing the softening up process in the top circles of the government, are pressing hard for a more favorable climate for their investment. . . .

Despite all their talk about safeguarding national interest, limiting

foreign collaboration and imports to technologies and products which are not indigenously available, etc., the Janata government is making concession after concession to the foreign monopolies. The finance, industry and commerce ministries and the Planning Commission are moving along a path fraught with grave dangers to India's self-reliance and independent economic development. The deliberately slowed-down momentum of development inevitably means that fewer new employment opportunities will be available for the jobless millions.

In other words, Indian big business is getting the fullest opportunity to grow as it wishes and by whatever means, fair or foul, it can devise.

Against the background of the development described above, the accelerating rightist shifts in the Janata government's foreign policy are not surprising at all. This policy is, in fact, entering a new phase. The slogan of "genuine non-alignment" is being replaced by that of "alignment with all." The anti-imperialist content of India's non-alignment policy is being systematically scuttled and her traditional anti-imperialist role is being replaced by a role of acquiescence in imperialist conspiracies hatched against world peace and against the national-liberation movements. This policy is evoking sharp protests even from sections of the Janata Party. . . .

In this context, the government of India's new "China policy" has to be properly understood.

The CPI always stood, and continues to stand for normalization of relations between India and China by resolving the issues of dispute between the two countries on an honorable and agreed basis and without in any way harming our national interests or compromising our nationally accepted policy of peace, anti-imperialism and co-operation with the anti-imperialist forces the world over. All efforts to this end are to be welcomed in the interests of peace, relaxation of tension and good-neighborliness.

This would naturally require a change — of which there is, however, no indication — in China's hostile attitude on such issues as Kashmir, Mizoram and Nagaland, and willingness on her part to settle the border dispute on a just and mutually acceptable basis.

At the same time, the CPI also considers it essential to emphasize that India cannot close its eyes to the recently intensified Chinese activities on our borders, their open encouragement to Pakistan's military regime on the Kashmir question, their construction of the Karakoram road through occupied Indian territory, their global policy of collaboration with U.S. imperialism and NATO, their diplomatic and military support to various pro-imperialist, fascist and even racist

regimes, their perfidious attacks on Vietnam and Laos, and their obvious aim to undermine the ties of Indo-Soviet friendship and cooperation.

Notwithstanding its assurances of protecting India's national interests, the Janata government with its policy of "alignment with all" is exposing our country to the danger of involvement in the sinister anti-Asian and anti-Indian U.S.-Chinese designs. This danger is real and nothing should be allowed to blunt the nation's vigilance.

The suppression of democracy and democratic rights is proceeding apace. . . .

The biggest single attack has been directed against the organized working class through the new industrial relations bill, which aims at outlawing the right to strike and imposition of bureaucratic control and supervision over the organization and functioning of trade unions, including their internal structure. The bourgeois class character of this bill is plain for all to see. It seeks to suppress the workers' capacity to resist the new offensive on their wages, bonus, etc., which is simultaneously planned through the Bhoothalingam committee's reactionary proposals. . . .

Police excesses continue and firing on unarmed people is resorted to on the slightest excuse. Even the peaceful CPI satyagrahis* were brutally lathi-charged** in several states and subjected to ill-treatment and indignities in jail. . . .

Many more examples may be cited of violation of democratic rights and norms being trampled underfoot. . . .

Masses of the working people are discontented, confused and frustrated. They are bitter with the Janata's broken promises, disgusted by mutual mudslinging and factional squabbles of ministers and leaders, but as yet unable to see a viable alternative.

In such a situation, the democratic forces must redouble their vigilance against imperialist and neo-colonialist conspiracies aimed at further destabilization of the situation and the danger of external interventions in unexpected forms. . . .

The challenges before our country cannot be met except by building a broad united front of all left and democratic parties, forces and individuals who are prepared to unite on the basis of a democratic program and to resist the offensive of the monopolists, foreign multi-

*Symbolic violation of law and order. — *Ed.*

**Lathi — a heavy stick of bamboo and iron used as a club by police, soldiers, etc.

nationals, imperialist agencies, landlords, caste and communal reactionaries. Only such a front built through substantial struggles in defense of the working people can provide the much-needed national alternative which can save the country and take it forward. Such struggles will serve their purposes most effectively to the extent that they are based on the broadest possible mass unity from issue to issue, without any inhibitions.

The CPI considers the fulfillment of this task its overriding duty to the people and will work unswervingly and determinedly for its success. It will take all possible initiatives to draw into these united actions and struggles not only the left parties and groups, but the wide spectrum of forces and individuals who are expressing themselves in various ways on various issues, wherever they may be, for example, inside the two Congress parties and even the Janata Party, apart from those who may be non-party. The only criterion for participation in joint actions should be an agreed stand on the particular democratic issue concerned. This would provide, in today's conditions, the broadest possible basis for uniting all those left and democratic forces who are prepared to act together.

The CPI also feels that it is necessary and urgent that representatives of left parties and of democratic groups, forces and viewpoints should meet to exchange opinions on the present political situation and to devise ways and means of organizing united actions on the burning problems facing the people of our country.

At the same time, the CPI will actively popularize among the masses the "minimum platform" adopted by its Bhatinda party congress in April 1978 as a basis for a democratic program for solving the people's urgent problems and taking the country forward.

All possible efforts will also have to be made to develop unity in action on common demands of mass organizations of different affiliations representing the workers, kisans, agricultural labor, students, youth, women and others . . .

Future course of mass action: In the coming period, the party should base itself on the most burning issues facing different sections of the people and do everything possible for organizing, initiating, helping and leading united mass movements on the widest possible basis. The main struggles which have already begun to develop and must be carried forward boldly are:

- (1) United trade union action against the reactionary industrial relations bill and the Bhoothalingam committee's recommendations;
- (2) United struggles of all agricultural workers, whether harijans,

adivasis or belonging to other backward sections, castes or religious communities, against landlord oppression and for social rights;

(3) Peasant struggles for remunerative prices for sugarcane, cotton and paddy;

(4) Movements of youth and students against unemployment and for overhaul of the education system;

(5) Mass resistance by agricultural workers and other democratic forces to atrocities against harijans and rural poor;

(6) Struggle for implementation of land reforms;

(7) Relief and rehabilitation measures for millions of flood-affected people on a war footing.

Various mass organizations concerned should plunge into these movements without delay. . . .

The central issues and movements indicated above no not at all minimize in any way the supreme importance, which was emphasized in the Bhatinda party congress resolutions of maximum initiative in taking up other mass issues at state, district and local levels so that the party can really emerge as the unifier of all the fighting democratic forces.

New Age, November 12, 1978

THE CRISIS OF THE ANTI-CZECHOSLOVAK PROPAGANDA

This year bourgeois propaganda focused on Czechoslovakia. This was seemingly due to several outstanding historical dates. The real reasons, however, are more deep-seated. Gustav Husak, General Secretary of the CPCz Central Committee and President of the Republic, said at the March meeting of the CPCz Central Committee: "Our enemies cannot forgive us their defeat in February 1948 when our working people led by the Communist Party achieved victory over reaction. They refuse to accept the fact that their predictions on the defeat of socialism in our country, which they continue fabricating and spreading, have not come true. They refuse to acknowledge the fact their hopes linked in the critical period of 1968-69 with the anti-socialist and rightist forces, with the gradual elimination of the

people's revolutionary gains, with the discrediting and liquidation of the socialist system in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, with wresting our country from the camp of our true friends, from the camp of our socialist allies, did not materialize. In short, their hopes of a counter-revolutionary coup in Czechoslovakia did not come true.

"The bourgeoisie and its stooges are unwilling to accept the fact that their aims and plans have failed. They cannot forgive us that thanks to the internationalist, fraternal aid of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries the Marxist-Leninist forces in the CPCz surmounted the crisis situation, purged and strengthened the party on Leninist principles, extricated society from the crisis and set it on the road of dynamic development and prosperity, of stronger fraternal and allied relations with the USSR and other socialist countries."

Gustav Husak pointed out, in this connection, the broader international implications of the anti-Czechoslovak campaign. They are reflected in the class enemy's growing fear of socialism's successes, which are increasing its attractive power. The anti-communist fabrications are designed to distract attention from the persisting economic crisis which is aggravating the general crisis of capitalism, and with the aid of which the ultra-reactionary forces seek to undermine international détente.

The primary aim of international reaction is to disrupt the unity of the forces of the world revolutionary process and to discredit the revolutionary forces in the eyes of the world public. Imperialist political, economic and ideological activity is directed to this end. It is aimed, above all, at disrupting the unity of the socialist community countries.

The June 12, 1978 issue of the U.S. weekly *Time* carried an article entitled "Carter tries a new track toward Eastern Europe," which says: "The U.S. objective is to encourage political liberalization and relative independence inside the East bloc. . . . Zbigniew Brzezinski came into office determined to combine a 'more competitive' approach toward the Soviet Union with a 'more differentiated' one toward Eastern Europe." The weekly admits that the U.S. aim is to sow mutual distrust between the socialist community members and especially to isolate the Soviet Union from the other socialist countries. For this, they exert economic and political pressure along with a differentiated approach and foment petty-bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism.

That is also the purpose of the anti-Czechoslovak propaganda. It too is conducted in a differentiated way. The propaganda aimed at our

citizens differs from that addressed to the public in the capitalist countries. The radio and subversive press which are designed to influence our citizens do not, as a rule, openly attack socialism. Certain problems and shortcomings are exaggerated and presented as an inevitable consequence of party policy, alleging that if the development begun in 1968 had not been stopped these problems would have been resolved long since.

At the beginning of 1977 it was abundantly proved to our enemies that the purported lack of human rights and freedoms in Czechoslovakia, is a fabrication and, far from influencing the public, is indignantly rejected by it, as evidenced by the response to the so-called Charter 77. Attempts are made to frighten our public with impending economic difficulties and problems linked with supplies and living standards. Attacks against Czechoslovakia and its people are simultaneously directed against the Soviet Union and socialist principles. Many of our enemies pose as "friends of the Czechoslovak people," who allegedly support socialism in Czechoslovakia, appreciate its various aspects, but are "protecting" us against "Soviet pressures." The most primitive variety of this propaganda is that conducted by the Maoists.

Bourgeois propaganda seeks to spread alarm among our public, to sow distrust toward the party and the state leadership, to call in question our alliance with the fraternal socialist states.

The anti-Czechoslovak slander addressed to the public of the capitalist countries differs in character. There the anti-Czechoslovak campaign is designed to discredit socialism, to create a false impression of it in an attempt to "prove" that it isn't worth striving for.

In the capitalist countries bourgeois ideology employs numerous arguments and forms, ranging from fascist and Zionist to neo-Trotskyite and anarchistic. Latterly, particularly since the beginning of last year, crude, militant anti-communism is again the dominant trend.

A characteristic illustration is the malicious campaign begun in connection with the 10th anniversary of the internationalist aid to the Czechoslovak people against the counter-revolution in 1968. The schema of bourgeois propaganda can be expressed in the form of "ten commandments," which are continuously repeated, combined with and "illustrated" by new ones and, above all, by rehashed fabrications and speculation:

1. In 1968, it is alleged, it was merely a question of democratic, reformist, socialist aspirations;

2. Alexander Dubcek & Co. were socialistic, democratic and humanistic heroes;

3. They enjoyed the spontaneous support of the Czechoslovak people, which cannot become reconciled with the present regime;

4. The Soviet Union blocked the anticipated reforms and imposed on Czechoslovakia a political system which does not correspond to its conditions;

5. The August events in Prague are represented in the most tragic light, primarily with the aid of photographs depicting the burning tank in front of the Czechoslovak radio station;

6. "Gulas communism" is allegedly designed to induce obedience in the CSSR population, but is leading to political passivity;

7. The "nation's élite" is denied the opportunity to engage in qualified work;

8. The Czechoslovak economy is heading toward stagnation, it is threatened by a catastrophe;

9. There is, allegedly, a disarray in the party leadership;

10. The situation in the country is worse than before 1968.

This paltry schema has been repeated continuously for ten years. Its worn-out moulds have served as the basis for more than 600-anti-communist books on the 1968 events in Czechoslovakia and countless articles, radio and TV programs.

However, with every passing year this bourgeois legend increasingly and ever more clearly differs from reality. Bourgeois propaganda is forced more and more often to remain silent, to prevaricate, and to distort certain issues. The results of Czechoslovak development after 1969, and particularly after the 14th CPCz Congress, are becoming ever more convincing. We are witnessing the hostile campaign's main weakness: fear of the truth about Czechoslovakia's development. Invoked is the traditional bourgeois method: lies, and not only in assessing the general situation, but with respect to individual events. Here are some examples.

The U.S. *Newsweek* carried an article in its August 21 issue under the title "The Wounded Czechs," which claims that the only jobs available to almost a half million people who were expelled from the party is as janitors or furnacemen. The historian Jaroslav Kladrava, it is alleged, worked for several years in a Prague morgue washing dead bodies before he was allowed to go on pension (this cock-and-bull

story had been printed in the emigrant publication *Svedectvi* several years earlier).

Comrade Leonid Brezhnev's visit last May was allegedly his first visit to Czechoslovakia since 1968 — yet another piece of "free information" for *Newsweek's* readers, "Inflation is running at a high rate" in our country, it alleges. But the truth is that prices on essentials remain at the 1971 level, while wages are growing. The article is accompanied by two photographs as "proof" of the low social level of our country. One shows an old man with a wooden wheelbarrow, which according to the title illustrates our cooperative agriculture. It turned out, however, that the weekly had taken this photograph from a pre-war regional paper. The other one shows an old woman pushing a decrepit pram against the background of photographs of cosmonauts in the Old Town Square. This woman is familiar to many Pragueites, who often see her pushing an old pram with two dolls in it. This randomly chosen article shows how "serious" bourgeois "information" about our country is.

This is not an exception. *Time* carried in its August 28 issue an article under the title *Ten Years of Twilight*, which says that the CPCz, seeking to hide the reduction of its membership as a result of the expulsions, has claimed that it now has 1.9 million members in the party. (Data on the actual number of full and alternate members of the CPCz, some 400 below that figure, will be easily found in our readily accessible sources). The same article goes on to assert that Alexander Dubcek is working as a watchman in a Bratislava park, that beginning with 1969 we have arrested some 20-30 thousand citizens for political reasons, that at the end of 1977 a struggle began in the party leadership, as a result of which we were without a General Secretary for three days, etc. It will be recalled that Gustav Husak, addressing the demonstration devoted to the February events at the Old Town Square, publicly ridiculed this rumor spread by bourgeois journalists and which *Time*, a half a year later, would like to have the American public believe in.

At a loss for arguments against socialist development in Czechoslovakia, bourgeois propaganda is resorting to lies. The less the Western public responds to these anti-socialist attacks, the more bourgeois propaganda tries to harass us. More often than not, however, this has the opposite effect on realistically and critically thinking people.

I became convinced of this during a lecture tour to Sweden last August. The trip was organized by the Workers' Party — Communists of Sweden. I found that there is an enormous interest in our

country's present situation and the events that took place ten years ago. And not only among the communists, but among the broad public who attended the public lectures. Here also people are fed up with the endless stereotyped slander against Czechoslovakia. Bourgeois propaganda is full of contradictions, which increasingly attest to its falsity. People asked primarily about things which bourgeois propaganda avoids: how is the right to work and free education ensured in Czechoslovakia, how are prices kept stable, how is mother-and-child care organized and what is the cause of the population growth, how is free health care ensured, on what is the social confidence of Czechoslovak citizenry based and what are the prospects of its living standards.

Above all, the Swedes asked questions about the things that are an acute social problem in their own country. They look to real socialism for experience to help them in resolving their internal social and political problems. This is a characteristic feature and the reason for heightened interest toward the socialist states in the whole capitalist world. Today bourgeois propaganda is of interest to us not because of what it says, but rather what it does not say about us. It thereby points to the most convincing evidence of socialism's superiority over capitalism.

A typical instance is the bourgeois analysis of our economy. They acknowledge our definite successes, because they cannot avoid doing so. But in the same breath they predict growing hidden contradictions fraught with serious consequences, for which the Soviet Union allegedly bears the blame.

We are told that we depict our economy only in rosy colors whereas in reality they carefully avoid any mention of our analysis of real problems and proposed methods of solving them. The outlook, development prospects — that above all is what bourgeois propaganda avoids mentioning and tries to conceal, for the real prospects of our economy, and hence social confidence of the working people constitute socialism's clear superiority over capitalism.

In characterizing the rich life of our people, bourgeois propaganda employs only a few stereotyped phrases. It is asserted that our people are passive, that they seclude themselves in a private life, that only careerists and a few fanatics are active. It goes to great lengths to conceal from the Western public the facts of the activity of hundreds of thousands of our citizens in the national committees, the day-by-day work of deputies at all levels, the rights and scope of trade union activity, of the activists of the Socialist Youth League, the Women's

League and other public organizations. The populace of the capitalist countries displays an enormous interest in the most common facts of our reality, for instance "Operation Z," during which thanks to the voluntary work of millions there appear parks, children's playgrounds, sports halls, schools and other public and cultural establishments. They are surprised at the scope and level of our people's artistic creativity, the interest of the masses in the cultural values and historical monuments, etc.

This reality is incompatible with the stereotype bourgeois "human rights" campaign. The aim of the fabricated "tragedies" of a few individuals, who are alien to our social and political life, the so-called dissidents, is to distract the attention of the Western public from the basic facts, which attest to the active and fruitful labor of 15 million citizens of our republic.

All this is a manifestation of the crisis of anti-Czechoslovak propaganda. Our enemies' intensive preoccupation with us, particularly over the past ten years, is working against them. A growing number of people seek to break through the curtain of bourgeois disinformation and to learn the truth about Czechoslovakia.

Hence the stepped up efforts of the anti-communist forces, hence the intensified use of and improvement of their vast propaganda machine and search for new methods and ploys.

The most convincing answer to this is the result of the labor endeavor in building a developed socialist society along with the heightened political activity and consciousness of the Czechoslovak people. At the same time it is our internationalist duty to demonstrate our real results to other peoples. This is not only an expression of the people's justified pride, but also of their socialist class consciousness. The simple truth about day-to-day life is the most powerful argument in favor of socialism, in favor of CPCz policy and our internationalist alliance.

Milan Matous
Rude Pravo, November 23, 1978
