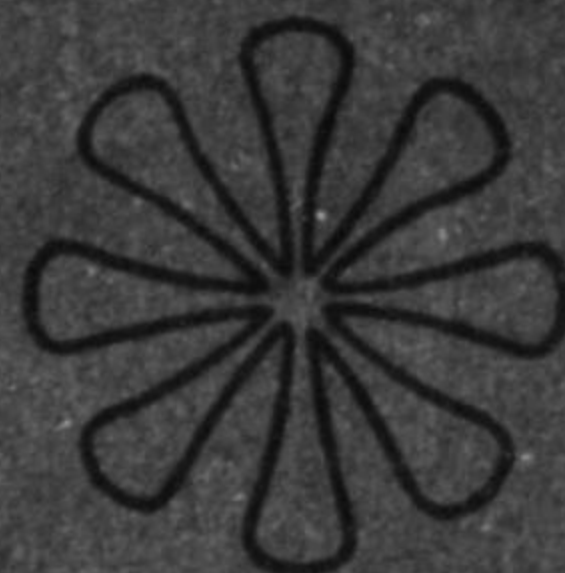


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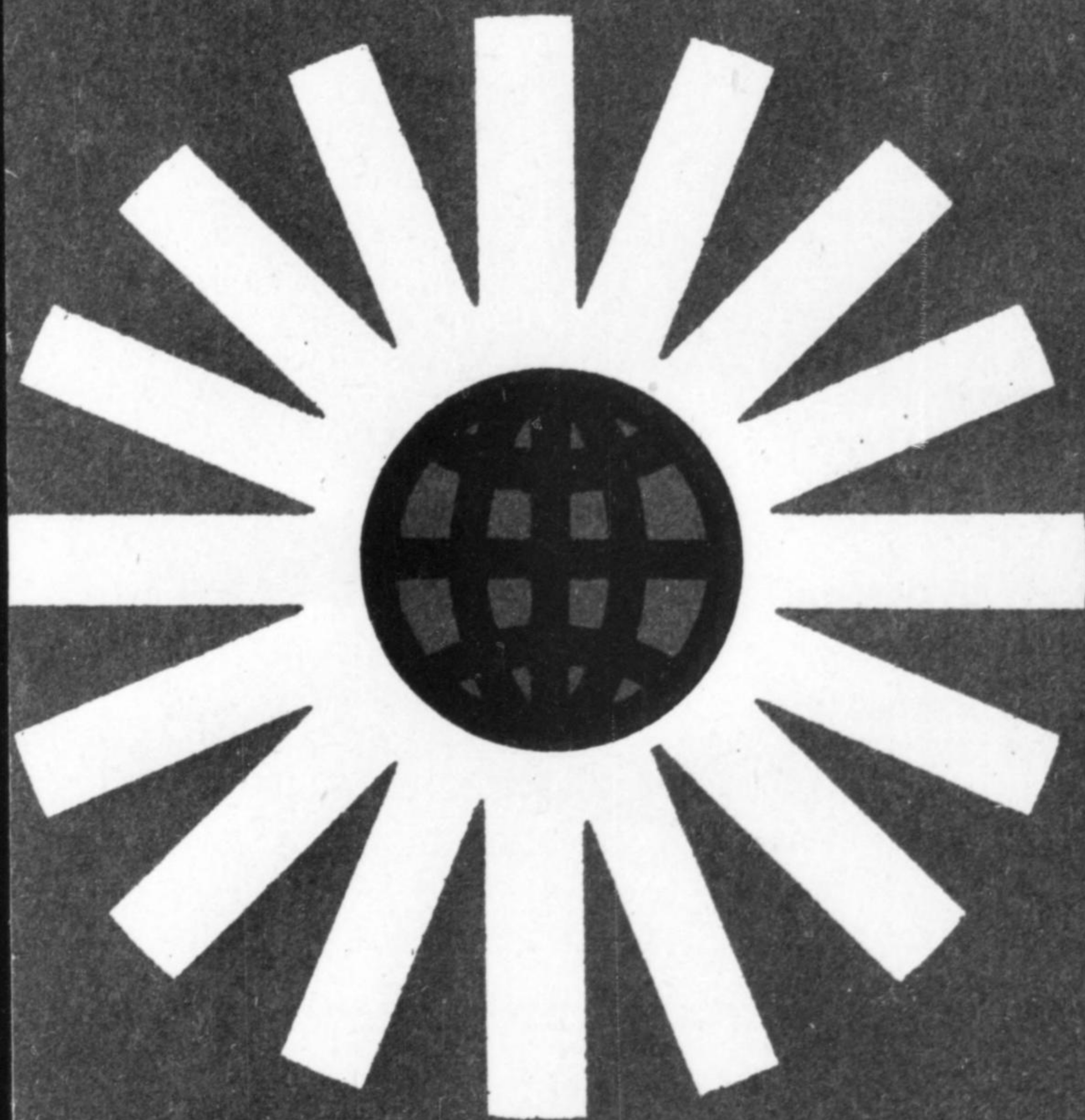
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**WARSAW TREATY
DECLARATION**

•
CPSU PLENUM

•
**OPEN LETTER
FROM CP USA
TO CP CHINA**



2

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CONFERENCE OF THE POLITICAL CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE OF THE WARSAW TREATY-STATES, MOSCOW, NOVEMBER 22-23, 1978

The Political Consultative Committee of the Member-States of the Warsaw Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance met in Moscow on November 22-23, 1978.

The Conference of the Political Consultative Committee examined current aspects of the European scene. There was an exchange of opinion on some issues of the international situation as a whole. The discussions centered on further action to promote détente and achieve disarmament.

The Conference unanimously adopted a Declaration of the Warsaw Treaty Member-States setting out an assessment of the situation, conclusions and proposals. It was agreed that the Soviet Union, as the host country, would circulate the Declaration as an official document of the United Nations and bring it to the knowledge of the governments of all the participating nations of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

The participants in the Conference, true to the policy of principle worked out at the Congresses of the Communist and Workers' parties of their countries, reaffirmed their firm determination at the Conference of the Political Consultative Committee to continue their consistent action for world peace, freedom and independence of the peoples, for an end to the arms race and for disarmament, for a relaxation of international tensions and strengthening of trust and friendship among nations. They will spare no effort in working for the practical accomplishment of these most urgent tasks of our epoch.

DECLARATION OF THE WARSAW TREATY MEMBER-STATES

The People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Socialist Republic of Rumania and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, represented at

the Conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Member-States in Moscow on November 22-23, 1978, considered topical questions in the development of the situation in Europe and exchanged opinions on some questions of the international situation as a whole.

The discussion centered on further steps in the struggle to develop the process of détente and disarmament.

The participants in the Conference pointed out that in recent years the determination of the peoples, of all the progressive and peace forces to put an end to the aggressive and oppressive policy of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism has become ever stronger, unfolding ever more widely in the struggle for peace, for détente, for an end to the arms race, for freedom and social progress, for peaceful equitable international cooperation resting on mutual respect for national independence and sovereignty, and non-intervention in internal affairs. Marked positive results have been achieved in this struggle. The trend toward a relaxation of international tension, based on recognition of and respect for the equality of rights of all states, has emerged and begun to make an impact on the general development of world affairs.

At the same time, there has been increased activity by the forces of imperialism and reaction, which seek to subordinate independent states and peoples to their power, step up the arms race, and flagrantly intervene in the internal affairs of other states, and this creates a threat to the process of détente, and runs counter to the desire of the peoples for peace, freedom, independence and progress.

On the whole, developments have confirmed the assessment made by the Warsaw Treaty Member-States in their Declaration "For New Frontiers in International Détente, For Strengthening Security and Developing Cooperation in Europe," adopted at the Conference of the Political Consultative Committee in Bucharest in 1976.

I

The participants in the Conference paid particular attention to questions of strengthening security and developing cooperation in Europe. They pointed out that significant favorable changes had taken place on the European continent. This was promoted by the development of relations between the states of the continent in the spirit of the principles written into the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the general recognition of the existing frontiers between the European states and their inviolability,

which is of fundamental importance for international security. The overcoming of substantial obstacles along the road of improving relations between the states of Europe helped to make these relations more balanced and to fill them with richer and more varied content, promoting the expansion of mutual understanding between peoples.

In the period since the conclusion of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe useful work has been done in realizing the principles and accords worked out at the Conference, a good beginning has been made in this matter. Developments have confirmed that the long-term program of European security and cooperation, embodied in the Final Act of the European Conference, correctly determines the main trends of positive action in the interests of peace, and furnishes reliable guideposts for such action.

In the course of fulfillment of the Helsinki accords, meetings between leaders of the European Conference states are being held ever more frequently, promoting the development of equal, mutually advantageous international cooperation, including cooperation on a long-term basis.

The fabric of political contacts between European states has become markedly more solid, their understanding of each other's positions, views and legitimate interests has improved, with the expansion of bilateral relations also playing a significant useful part in this. New possibilities have been brought out for mutually advantageous economic, scientific and technical cooperation between them, especially in the sphere of industrial cooperation, and definite practical steps for realizing these possibilities have been outlined. Preparations are under way for the convocation of European congress on environmental protection; appropriate forums have got down to considering the question of holding similar meetings on cooperation in transport, energy and a number of other fields. Cultural exchanges have been extended and have become richer and more varied in content; contacts in other humanitarian spheres have been developed.

It is important that at the Belgrade meeting all the participants in the European Conference reaffirmed their readiness to continue the process begun at the Conference, though no agreement was achieved at the meeting on a number of essential constructive practical proposals, including those relating to the military aspects of security. A useful contribution to the development of cooperation in Europe is to be made by multilateral measures on concrete questions, agreement on which was reached at the Belgrade meeting: a conference of experts for drawing up a generally acceptable method for a peaceful

settlement of disputes, an all-European scientific forum, and a conference of experts on economic, scientific, technical and cultural cooperation in the area of the Mediterranean. Of positive significance is the understanding on the holding in Madrid in 1980, within the framework of the multilateral process started by the European Conference, of the next meeting of representatives of the Conference states. The peoples of the continent expect the Madrid meeting to make a practical advance in the cause of security and cooperation in Europe and especially a contribution toward progress in the field of military détente and disarmament. The socialist countries represented at the Conference express their determination to make a contribution to the success of the meeting.

But, it was clear from the very start that confident advance along the road paved by the European Conference, just as the strengthening of peace all over the world, may become a reality only if all states consistently act in this direction.

Regrettably, events have not been so developing in full measure. There are clear breaches of the generally recognized principles of relations between states, grave threats to peace and international security, freedom and independence of peoples. Attempts are made to halt the process of improvement of international relations and even to turn it in the opposite direction. The buildup of troops and arms on the European continent has not been stopped and is continuing, no effective agreements in the field of military détente and disarmament have yet been reached, and this endangers the process of strengthening security in Europe.

Obstacles in the way of economic, scientific and technical cooperation have not been removed, but have even been increased along some lines. Hostile political campaigns are waged against the socialist countries, the communist and workers' parties and other progressive democratic forces.

Aims of aggression, revanchism and hegemonism are pursued in the drive by the imperialist and reactionary forces on the positions gained by the peoples in the difficult struggle for lasting peace and international security. The states represented at the Conference of the Political Consultative Committee consider it necessary to draw the attention of all the peace forces to the fact that all this inflicts grave harm on the cause of peace, security and development of international cooperation.

The activity of the imperialist and reactionary forces designed to complicate the international situation cannot but meet with firm re-

sistance by all those who cherish the interest of peace, the tranquil life and work of peoples, all those who consider the elimination of the threat of war to be one of the most important objectives of our day.

Convinced that the steadily strengthening forces of peace and progress are able to score new important successes in the struggle for peace and freedom of peoples, the states participating in the Conference of the Political Consultative Committee declare their determination to come out jointly with other peace-loving states, with all the progressive and democratic forces, with the broad popular masses, to give *a fresh impetus to the implementation of the Helsinki Final Act as an integral whole, and reach agreement on concrete measures and steps for the development of cooperation and attainment of genuine security on the European continent and all over the world. They are also prepared to participate most actively and energetically in resolving the most important international problems.*

II

The main danger to peace, and international security, to relaxation of international tension, to the independence of peoples and to their economic and social development is the continuation and intensification of the arms race, the step-up of its pace and scale.

An expression of the intensification of the arms race, responsibility for which falls on the most aggressive circles of imperialism, is the adoption by the NATO Council's Washington session of the decision to increase military appropriations by tens of billions of dollars above the already inflated military budgets, the new programs, designed for decades, for developing their armed forces, and equipping them with ever more destructive types of mass-annihilation weapons. These decisions, which tend to intensify the arms race, like other actions by NATO that are in the nature of military demonstrations, pursue the aim of achieving by the NATO countries of military superiority over the socialist and other countries of the world in order to dictate their will to the independent states and suppress the peoples' struggle for national liberation and social emancipation.

These measures run altogether counter to the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act, and create new obstacles in the way of mutual understanding and peaceful cooperation among the states and peoples of Europe. The interests of peace demand that the NATO member-countries make their decisions, embark on the road of disarmament and creation of a climate of peace, mutual understanding and trust among all the European Conference states.

The socialist countries, members of the Warsaw Treaty, come out firmly against the policy of intensifying the arms race and against attempts at military blackmail. They reaffirm that they have never sought and do not seek military superiority; their military efforts are directed and will always be directed exclusively at ensuring their defense capacity. They proceed from the belief that the military balance in Europe and the world should be maintained not by increasing but by reducing arms and by a resolute transition to concrete measures to effect disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament. Any further intensification of the arms race and expansion of its scale, any further improvement of arms systems may have increasingly dangerous consequences for the peoples.

Accordingly, the states represented at the Conference of the Political Consultative Committee believe that the most important task of international politics in the present conditions is to bring about *a quick and resolute breakthrough in the talks on stopping the arms race and on disarmament*. This is required by the basic interests of the peoples, of all mankind, of civilization. They note with satisfaction that this view is now widely shared everywhere in the world. The political leaders of many countries, broad public circles and ordinary people are coming out with ever greater insistence against new twists in the arms race which jeopardize peace and security of the states, and for effective disarmament measures.

In the conditions of the arms race, the economic and social progress of all countries is held back, inter-state cooperation is made more difficult, and ever greater obstacles arise in the way of efforts to close gaps in the economic development of countries and to solve other global problems on which mankind's future depends.

There can be no stable peace while there is a rapid growth of the potential of destruction within the arsenals of states, a potential which is already sufficient — if set in motion — to call in question the very survival of man on earth. The arms race is causing increasingly grave harm to the process of relaxation of international tension.

The arms race must be stopped without delay also because the rapid development of military technology, especially the possibility of emergence of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction, may further complicate the search for the attainment of practical solutions of disarmament matters.

What the peoples need is not development of new nuclear-missile systems, new submarines with ballistic missiles or cruise missiles,

but complete termination of the manufacture of nuclear weapons of all types and a switch of nuclear energy to peaceful purposes.

What meets the aspirations of mankind is not improvement of the existing types of weapons of mass destruction and not development of new ones, including neutron weapons, but discontinuation of the manufacture and prohibition of all types of such weapons.

What the peoples need is not further development and improvement of conventional armaments and further enhancement of their destructive power but reduction of the existing armed forces and armaments without diminishing the security of any state and transition to effective measures to ease military tension and to effect disarmament.

The socialist countries represented at the Conference of the Political Consultative Committee firmly believe that it is necessary to take effective measures in all these directions, measures for stopping the growth of the military potential of states, primarily of powers with a big military potential, and going on to actual disarmament.

Proposals on the whole range of problems in stopping the arms race and effecting disarmament were submitted to the Special General Assembly Session on Disarmament in the summer of this year and to the current session of the General Assembly.

The top priority task here is to begin talks on stopping the manufacture of nuclear weapons of all types and on gradually reducing the stockpiles of these weapons, up to their complete liquidation. Parallel to this, it is necessary to press for the prohibition for all time of the use of nuclear weapons and renunciation by all states of the use of force in relations with each other. The Warsaw Treaty countries support proposals on this score made by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. They consider it necessary to reach agreement without any further delay on the beginning of talks on these questions with the participation of all nuclear powers, and not only these powers. The sooner a concrete date is set for such talks, the better.

The Warsaw Treaty countries attach great importance to the attainment of USSR-USA accords on strategic arms limitation. Of tremendous importance, in their opinion, would be the early conclusion of Soviet-American talks on the second agreement on the limitation of strategic offensive arms and passage to the conclusion of new agreement on a reduction of these arms with the participation of other nuclear powers.

The achievement of progress in reducing strategic offensive arms would help lower the level of military confrontation in the world and

strengthen the course toward détente; peace and international security. The peoples will welcome such a course of events.

The states represented at the Conference of the Political Consultative Committee favor the earliest conclusion of the current talks on other aspects of limitation and termination of the arms race — on complete and general prohibition of nuclear weapon tests; on strengthening the nuclear non-proliferation regime in conditions of access for all states, without any discrimination, to the use of nuclear energy and nuclear technology for peaceful purposes under effective international control in accordance with IAEA standards; on banning the development of new types and systems of mass-destruction weapons; on banning and liquidating chemical weapons; on limiting and subsequently reducing military activity in the Indian Ocean and on restricting the sale and delivery of conventional arms.

Each of these lines of negotiation has a significance of its own from the standpoint of strengthening peace and the security of the peoples. All of them are at a more or less advanced stage when it is no longer general ideas but questions of an immediate military-material character that are the subject of discussion and search for agreement. The socialist states which took part in the relevant talks have made and continue to make a great constructive contribution toward their progress and come up with initiatives that help to overcome obstacles encountered on the way. They are prepared to go on acting in this spirit to make the talks a success. But it should be absolutely clear that to achieve practical results all participants in the talks should take a constructive approach.

One of the most effective and practical ways of stopping the arms race is to reduce military budgets, the budgets of states with a great economic and military potential, in the first place. The socialist countries are prepared to reach agreement on the resolution of this big task, on cutbacks in military budgets, whether in equal parts, as a percentage, or in absolute terms, by magnitudes of the same order. Their proposals on this score are being examined by the United Nations, among them the proposal to freeze the military budgets at their present level and start reducing them without delay.

The implementation of this measure will set not only certain limits to the arms race but will also release large funds for peaceful purposes — development of industry and agriculture, science, culture and education, increasing aid to the developing countries, accelerate their economic and social development and environmental protection. This

would be a tangible gain for the cause of disarmament, for the well-being of the peoples.

Being European states, the socialist Warsaw Treaty countries naturally attach special significance to questions of *military détente and disarmament in Europe*.

The reaffirm their determination to work for the implementation of the well-known provision of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation and the need to carry out effective measures aimed at lessening the military confrontation and at promoting disarmament, which are called upon to complement the political détente and strengthen security in Europe.

They strive in every way possible to contribute to the success of the talks on mutual force and arms reduction in Central Europe and, with this aim in view, have repeatedly put forward in their course constructive proposals on ways of resolving the basic issues which are the subject of examination.

Their new major effort aimed at achieving decisive progress at the talks is the proposal of June 8, 1978, covering the whole package of problems under discussion and ensuring the equality of the armed forces of both sides in the area of reductions with a considerable lowering of their levels compared with the present one. Progress will be achieved, however, only if the response of the other side is also imbued with a constructive spirit.

The participants in the Conference will also make efforts to have military détente issues and the promotion of disarmament in Europe examined within the overall framework of European security with the participation of all the states which signed the Helsinki Final Act.

Whether it be on the European or the world scale, with reference to separate areas or the whole world, the socialist countries — Warsaw Treaty member-states — are ready to conduct talks on all aspects of the problem of ending the arms race, including those on which these are not so far being conducted. This relates, for example, to the question of limiting and reducing those components of the combat potentials of both sides in Europe which are at present a source of anxiety for either side.

There is no type of weapon that the socialist states represented at the Conference would not be prepared to limit or reduce on the basis of strict observance of the principle of undiminished security of any country. They are also prepared to examine most attentively the proposals of other states on questions of military détente and disarmament.

Declaring their urge to go on making every effort for a successful resolution together with other states of questions pertaining to ending the arms race and disarmament, the states represented at the Conference of the Political Consultative Committee consider it necessary to stress *the significance of trust in relations among states*. They firmly call for strict observance of the principle of non-resort to the threat or use of force in relations among states, for a settlement of all the disputed issues solely by peaceful means, through negotiations.

In accordance with this, the socialist states represented at the Conference come out for the implementation of the following measures:

- conclusion of a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations that would provide for the commitment by all states to renounce the threat or use of force in all its forms and manifestations, including a ban on the use of nuclear weapons;

- strict observance by all the European Conference states of the commitment not to use force or threat of force in their relations with one another;

- implementation of the proposal that all the European Conference states commit themselves not to be the first to use nuclear weapons against each other, that the NATO states and the Warsaw Treaty states should not enlarge the number of participants in their alliances, that the scale of military exercises by the sides in Europe be limited to the level of 50,000-60,000 men, and the measures of trust, on which agreement was reached at the European Conference, be applied to the area of the Mediterranean;

- measures for strengthening security guarantees for non-nuclear states, including renunciation of the use of nuclear weapons against states which do not possess nuclear weapons and do not have them on their territory, as well as renunciation of the deployment of nuclear weapons in the territories of states where there are none at present.

The non-nuclear states which do not have nuclear weapons on their territory have the right to receive guarantees that nuclear weapons will not be used against them, just as no other weapons will be used against them, in accordance with the principle of non-resort to the threat or use of force.

The states-participants in the Conference of the Political Consultative Committee come out against force and arms buildup on the territories of other states. They have reaffirmed their consistent stand for the conclusion of agreements on force and arms cuts, for fresh efforts on the international scale for dismantling military bases on the

territories of other countries and withdrawing foreign troops from the territories of other states, and creating nuclear-free zones and peace zones in various areas, including Europe.

The participants in the Conference also reaffirm their readiness for the disbandment of the Warsaw Treaty Organization, simultaneously with the disbandment of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, starting with a mutual reduction of their military activity. This would be a landmark in building lasting peace.

The socialist states know full well that the resolution of questions pertaining to ending the arms race and to disarmament is a difficult matter calling for tremendous efforts and purposeful will. They note the usefulness and importance of the broad discussion of practical ways for ending the arms race and effecting disarmament at the recent Special Session of the UN General Assembly, which also adopted decisions on perfecting the mechanism of the talks to this effect. It is important now to start practical work for implementing the ideas and recommendations of the final document adopted by the session, to make even more persistent efforts internationally for going on to disarmament. A powerful impetus to the whole matter could be given by the convention at the earliest date of a World Disarmament Conference with the participation of all the states.

The states represented at the Conference of the Political Consultative Committee are also aware that there are strong opponents of the cause of ending the arms race, above all, the imperialist circles, the monopolies that are interested in the constant expansion of the manufacture of arms and the increase of their stockpiles as a means of profit and, at the same time, means of subordinating independent countries and peoples and imposing their will on them. But the participants in the Conference are convinced that the resistance by the opponents of ending the arms race can be overcome if all the forces of our day interested in the maintenance and consolidation of peace are mobilized and united for this purpose.

Their confidence is based on the results already achieved, as expressed in the system of bilateral and multilateral treaties and agreements on the limitation of the arms race along some lines set up in the last 15 years. The vital interests of the peoples demand that much more be done now.

A decisive advance in ending the arms race is possible. Every effort must be exerted to make this a reality.

III

During an exchange of opinion on other international questions of common interest, the delegations of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Socialist Republic of Rumania and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics deemed it necessary to emphasize that the imperialist policy, spearheaded against the peoples fighting for liberation from colonial-racist oppression, against neo-colonialism, for independence and social progress, is also a source of danger to international détente.

They deem it necessary to say, above all, that the policy of imperialism pursues the same ends though it has lately become more refined. Ever more often the imperialists resort to such methods as provoking enmity and conflicts between the peoples of liberated states, dispatching arms and mercenaries to help their henchmen, cobbling together all kinds of military alignments of countries with pro-imperialist regimes. And the meaning of all this is to bolster or, at least, to retain their domination, their positions in the economy and policy of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Nor have influential circles of the imperialist powers and multinational monopolies, as experience shows, abandoned their "classical" means of keeping countries and peoples in submission: military intervention, flagrant interference in the internal affairs of independent states, infringement of their sovereign rights.

The socialist states have come out and are coming out against the policy, which runs counter to the objective requirements of mankind's historical development. They reaffirm their solidarity with the peoples' struggle against the imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, against domination and oppression in any form.

They have rendered and will render support to the forces fighting for national liberation, and to the peoples of the liberated countries upholding their independence and freedom in hard struggle, including their right freely to choose their road of social development, safeguard the territorial integrity of their countries, their independence and sovereignty.

They re-emphasize their countries' firm intention to continue developing all-round and friendly cooperation with the young states taking a socialist orientation.

The socialist states vigorously support the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia in their dedicated struggle for the early attainment of

national independence. They express solidarity with the just struggle of the people of South Africa for the abolition of apartheid and all forms of racist discrimination. They condemn the attempts to impose upon the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa neo-colonialist solutions which were alien to them and which could create the threat of a flare-up of new conflicts in that region.

They reaffirm their principled position for the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East, for a comprehensive political settlement of the Middle East problems, which must include: withdrawal of Israeli troops from all the Arab territories they occupied in 1967; exercise of the inalienable right of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination, including the establishment of their own state; ensuring the independent existence and security of all states of that region, including Israel. Together with the Arab states and peoples, with all progressive forces, they will continue to work for a settlement which can be reached only with the participation of all interested sides, including the Palestine Liberation Organization.

The states represented at the Conference support the constructive initiatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, aimed to realize the Korean people's national ideal: independent, peaceful and democratic reunification of the country without any foreign interference.

In their relations with emergent countries, the socialist states strictly adhere to the principles of equality, mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in internal affairs and mutually advantageous cooperation. In no area of the world are socialist countries seeking any privileges for themselves, pressing for military bases or hunting for concessions. Coming out in principle against the imperialist policy of creating spheres of influence, they never take part in the scramble for such spheres.

Proceeding from their principled policy of strengthening universal peace and security, the socialist countries represented at the Conference consistently come out for the settlement by peaceful political means, through talks, of all disputes between young emergent states, as between all states in general.

The participants in the Conference stress the special importance for the progress of the whole of mankind of the struggle to eliminate economic backwardness, to restructure international economic relations on a just and democratic basis, to establish a new international economic order, to do away with all discrimination, to eliminate the exploitation of the natural and human resources of the developing

countries by imperialist monopolies. They regard this as a direct continuation of the struggle against imperialism and colonialism.

They also favor the most active and equitable participation of all states, irrespective of their social system, geographic location, size, economic and military strength, in the solution of pressing problems of world development.

The states represented at the Conference are convinced that their policy on questions related to the struggle of the peoples for their freedom, independence and social progress is *a clear and principled policy that promotes the strengthening of peace, the successes of the great cause of the freedom of the peoples.*

IV

Dangerous trends in the development of international affairs are also generated by the policy of imperialist circles, which, on the one hand, encourage and support fascist and other reactionary regimes in the perpetration of crude and mass violations of human rights, and on the other hand, try to utilize the problem of human rights for interference in the internal affairs of socialist and other states, for attacks on the socialist social system.

During the exchange of views on the question the delegations proceeded from the premise that all states participating in the European Conference recognized in the Final Act the universal importance of the main human rights and freedoms, respect for which is a substantial factor of peace, justice and well-being that are necessary for the development of friendly ties between them, as between all states. In this connection, they believe it their duty to stress that support for and encouragement of fascist and racist policy, of acts of oppression, of crude and mass violations of human rights, like the dissemination of anti-humane, militaristic, neo-fascist and neo-nazi views directly contradict the aims and principles of the United Nations Charter, the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act and other international documents.

By supporting reactionary regimes in their struggle against the democratic liberation movement of the working masses their mockery of the rights of citizens, their barbarous crimes against their peoples, imperialism grossly interferes in the internal affairs of these countries. The socialist countries resolutely come out against any interference in the internal affairs of all states, and for strict respect of the right of all the peoples freely to shape their own destiny.

Unanimously expressed again was the conviction that true democ-

racy and true humanism are incompatible with the preservation of economic, social and political inequality and national and racial discrimination. It is only under socialism that respect for political, civil, economic, social, cultural and other rights is ensured, as well as free access for all members of society to work, education, culture and science, and to participation in the administration of the state. The very origination of the new social system is connected with the striving to turn into reality man's chief right, the right to existence in dignity, and without exploitation, to create conditions for the all-round development of the individual. *The banner of human rights and freedoms is the banner of socialism.*

It is, therefore, with a greater sense of conviction that the socialist countries participating in the exchange of views reject the slander against them by the ruling classes of states whose peoples suffer all the calamities of mass unemployment, national and social inequality, racial discrimination, organized crime and moral degradation.

The United Nations Charter provides for the obligation of all states to promote respect for and implementation of human rights and basic freedoms for all, irrespective of race, sex, language and religion. In accordance with this and acting with initiative and consistency, the socialist countries have made a vigorous contribution to the drafting and adoption of the most important international treaties and agreements in this field: the covenants on human rights, the conventions on preventing the crime of genocide, the liquidation of all forms of racial discrimination, and many others. They are implementing in practice all the provisions of these treaties and agreements.

The state-participants in the Conference consider it necessary to intensify international efforts for the solution of vital problems concerning the interests of all mankind, especially of the younger generation, to work for improving the living and working conditions of the masses, eradicating racism and apartheid, propaganda of war, violence, immorality and man-hating.

International cooperation in the field of human rights has, however, nothing in common with inspiration from outside of anti-socialist activity by some individuals who have embarked on the path of breaking their country's laws. All attempts at such interference in the internal affairs of sovereign states constitute actions aimed at undermining international cooperation. Such interference runs counter to the UN Charter and the explicit commitment by the states which participated in the European Conference, in conformity with the Final Act, mutually to respect the right of each to freely choose and

develop their political, social, economic and cultural systems, as well as the right to frame their own laws and administrative rules.

The socialist countries represented at the conference have not allowed and will not allow any interference in their internal affairs. Declaring this with all determination, they stress that here again they are guided by concern for further positive development of international relations, and for the removal of the obstacles artificially complicating them.

V

The participants in the Conference of the Political Consultative Committee have discussed issues pertaining to strengthening and developing all-round cooperation among the socialist countries represented at this Conference. They have noted with great satisfaction that since the Bucharest meeting of the Political Consultative Committee in 1976, this cooperation, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, on respect for equality, independence and national sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs, on mutual benefit, comradely mutual assistance and internationalist solidarity, has become even broader and more diversified, covering increasingly wider fields of political, economic, scientific, technical, ideological and cultural activity. These relations are not counterposed in nature or aim to relations with other states in Europe or any other part of the world.

The states participating in the Conference declare their unswerving desire to broaden and perfect diverse ties with each other, to deepen cooperation in the resolution of international issues of universal interest. They also expressed their wish and will to further broaden the exchange of experience in socialist and communist construction, increase contacts at all levels along party and state lines, and between trade union, youth, women's and other mass social organizations.

The participants in the Conference also note that great possibilities and reserves exist for further expanding and deepening mutually advantageous economic relations, resting on a solid contractual basis, between the socialist countries they represent — both bilateral and multilateral — within the framework of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, in conformity with the jointly approved principles, for accelerating the process of aligning economic development, the progress of each socialist country, the rise in the level of their prosperity and development. They note the importance of the special programs of multilateral cooperation in the period up to 1990, en-

dorsed at the 22nd CMEA Session in Bucharest and designed to help ensure the member-countries' requirements in fuel, energy, raw materials, food, machinery, equipment and advanced technology. These programs are a further advance in the development and deepening of economic cooperation of the CMEA member-countries. They expand the possibilities for ever fuller use of the advantages of socialism as a social system.

The successful development was noted of the bilateral and multilateral cooperation between the countries represented at the Conference in the sphere of science, culture, education, information, radio and television, contacts between people, and tourism. The desire was reaffirmed further to expand cooperation in all these spheres, improve the reporting of each other's achievements in socialist and communist construction, in activity for the development of socialist democracy, improvement in the guidance of socio-political life and raising the working people's material and cultural standards.

The Conference noted with satisfaction the significance of the flights by international crews of cosmonauts from socialist countries, epitomizing the friendship and fruitful cooperation in mankind's exploration of outer space for peaceful purposes. This cooperation will be continued.

The participants in the Conference of the Political Consultative Committee declare the undeviating determination of the parties and governments of their countries constantly to strengthen the friendship and equitable cooperation between them, between all the socialist states and the progressive forces of our time. They are convinced that in present-day conditions, with imperialism still pursuing its policy of domination, oppression and inequality, the assertion of a new type of international relations, the consolidation of the unity and cohesion of the socialist countries acquires particular importance. It is precisely along this road that the interests of each people building a new society are safeguarded most successfully, that the prestige of socialism in the world is constantly growing, that the role of the socialist countries in stimulating the renovation of international life, deepening of détente and strengthening of peace is being enhanced.

VI

Declaring once again their resolve to redouble efforts in strengthening peace, safeguarding security, developing the process of détente, and expanding international cooperation, the states represented at the Conference of the Political Consultative Committee make the follow-

ing call on all European states, all states and peoples of the world:

First. Resolutely to embark upon the road of firm allegiance to the policy of peace, détente, renunciation of the threat or use of force in international relations, peaceful settlement of all disputes, unconditional condemnation of aggressive wars, complete exclusion of wars between states from the life of mankind, an end to the arms race, and the final eradication of the vestiges of the cold war.

The hope of millions of people on all continents for a world without armed conflicts is not a utopia. It can be attained and become a reality as a result of joint efforts by all those who are prepared to fight for it.

Second. To press for holding early negotiations among the five nuclear powers — the USSR, the USA, Britain, France and China — in order to remove nuclear weapons of all types from the arsenals of states and turn nuclear energy to peaceful uses only.

Man's genius did not discover a great source of energy — the energy of the atomic nucleus — in order to destroy civilization. Supreme wisdom today does not lie in whipping up the arms race and increasing the danger of a nuclear catastrophe, but in delivering mankind from the threat of a new war.

Third. To insist firmly that the countries possessing the most considerable military and economic potential, primarily the five powers, permanent members of the UN Security Council, which bear special responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, should reach agreement without delay on a reduction of their military budgets by a certain percentage or by magnitudes of the same order, as a first step, for the next three years.

The peoples cannot reconcile themselves to the ever growing burden of unproductive expenditure on the manufacture of weapons of destruction. People all over the world are waiting for larger funds to be allocated for raising their living standards, for developing health services, improving education and meeting their cultural requirements. The developing countries demand with good reason that at least a portion of military expenditure should be converted to economic and technical assistance to them. This can and must be done.

Fourth. To step up the efforts of states and governments with a view to the earliest conclusion of the current talks on the limitation and stopping of the arms race along its main lines, to pool efforts by all states in the drafting and implementation of disarmament measures. Actively to set about realizing the ideas and recommendations

which won general approval at the Special UN General Assembly Session on Disarmament.

Time does not wait. As regards ending the arms race, the time-scale can no longer be reckoned in years, let alone decades. The states participating in the talks must take bold steps that can make the talks a success. It can be attained if the will of the peoples is duly reflected in the policy of all governments.

Fifth. Resolutely to advance the matter of relaxation of military tension in Europe, to take efficient steps to reduce the level of the military confrontation on the European continent, while ensuring equal security for all European states. This we urge on the states-participants in the European Conference and the Vienna talks on force reduction in Central Europe.

Sixth. To do away as soon as possible with the last remnants of colonialism with the policy of neo-colonialist exploitation, which is the main source of underdevelopment, and to eradicate national and racial oppression.

It is the inalienable right of the peoples on all continents to live in peace, independence and freedom, and to exercise sovereignty over their national wealth to ensure growth of their welfare, dignity and happiness for all citizens. No one has the right to interfere in matters of their internal life, matters which they alone must decide. The colonial and racist regimes in Africa and in every other area of the world should be condemned and boycotted by all as enemies of peace and humanity.

Seventh. Persistently to seek a restructuring of international economic relations on a just and democratic basis, and establishment of a new international economic order that would ensure faster elimination of the developing countries' economic backwardness and dynamic progress for all peoples, for all mankind.

Eighth. Vigorously to act to entrench in international relations the standards of equality, non-interference in internal affairs, non-resort to the threat or use of force, respect for national independence and sovereignty and the inalienable right of every people freely to choose its own road of development in accordance with its will and aspirations; to build interstate relations with scrupulous observance of the principles adopted by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe; undeviatingly to pursue the policy of peaceful coexistence. In this connection, the states represented at the Conference reaffirm their determination to seek the establishment and development of broad equitable relations and cooperation among all countries.

The states represented at the Conference of the Political Consultative Committee will spare no effort in the struggle to attain these aims, to fulfill the just aspirations of the peoples. For the sake of all this, they will work even more closely and cooperate on the international plane, while fully retaining the sovereign rights of each.

At the same time, the states represented at the Conference of the Political Consultative Committee regard as necessary for the success of this struggle a pooling of the efforts of all states, irrespective of their social and political systems and participation or non-participation in military alliances. They intend actively to facilitate the further development of such cooperation on the basis of peaceful coexistence and express their readiness to make a constructive contribution to such cooperation.

They urge a greater role and effectiveness for the United Nations Organization in accordance with the principles of its Charter, in the interests of strengthening peace and international security, and deepening the relaxation of tension, in the interests of a just solution of pressing international problems to enhance the cause of freedom and progress of the peoples.

In the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, and for peace, security and consolidation of international détente, for ending the arms race, the socialist countries represented at the Conference of the Political Consultative Committee attach much importance to the development of cooperation and interaction with non-aligned states. They regard the movement of non-aligned states as a positive factor in international politics and note their growing role in world affairs.

The Communist and Workers' Parties of the countries represented at the Conference will further develop fruitful comradely cooperation with fraternal parties in Europe and the whole world. The socialist countries are prepared to conduct a constructive dialogue with socialists and social democrats, with Christian democrats, with religious leaders and organizations, with all public movements that come out for ending the arms race, for removing the threat of war, for strengthening and deepening the relaxation of international tension.

The Warsaw Treaty Member-States, assembled for the Conference of the Political Consultative Committee, know very well the vastness and difficulty of the main problem, that of strengthening peace. But they know just as well that on the solution of this problem depend the life, labor and better future of all peoples, regardless of their social system, the continent on which they live, or the level of their

economic development. *And they will do everything for the solution of this great problem to enable mankind to enter the 21st century in conditions of stable peace and extensive international cooperation.*

For the People's Republic of Bulgaria

Todor Zhivkov

First Secretary of the Central Committee
of the Bulgarian Communist Party,
Chairman of the Council of State
of the People's Republic of Bulgaria

For the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic

Gustav Husak

General Secretary of the Central Committee
of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia,
President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic

For the German Democratic Republic

Erich Honecker

General Secretary of the Central Committee
of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany,
Chairman of the Council of State
of the German Democratic Republic

For the Hungarian People's Republic

Janos Kadar

First Secretary of the Central Committee
of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party

For the Polish People's Republic

Edward Gierek

First Secretary of the Central Committee
of the Polish United Workers' Party

For the Socialist Republic of Rumania

Nicolae Ceausescu

General Secretary of the Rumanian
Communist Party, President
of the Socialist Republic of Rumania

For the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

L.I. Brezhnev

General Secretary of the Central Committee
of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union,
President of the Presidium
of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR

IN A FRIENDLY ATMOSPHERE

On November 23, the Central Committee of the CPSU, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the USSR government gave a dinner at the Grand Kremlin Palace in honor of the delegations at the Conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty states.

At the dinner, a speech was delivered by Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. He said.

A few hours ago, the Conference of the Warsaw Treaty Organization's Political Consultative Committee completed its work. We have held a broad exchange of views on questions which time and life have posed before our countries, and adopted an important political document reflecting our common views.

I believe that our Conference has given clear answers to at least three important questions.

First, that concerning the substance of the current period. I have in mind the in-depth analysis of the international situation, and the evaluation of its pluses and minuses, and its key trends. Despite the stepped-up activity by diverse forces opposing the détente, we are far from being pessimistic. A possibility of improving the world climate does exist. And it is considerable.

Together we also said what should be done. The main thing is to base international security on disarmament, and not on an arms race, and to seek scrupulous respect for the sovereign rights of all states and peoples not in word, but in deed. This will open up fresh horizons for peaceful cooperation both on the European continent and on an international scale, and then the edifice of peace will stand solid.

Finally, our Conference has provided the answer to the question of how we are to advance to these goals. We must advance together, strengthening cooperation with each other; we must always be in

solidarity with the fighters for the peoples' freedom and independence; we must join efforts with all those who want our planet to have peaceful skies, and men and women living a happy life.

The whole experience of the world socialist system shows that our unity well serves each socialist country's national interests, greatly helping to strengthen the international positions of socialism.

It was a pleasure for us to welcome in Moscow the leaders of the fraternal parties and countries which are our comrades-in-arms. Every such meeting is an important and useful event. There is also specific significance in our present Conference, which has enabled us to draw important and necessary conclusions for our policy.

Dear friends, we wish you fresh great successes in all your endeavors.

Comrade Brezhnev proposed toasts to friendship, the unbreakable solidarity of the fraternal socialist countries, and to the health of our loyal and time-tested friends, to peace and communism.

On behalf of the delegations of the Warsaw Treaty countries, the reply speech was made by Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the SUPG CC, Chairman of the State Council of the GDR. He said:

At our Conference we concerted our positions on the further struggle for ending the arms race, for putting through effective measures on disarmament, and for strengthening the détente. The call on all the states and peoples to spare no effort in the struggle for the maintenance and preservation of lasting peace has been issued once again from Moscow, the capital of world socialism.

In the present international situation, the peoples have the right to expect us to answer this question: what will happen from here on? A clear and unambiguous answer is provided by our Declaration: it is a document of great international political importance. It justifies the trust the peoples put in the policy of the USSR and the whole of the socialist community. It provides fresh impetuses for the struggle for peace, security, and relaxation of tensions.

Your speech at the Conference, Comrade Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, was permeated with the Leninist spirit, and its conclusions on the problems of the struggle for peace and progress meet the interests of mankind.

As a result of the Conference, we are able to state that our countries have been making good advances in building socialism and communism, and deepening their fraternal cooperation. All those who are prepared to defend peace against any attacks by imperialism, and who spare no effort to ensure it draw on the might of the socialist

community for great mobilizing strength. Our goal is to make peace a natural and habitual form of life of the peoples.

Pravda, November 24, 1978

STATEMENT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CPSU, PRESIDUM OF THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE USSR, AND COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE USSR

The Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Council of Ministers of the USSR, having heard a report by Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, who headed the USSR delegation at the Conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Member-States (Moscow, November 22 and 23, 1978), fully approve of the Soviet delegation's activity and express their satisfaction at the results of the Conference.

The Political Consultative Committee met in conference at a complicated and important moment when, alongside the considerable positive changes in Europe and the rest of the world, which express the people's will and aspirations, there has been a marked activation of the forces of imperialism and reaction seeking to hamper a radical improvement in the international political climate.

The present Chinese leaders have acted as a direct accomplice of these forces in the pursuit of their expansionist, hegemonistic aims, seeking to collaborate with imperialist reaction on the basis of struggle against the Soviet Union, and the other fraternal socialist countries, against peace.

In these conditions, the conclusions formulated in the Declaration adopted by the Political Consultative Committee provide further weighty confirmation of the Warsaw Treaty states' unflinching adherence to the policy of détente, and of their determination to work for a deepening of the process. The Warsaw Treaty Organization has once again come out as a powerful and effective factor of peace and stability in international relations.

The Declaration emphasizes with good reason that by constantly whipping up the arms race in the hope of securing military superiority, increasing the propaganda noises over an imaginary "military

threat" on the part of the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Treaty states and seeking in every way to put down the peoples' struggle for independence and social progress, the NATO countries' ruling circles want to return the world to the past, to the cold war period, and to produce dangerous tensions in international relations.

The Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the USSR state with satisfaction that the Conference of the Political Consultative Committee has clearly defined the priority tasks whose fulfillment can crucially promote the arrangement of broad peaceful cooperation in Europe and in the rest of the world.

The key issue in international affairs today is the task of effecting a decisive turn toward ending the arms race and going on to disarmament. The package of various initiatives of the Warsaw Treaty states is aimed to attain this goal. However, the Soviet Union believes that, in view of the arms drive being conducted by the NATO countries, which is being constantly whipped up, there is a need to maintain and strengthen the defense potential of the Warsaw Treaty's Joint Armed Forces.

Attaching much importance to the talks already under way, and working for their successful completion, the Warsaw Treaty countries have declared that there is no type of armament that they would not be prepared to limit or reduce, with scrupulous observance of the principle of undiminished security for every country. They have reaffirmed their readiness to a dissolution of the Warsaw Treaty Organization simultaneously with the dissolution of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and, as a first step, to the liquidation of their military activity.

There is every reason to believe that the peoples of the world will meet with satisfaction the important initiative of the Warsaw Treaty states — their proposal for an early start of negotiations between the five nuclear powers — USSR, USA, Britain, France and China — for the purpose of eliminating nuclear weapons in every form from the arsenals of states and of turning nuclear energy exclusively for peaceful needs.

The Warsaw Treaty states have expressed their firm intention to continue working for the full implementation of the accords reflected in the Helsinki Final Act, and developing and encouraging cooperation among all the European countries for strengthening European security.

The Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presi-

dium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the USSR attach much importance to the fact that the Declaration emphasizes the will of the fraternal socialist countries to strengthen all-round cooperation with each other, and consistently to pursue the line of extending cooperation with all the progressive democratic forces of our day. That is what the Soviet Union has invariably been doing, and this was, in particular, confirmed in the conclusion of the Soviet-Vietnamese Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation, in the Soviet people's unbreakable solidarity with fraternal Cuba, with fraternal socialist Vietnam, and in the conclusion of the Soviet-Ethiopian Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation. The unity of all the forces of progress and peace is the main prerequisite for the further confident development of the process of détente.

The Declaration of the Political Consultative Committee Conference imparts a fresh and vigorous impetus to the struggle for improving the European and international situation, and for overcoming the difficulties and obstacles which still stand in the way.

The Moscow Conference of the PCC of the Warsaw Treaty states is a major event in international life. Its decisions will reliably serve the establishment of peace in Europe and in the rest of the world, entrenchment of the principles of peaceful coexistence in international relations, and development of broad and mutually advantageous cooperation among all countries and peoples.

The Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the USSR also note the importance of the statement adopted during the PCC Conference by the leaders of the communist and workers' parties and the governments of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Poland and the Soviet Union, which expresses their determination to promote a comprehensive and just settlement of the Middle East problems. The fraternal socialist countries have resolutely condemned the Anti-Arab Egyptian-Israeli deals under U.S. sponsorship, which harm the Arab peoples' vital interests, and merely delay the possibility of a lasting and just settlement in the Middle East. Much importance also attaches to the firm and clear support by the leaders of these socialist countries for the conclusions of the Baghdad meeting of the Arab countries' heads of state and government.

Pravda, November 30, 1978

**STATEMENT OF THE LEADERS OF THE COMMUNIST
AND WORKERS' PARTIES AND GOVERNMENTS OF
THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BULGARIA, THE
CZECHOSLOVAK SOCIALIST REPUBLIC, THE
GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC, THE HUNGARIAN
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC, THE POLISH PEOPLE'S
REPUBLIC AND THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST
REPUBLICS**

After discussing the situation which has evolved in the Middle East, the leaders of the Communist and Workers' Parties and Governments of the PRB, CSSR, GDR, HPR, PPR and USSR resolutely condemned the policy of separate Egyptian-Israeli deals under U.S. sponsorship, which leads only to dangerous new complications in the region. They expressed the conviction that these separate anti-Arab deals run counter to the interests of achieving an all-embracing political settlement in the Middle East in accordance with the interests of all the peoples in the area, including the people of Israel, and to the interests of international security and the UN resolutions.

The leaders of the Communist and Workers' Parties and Governments of the fraternal countries expressed their support for the decisions of the Baghdad conference of the Arab countries' heads of state and government. They believe that these decisions will be of great positive importance in the struggle for an effective and just settlement of the Middle East problem in the interests of peace in the Middle East and the world.

Pravda, November 25, 1978

PLENUM OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE HELD ON NOVEMBER 27, 1978

A plenum of the CPSU Central Committee was held in Moscow on November 27. It heard and discussed the Draft State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR and the Draft State Budget of the USSR for 1979. Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU and President of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, made a big speech at the plenum. Corresponding decisions were adopted on questions discussed.

EXCERPTS FROM LEONID BREZHNEV'S SPEECH AT THE PLENUM

Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, made a speech at the Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee in Moscow on November 27, 1978.

Today, he said, we are studying the drafts of the plan and budget for 1979. As usual, this will enable us to picture more concretely and fully the general state of affairs in the economy, the scale of the successes we have achieved and of the tasks facing us, and the roads leading to their solution.

Three years of the Tenth Five-Year Plan have passed. These were good years. We have managed to achieve much. Much has changed for the better. The Soviet people and the Communist Party are living a full and active life, persistently working to fulfill the socio-economic program set forth by the 25th Congress of the CPSU.

The fixed production assets of the national economy have been substantially expanded and renewed during these years, said Leonid Brezhnev. They have grown by 195 billion rubles and by the end of the present year will reach a trillion rubles. This increment, in fact, amounts to the entire fixed production assets that existed in the early 1960s. More than 700 big industrial enterprises have been built. These include the Lisichansk oil refinery, the oxygen-converter complex at the Azovstal Plant and a blast furnace at the Novo-Lipetsk Plant, the

first section of the KamAZ truck works, the Neftekamsk Dump-Truck Works and the wool-spinning mill in Krivoi Rog. The Zaporozhye and Uglegorsk thermal power plants, Europe's biggest, have reached full capacity.

The rapid growth of our economic potential is a result of the dynamic development of industry. Output during the three years of the Tenth Five-Year Plan has exceeded the output during the first three years of the Ninth Five-Year Plan by 450 billion rubles.

The creation and development of a number of territorial-production complexes, mainly in the East of the country, are a fundamentally new element, continued Leonid Brezhnev. These are the West Siberian Bratsk, Pavlodar-Ekibastuz, Orenburg, Nizhnekamsk and other complexes. During the past three years, they accounted for the entire growth in oil production, for nearly the entire increase in gas production, for a considerable part of the increase in power generation, mining of coal and iron ore, and the making of trucks and tractors.

The party's course of strengthening the material and technical base of agriculture is being purposefully pursued. Power-per-worker in agriculture has grown by more than a quarter. The countryside has received more than 230 million tons of mineral fertilizers. The area of irrigated and drained lands has grown by 4.5 million hectares. All this is producing results.

This year 235 million tons of grain were harvested.

Successes in economic development have determined some major improvements in the people's material and cultural standards. The target of raising the population's cash incomes, set three years ago, has been fully attained. The retail-trade turnover has increased by more than 30 billion rubles. The value of public services has increased by almost a quarter.

Unflagging attention is being given to improving the working people's housing conditions. About 6.5 million new well-appointed apartments have been commissioned since the beginning of the five-year plan period. Housing sufficient for a city with a population of half a million is now built in less than a month. In the new houses, almost every Soviet family is given a separate apartment. Many schools and pre-school institutions for children and hospitals have been built.

In short, we have every reason to say that during the three years of the Tenth Five-Year Plan period the country has advanced considerably on every front of economic and social development.

Leonid Brezhnev said that the 1979 plan would be yet another

important link in the fulfillment of the assignments of the Tenth Five-Year Plan.

He noted a number of merits of the plan. The rates of growth of industrial and agricultural production, including the production of consumer goods, are being increased. Labor productivity will grow faster. Provision is being made for a number of measures to lessen disproportions in the national economy. In the distribution of capital investment emphasis is being made on the development of such key sectors as fuel and energy, metallurgy and transport. The country's defense capability is being maintained at the proper level.

One of the major measures of the social program of the five-year plan period — the raising of the wages and salaries of workers in education, public health, culture and other non-production spheres — is to be completed in 1979. As a result, the earnings of 31 million people will be raised during the Tenth Five-Year Plan. Additional benefits will be provided for veterans of the Patriotic War.

At the same time, during the discussion of the draft plan at the meeting of the Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee it was noted that a number of material balances were taut. Some types of resources remain in short supply. On a number of indicators some plan assignments fall somewhat short of the Five-Year Plan targets.

Leonid Brezhnev dwelt on those sections of the national economy that require the special attention of the party, government and economic bodies.

Metals and fuel continue to be a constraint.

The assignments for the commissioning of industrial plant and the production of ferrous and non-ferrous metals, for the production of coal and oil are not being fully met.

The situation in capital construction is improving slowly.

There remains a substantial gap between plans and their fulfillment by the building ministries. To this day, we have not yet succeeded in stopping the process of scattering capital investment among numerous construction projects. The volume of work in progress is growing. Uninstalled equipment worth several billion rubles lies uselessly in warehouses.

A complex situation has arisen in transport, especially railway transport. In the spring the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee formed a special commission that is taking prompt measures to improve the work of transport. More capital investment will be allocated next year for the development of railway transport than was initially envisaged by the Five-Year Plan.

Speaking on questions connected with agriculture, Leonid Brezhnev said: 1979 will be the first year of the practical implementation of the decisions of the July Plenary Meeting of the party's Central Committee. The draft plan that we are discussing provides for a high rate of growth of agricultural production. For most produce the figures given exceed the maximum level we have achieved in our most successful years. This is determined by the country's growing requirements. It is known that demand for some foodstuffs, especially meat, is not being fully met. It follows from this that a year of hard work lies ahead for workers in agriculture.

The main thing, he continued, is to achieve a tangible increase in the production of meat, milk and other produce of animal husbandry. The conditions for this are there. The farms have more livestock. They are supplied with feed better than ever before. It is necessary to organize everywhere the intensive fattening of cattle and its steady delivery to towns and workers' settlements.

Better use should also be made of such large reserves as the rapid development of broiler breeding, and here inter-farm cooperation should be extensively utilized.

The possibilities of ancillary farms attached to plants and factories and the rural population's household plots are still being used inadequately.

Leonid Brezhnev pointed out that the losses of grain, potatoes, vegetables and fruit are still considerable.

He underlined the necessity of bringing to strict account those who are guilty of mismanagement and negligence.

Increase in output, widening of the assortment and improvement of the quality of consumer goods remain one of our key economic tasks. There is certainly a marked advance in this sphere. But this must not obscure the fact that the policy of accelerated development of Group "B" industries taken by the party is not being implemented persistently enough by the State Planning Committee and ministries. In the first three years of the current Five-Year Plan period, capital investments and the volume of newly commissioned capacities in Group "B" were less than was planned. The possibilities of increasing the output of consumer goods at heavy industry enterprises are not being fully used.

The entire course of economic development confirms again and again that Group "B" industries meeting contemporary requirements constitute an important factor without which the economy as a whole cannot function effectively and material incentives cannot be im-

proved. Yet, some workers in the planning and economic management bodies continue to regard Group "B" as a sort of rocker. By cutting allocations for its development, they try to overcome imbalances in the plan. One cannot agree with such practices.

The question arises: how are we to explain the fact that, despite our many and obvious successes in economic development and the vast broadening of our economic growth, we have been consistently incapable of eliminating bottlenecks which prevent us from advancing faster, more dynamically? Every concrete shortcoming can be explained by specific reasons. But here, at the Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, we must take a principled approach to the question, to concentrate attention on the main, basic things.

And the main thing in this case is that the central economic bodies, ministries and departments have been slow in putting the entire economy on an intensive development basis. They have failed to achieve the required improvements in the quality indicators of our work, to speed up scientific and technical progress. Hence the difficulties which restrict faster economic growth.

Leonid Brezhnev then stressed the need to improve the practical work of the planning and economic bodies to meet the high demands set by the party's directives for the fulfillment of current economic tasks.

He urged higher demands on ministers and leading executives in various branches of the economy, especially those branches where tasks ripe for solution are still being fulfilled very slowly. The Political Bureau considers it necessary for the Secretariat of the CPSU Central Committee, the Council of Ministers of the USSR and their departments, the local party and government bodies to tighten control over the implementation of the decisions taken and to raise in due time and with proper emphasis the question of the personal responsibility of those who fail to ensure their implementation.

Any real turn toward efficiency, Leonid Brezhnev added, begins with planning.

Some time ago, the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee adopted a special resolution on the State Planning Committee of the USSR. Its powers have been expanded and its coordinating role enhanced. It is very important that the reorganization of the work envisaged by this resolution should not be reduced to formalities. The very content of planning should be raised to a qualitatively new level. In this connection, the State Planning Committee is to consider in depth many economic problems, to find optimal approaches to their

solution while combining a high sense of responsibility with initiative and creative boldness.

We are approaching the new five-year plan with a good start already made on it, Leonid Brezhnev said. Never before has our country had such a large economic potential, such a developed industry, science and technology. No doubt, the funds allocated for agriculture will be yielding increasing returns from year to year. Siberia, the Far East and the North will be producing more and more for the country. Our position in the world economy is expanding. Our fraternal and mutually beneficial cooperation with the other CMEA countries is growing. In short, we can rely on a firm and sound basis in tackling our new economic and social tasks.

At the same time, we must take into account the fact that beginning with the 80s, we shall have to lay still greater emphasis on the capital-intensive factors of economic growth, since other factors have been narrowing down sharply. This refers, first of all, to possibilities for attracting new labor resources. It also refers to natural resources which are huge in our country but which will require growing capital investment for their development.

Speaking further about the rational use of everything our national economy possesses, Leonid Brezhnev called attention to the need for the further development of sources of raw materials for metallurgy, a number of chemical industries, for faster renewal of metal-working equipment and for the development of the infrastructure: roads, transport and communications. Stressing the importance of these questions, Leonid Brezhnev said that all of them should be given a fitting place in the plans and practical work.

Finally, the course for higher efficiency is inseparable from the acceleration of scientific and technological progress. Our successes in this field are known to the whole world, but in a number of branches of the national economy the results are still below what they could be. Our scientists, the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, the State Committee for Science and Technology should concentrate their efforts on basically new scientific ideas and technical solutions and on the key lines of development of the national economy. In doing so, it is necessary, of course, to see to the development of science itself and to satisfying its needs.

The task is to raise the level of planning and economic management to meet the requirements of the present stage, the stage of developed socialism.

Thus the drafting of the new five-year plan is an important and very

responsible test for the State Planning Committee of the USSR, for the Republics, for the ministries — for all of us. The more so since this is, in effect, work in preparation for the 26th Congress of the party.

The results of the Five-Year Plan and the solution of the tasks which are being discussed at the present Plenary Meeting will depend, to a great extent, on the further enhancement of the efficiency of all sections of the party, on the initiative and sense of responsibility of every communist. At the heart of the current activity of all party organizations, all party members is the task to mobilize more fully the people's creative powers, to discover new potentialities of economic growth and to bring them into play.

Now, on the eve of the fourth year of the Five-Year Plan, every party organization, every party committee should analyze in detail how to get rid of the shortcomings that keep it from successfully moving ahead.

The election campaign now on in the party offers an excellent opportunity for making such an analysis, for determining the main points of application of party efforts. This campaign is being carried on in an organized and spirited manner. Communists are actively discussing how best to carry out the decisions of the 25th Congress and the assignments of the Tenth Five-Year Plan and show vital concern for this matter.

It is also important to do this at district, city, area, regional and territorial party conferences. As a result of this campaign all sections of the party should become stronger, better mobilized and more efficient.

We also have such a tried and tested instrument for increasing our labor successes as the socialist emulation movement. It has become truly nationwide in scale and depth, it constantly gives rise to new models of creative work, and is doing good service for the development of the national economy.

Leonid Brezhnev called for better organization of the emulation movement, which does good service in the development of the country's economy.

We must display a maximum of business-like efficiency and prompt action, as Lenin taught us. These are requirements for economic and organizational work and perhaps, to no lesser extent, for political and ideological work among the masses.

He pointed out a number of shortcomings in the ideological work and said that the Political Bureau of the CPSU has set up a special

commission to outline ways of improving ideological and mass political work.

In conclusion, Leonid Brezhnev said: We are marching ahead along a broad front. Our country is transforming itself literally before our very eyes. The scope of our accomplishments is vast. But we also have many problems. We know them, we are working constantly on them, and we are sure to solve them.

Soviet society has invaluable political capital: the cohesion of the party, the unity of the party and the people. This enables me to express firm confidence that ahead of us lie fresh successes in accomplishing the tasks set by the 25th Party Congress in the struggle to strengthen peace and international security, for the triumph of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

Pravda, November 28, 1978

RESOLUTION OF THE CC CPSU PLENUM ON THE DRAFT STATE PLAN FOR THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE USSR AND THE DRAFT STATE BUDGET OF THE USSR FOR 1979

The Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee points out that during the past period of the Tenth Five-Year Plan, as a result of the selfless work of the working class, the collective farm peasantry and the people's intelligentsia, and owing to the many-faceted organizational and political work of the party, new big successes have been achieved in the fulfillment of the tasks worked out by the 25th Congress of the CPSU for the social and economic development of the country, in the realization of the program of further struggle for peace and international cooperation, for the freedom and independence of the peoples. The economic and defense might of our socialist homeland has grown and its international prestige has increased. The life of the Soviet people has become richer materially and spiritually.

The country faces great and responsible tasks in 1979. To accomplish them successfully it is necessary to mobilize the forces of the party and the people and to further raise the level of political, economic and organizational work.

The Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee resolves:

1. To approve in the main the draft state plan for the economic and social development of the USSR and the draft state budget of the USSR for 1979.

The Council of Ministers of the USSR shall submit the above-mentioned drafts to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

2. To approve fully and entirely the conclusions and directives set forth in the speech of Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, at the present plenary meeting, and to make them the basis of the activity of all party, local government, trade union and Komsomol organizations and economic bodies. To concentrate efforts on ensuring the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the 1979 national economic plan, on a fuller use of the intensive factors of economic development, which is to become one more important link in the implementation of the decisions of the 25th Congress of the CPSU, the assignments of the Tenth Five-Year Plan and the program for increasing the welfare of the Soviet people.

3. The Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee stresses that a major task of the ministries and departments, party, local government and public organizations, the work collectives is to step up the struggle to enhance the efficiency of social production and improve the quality of work. This struggle should be waged across a broad front — in industry, agriculture, transport, in construction and other branches of the economy, at all levels of production and management. Special attention should be given to raising productivity, introducing scientific achievements and advanced experience, new technology and techniques in production, bringing into play available reserves and possibilities for increasing the output and turning out sophisticated products at minimum costs.

It is the duty of party, local government and economic organizations to eliminate in every possible way unproductive expenses and losses, to strive for thrifty use of metal, fuel, electricity, all material, financial and manpower resources. It is important that the regime of economy, one of the main principles of socialist management, should be consistently implemented in every industry, in every work collective, at every work place.

4. Ministries and departments, the local party, government and economic bodies shall concentrate forces at resolving key national-economic problems, at the further development of the metallurgic, fuel and chemical industry, power generation, engineering, all types of transport and other industries. The all-out expansion of the output of consumer goods, the improvement of their assortment and quality remains one of the key tasks.

The USSR State Planning Committee, the USSR State Building

Committee, the USSR Bank of Construction, ministries and departments, party and government bodies shall take resolute measures to improve matters in capital construction, to ensure the timely commissioning and development of new production capacities, particularly projects of priority state importance. They shall wage an uncompromising struggle against instances of dispersal of forces and assets among numerous construction sites, against increasing the volume of uncompleted construction and non-installed equipment.

5. Proceeding from the decisions of the July, 1978, Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, to carry out measures toward raising the yields and productivity of cattle and poultry, increasing gross harvests of grain and other agricultural crops, raising the production of meat, milk, eggs, wool, fulfilling the plans for the purchase of agricultural and farm animal products, consolidating the material base for its storage and processing.

6. The Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee holds that with the growing scope and higher qualitative level of the economy, growing complexity of inter-branch and intra-branch ties, ever greater importance attaches to improved methods of management and administration, organizational consolidation and coordination of work at all levels of social production. Party, government, trade union and YCL organizations, and economic bodies are called upon to ensure the strict observance of planning, production and labor discipline. Rhythmical, efficient performance, unquestionable fulfillment of the plan on all counts, and of obligations for the delivery of products to consumers, including for export, must become an immutable law for all echelons of the national economy. The organizing and mobilizing role of the plan must be enhanced, the fulfillment of the established assignments by every enterprise, construction site, collective and state farm must be placed under systematic control.

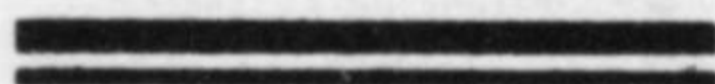
7. The solution of the tasks envisaged by the 1979 national-economic plan demands the further unfolding of socialist emulation — that tested lever of redoubling labor successes and effective means of communist education. Socialist emulation must be aimed at uncovering and utilizing production reserves, finding the most effective and economical ways of achieving high end results. It is essential that everything new and progressive, born of the initiative of the masses, should find rapid and wide dissemination, that emulation should actively help the backward to pull up to the level of the advanced. The force and effectiveness of emulation lies first of all in that every collective, every worker should perform with high productivity, suc-

cessfully coping with the fulfillment of production assignments and adopted socialist obligations and additional plans, as regards both quantitative and qualitative indices. The party, trade union, YCL and economic organizations must, by joint efforts, create in all the work collectives an atmosphere of inspired and concerted endeavor, in which every worker can more fully reveal his abilities and show a high sense of responsibility for the results of both his own efforts and those of the collective.

8. The central committees of the communist parties of the Union Republics, territorial, regional, area, city and district party committees, primary party organizations, shall consistently improve forms and methods of organizational and mass political work, making it maximally concrete, business-like and efficient. The efficiency of all echelons of the party, the vanguard role of communists in resolving the economic and ideological-educational tasks at hand, shall be raised. Party organizations must never lose sight of vital questions of economic, scientific and technical development, of ensuring the further rise of the material and cultural well-being of the Soviet people. They must evaluate the results of work comprehensively and critically, develop criticism and self-criticism more boldly, resolutely remove revealed shortcomings, raise the activity and personal responsibility of cadres for the successful solution of the tasks set, ensure accurate and effective control over the implementation of decisions.

The Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee expresses its firm confidence that the workers and collective farmers, scientists and specialists of the national economy, all the working people of the country, rallied closely around the Leninist party, will exert their efforts, utilize their knowledge and experience to mark the year of 1979 with new successes in every sector of communist construction.

Pravda, November 28, 1978



IN THE SAME ORBIT WITH REACTION, COUNTER-REVOLUTION AND IMPERIALISM

Open letter of the Central Committee, Communist Party USA, to the leadership of the Communist Party of China.

Central Committee,
Communist Party of China
People's Republic of China
Dear Comrades,

Some years ago, the Central Committee of your party sent us a cablegram in which you criticized our party for being "soft on U.S. imperialism." You presented no evidence to sustain your charge, obviously because your accusations were not only false, but slanderous.

We now reverse the same charges. Your party leadership is collaborating with and "prettifying" imperialism.

We make these criticisms because the policies and actions of your party give aid, hope and strength to imperialism in general, and most importantly for us, your policies strengthen U.S. imperialism. Therefore, your policies have a direct effect on our internal affairs.

Our criticisms will be limited to those of your policies which have a direct effect on our struggles against the policies of U.S. imperialism. For us — for the working class and people of the United States — this is a most important matter.

However, we do this reluctantly and with a great deal of sadness. We have postponed writing this letter in the belief that life and experience would turn your party away from the path you are currently following. But it is clear your actions are not isolated mistakes due to specific judgments. But, rather, they are based on basic, long-range erroneous concepts. You have veered away from the working-class revolutionary path.

The documentation could begin further back, but it will suffice to start with the crisis brought on by the Kennedy Administration over the purely defensive missiles on Cuban soil.

In 1962, during the first days of the missile crisis, your public statements attacked the Soviet Union for what you called "provocative actions." It was hard to believe that leaders of a socialist country, with a long history of struggle against imperialism, would take the side

of imperialist aggression, and slander military aid to socialist Cuba as a "provocation."

While slandering the Soviet Union you were completely silent about the fact that the missiles were on Cuban soil because U.S. imperialism was in the final stages of preparations to invade Cuba by a full-scale, massive military assault. This was no big secret to anyone who wanted to know the truth. What U.S. imperialism could not accomplish with the Bay of Pigs invasion it was determined to do by a massive military attack. U.S. imperialism saw a socialist Cuba as the beachhead of anti-imperialism and socialism in the Americas.

But U.S. imperialism needed a cover for their aggressive designs against the young Socialist Republic of Cuba. With your irresponsible charges of Soviet "provocation" you provided that demagogic smokescreen. You tried to make it appear that the crisis was brought on by Cuba and the Soviet Union, and not by the plans of aggression of U.S. imperialism.

When the crisis was over, when U.S. imperialism and the Kennedy Administration were forced to drop their plans for the invasion, and when, in return, the missiles were removed, your party then turned around and accused the Soviet Union of "cowardice and betrayal."

Your party statements and editorials said there were no agreements, and that as soon as the missiles were removed the United States would invade Cuba. U.S. imperialism wanted the world to believe that President Kennedy had won the so-called "confrontation." Your false statements of "cowardice and betrayal" supported this fabrication.

Your statements slandered the heroic people of Cuba, whose firm stand and readiness to do battle in defense of their homeland was a most important factor in convincing the Kennedy Administration to back off from its carefully planned aggression.

In short, you sided with U.S. imperialism at every turn in that crisis. Life has since proven you were wrong on every count. It was, in fact, an important turning point in U.S.-Cuba relations. It was a defeat for U.S. imperialism.

In 1971, Sudan had won independence and was moving toward the building of a socialist society. U.S. imperialism went all-out to reverse their course.

The world now knows that the CIA, in alliance with some of the reactionary forces from Saudi Arabia, moved into the Sudanese situation. They created a provocation, and, as a result, a counter-revolution was successful. At the very moment when a reactionary military

junta was slaughtering communists and other revolutionaries in Sudan, your party, under Mao Tse-tung's direction, was sending messages of encouragement, not to the revolutionaries, but to those who were killing and imprisoning revolutionaries. And immediately thereafter your party sent a trade delegation to Sudan.

The counter-revolution was a victory for U.S. imperialism. It was a temporary but serious setback for the forces of progress in Sudan. The most reactionary right-wing forces in the U.S. hailed your actions as a "welcome stabilizing factor in Sudan." Through your actions you became an accomplice and a "stabilizing factor" for counter-revolution, for the imperialist oil interests in the Mid-East.

Also, in 1971, it was clear to everyone that the U.S.-supported reactionary, fascist, feudal regime in Pakistan was murdering and starving the people of Bangladesh into submission. It was a policy of mass genocide. When the people of Bangladesh revolted, your party leadership and U.S. imperialism, almost alone in the world, took a public stand in support of the reactionary, counter-revolutionary forces.

Your party leadership did not limit its actions to statements of support. You again rushed in delegations to Pakistan and warmly and publicly received delegations into Peking. Your actions were hailed and blessed by U.S. imperialism. When the people of the world protested against the killings, you cuddled up to the reactionary U.S. puppets in Pakistan.

Again, the forces of national liberation and socialism watched in disbelief as the leaders of China, a socialist country, took the side of imperialism and national oppression.

Possibly your most blatant support for U.S. imperialism was during the counter-revolutionary coup d'état in Chile. To this very day, when the military junta is in serious trouble, you give your support, both materially and spiritually.

It was never a secret, but now the world has all the facts about how the counter-revolution to overthrow the progressive Popular Unity Government, led by Salvadore Allende Gossens, was organized, directed and who paid for it.

These facts prove that which was obvious at the time. The counter-revolution was a product of U.S. imperialism. It was organized and led by an alliance of the CIA, the large U.S. multinational corporations and the reactionary and fascist elements in Chile, and especially these elements among the military brass.

Not since the days of Hitler has the world been witness to such

heinous butchery of communists and other revolutionary and progressive activists, such as followed the coup. Their bones are now being found in the lime pits of Chile.

But, it is also true, that not since the days of Hitler has there been such a worldwide movement of protest, rejection, boycott and isolation as there is of the Chilean junta. It is a worldwide united front against reaction and cut-throat fascism. It is an effective struggle.

U.S. imperialism worked desperately to break the worldwide united front of struggle against the fascist regime in Chile. Almost in total isolation, your party broke through this front and rushed to extend diplomatic recognition to the fascist junta. Even before the murdered President Allende was buried, you evicted, by physical force, Chile's ambassador from the embassy in Peking. You broke all records in extending your hand of cooperation and friendship to the butchers of the Chilean people.

If these actions are not a defense and support of U.S. imperialism, then words and concepts have completely lost their meaning. There is not even a bourgeois government that has so grovelingly and openly rushed to prop up and support the positions of U.S. imperialism around the world.

Again, it was difficult for many to understand why the leaders of a country with a long, honorable history of struggle against imperialism would give their support to such brutal imperialist oppression. And, there is not even the shadow of a doubt that it is the support of U.S. imperialism, and your continuing economic, political and diplomatic support that keeps the counter-revolutionary fascist butchers of Chile in power.

The people of Angola fought a long and bitter war of liberation against the racist Portuguese imperialists. The leaders of the Communist Party of China did not lift a finger to support their heroic struggles. Throughout the years, most of the other socialist countries, and especially the Soviet Union, gave their full and unstinting support. You talk about national liberation, but invariably you have lined up with the forces of imperialism.

After the people of Angola won their liberation, most of the countries of the world extended diplomatic recognition to the new revolutionary, democratic government. Again, the exceptions were U.S. imperialism, the People's Republic of China and South Africa.

But, U.S. imperialism, South Africa and your party leadership did not remain neutral in the struggle. Even after the people of Angola won their independence, you joined forces with U.S. imperialism and

South Africa, led by the multinational oil corporations and the CIA, in support of an armed struggle to overthrow the People's Republic of Angola.

In this case, your support went and continues to go to the military arm of the CIA. To this very day, you are in alliance with U.S. imperialism, working to reverse the revolutionary process in Africa.

In the most vile terms, you slander the Soviet Union, Cuba and the other socialist countries, who give aid to the forces of national liberation, while you line up with imperialism.

There is no way you can truthfully deny that your party is supporting and collaborating with U.S. imperialism in Angola, Ethiopia, Afghanistan, Yemen, Burma and in many other countries. It is a painful observation, but a true one, that wherever imperialism is being challenged and is in difficulty, you throw your political, ideological and military support to bolster it up. You are in the same orbit with reaction, counter-revolution and imperialism.

And now, you cannot honestly hide your big power policies of aggression against the government and people of Vietnam. In an imperialist fashion, you send naval vessels into the waters of Vietnam. You practise gunboat diplomacy against Vietnam — the very weapon imperialism used against the people of China for so many years.

You are now demanding that the Socialist Republic of Vietnam extend "preference," and exempt the bourgeois elements who are of Chinese origin from the laws and the process of building a socialist society. As you have done in Indonesia and other areas, you are demanding that the capitalist and feudal Vietnamese of Chinese national origin in Vietnam be permitted to continue exploiting the people of Vietnam, including the exploitation of hundreds of thousands of people who are of Chinese origin.

It is not the workers and poor people of Chinese origin you are concerned about, as you would have the world believe. No, you are concerned about the rich, the well-to-do of Chinese origin in Vietnam. This is extending the hand of your bourgeois nationalism across state lines. You have replaced the outlook and concepts of the working class with imperialist and capitalist class concepts.

It is ironic and reprehensible that after victoriously fighting for generations against the invading forces of the imperialists of the United States, France, Japan and against the invading forces of feudal China, that the people of Vietnam are again harassed, threatened and attacked by the forces of the People's Republic of China. This is

revolting to the hundreds of millions of people around the world, including the millions of Americans who gave their support to the people of Vietnam in their struggle against U.S. imperialism. It is ironic that your armed forces have replaced the forces of imperialism, harassing and threatening the people of Vietnam.

You have adopted and put into practice the idea of the old Chinese feudal rulers and bourgeois nationalists — that all Chinese, wherever they live, must accept the view that “China is wherever there are Chinese.”

The Vietnamese communists have asked the critical question — to which you have not replied: “Is it right that the immutable law of the socialist revolution governing the transformation of the capitalist sector in industry and trade should not be applied to some bourgeois only because they are Chinese, although their property was earned by the sweat and blood of the working class, the entire working people of Vietnam? Why does the Chinese side devote so much attention to a handful of bourgeois of Chinese extraction in Vietnam, while fully ignoring the destiny of hundreds of thousands of real working people, Chinese emigrants who are being subjected to ruthless exploitation, persecution and even physical extermination in various other regions of the world?”

You attack and slander the treaty of friendship between two socialist countries — Vietnam and the Soviet Union — when, at the very same time, you have just signed a treaty with imperialist Japan. We are sure you are aware that U.S. imperialism is for the Japan-China treaty because it sees it as a foundation-stone for a new Far East axis, under its domination. And Japanese imperialism sees the treaty as a foundation-stone for its policy of resurrecting its old dream of an “East Asia co-prosperity sphere.”

In its basic sense, the Japan-China treaty is directed against the Soviet Union, Vietnam and Laos, and against the national-liberation movements in general.

The U.S. imperialist — racist South Africa-China connection keeps reappearing again and again. In the late 60s, when war broke out in Nigeria, when U.S. imperialism did not want a united or a truly independent Nigeria, you party leadership and U.S. imperialism supported and gave arms to the Biafra separatists.

You started to give military aid to the forces of Somalia only after they sided with imperialism, and became the spearhead against the Ethiopian revolution.

Again, in Zaire, you gave your full support to the NATO forces who militarily sided with the forces of reaction.

Racism is an instrument of imperialist oppression. This is especially so in Africa. Your conniving, and your support for the racist policies of South Africa and U.S. imperialism, is support for racism. It is racism.

In all these cases, you are on the wrong side. Your policies are geared to supporting imperialism. You are on the wrong side of the struggle for national liberation. You are on the side of national oppression. You are on the wrong side in the struggle for socialism. This is evidence that you are on the wrong side of the class struggle in general. This places you on the wrong side of the whole world revolutionary process.

You must be aware that your actions are an active force of struggle against national liberation in every part of the world.

Your actions have become a counter-revolutionary force against the building of socialism throughout the world.

In addition to these concrete policies and actions, your leadership is propagating the unbelievably insane idea that every generation "must have its own war," and therefore the task is to prepare for war.

This question was on the agenda of the 11th Congress of your party in 1977, and on the agenda of the 5th National People's Congress in 1978. Hua Kuo Feng said at that Congress: "We have to strain every nerve to raise the combative quality and moral spirit of the army, to raise to a new level in the preparations for war."

In a recent article, published on the anniversary of the creation of the People's Republic of China, your Defense Minister, a member of the Central Committee of your party, declared that "war is a moral occurrence," and he expressed confidence that "the Third World War might break out any day."

In another article, the Deputy Chief of Staff of your Army proclaimed that "China must get ready for a war of devastation."

Surprising as it may seem, your party leadership is the only political group in the world that advocates war as a matter of principle — something that "every generation must experience."

Your talk about war as something "every generation must experience," that wars are a "moral occurrence," and that "China must get ready for a war of devastation," is but a cover for your own plans of aggression against China's neighbors — for your own plans for "The Greater China." Your "mobilization for war" is related to your slanderous campaign against the Soviet Union.

You have replaced the concepts of struggle against imperialism with supporting and working with imperialism.

You have replaced the concepts of working-class internationalism with concepts of narrow nationalism that leads to supporting world imperialism.

You have replaced the concepts of working to relax tensions, working for peaceful coexistence and détente with your plans for sharpening tensions, and your own plans of expansion and aggression.

You are working to raise a generation of Chinese youth to believe that they must be ready for "a war of devastation" against other socialist countries. What a hideous concept! It is total ideological, political and moral bankruptcy.

And now, your capitulation and collaboration with imperialism has entered a new and an even more dangerous arena.

Your maneuvers and negotiations for military alliances with imperialism, your advocacy of war, are new factors feeding the danger of a nuclear confrontation and world catastrophe. But evidently you do not consider a nuclear war such a disaster because at the UN Assembly on Disarmament, following the earlier statements of Mao Tse-tung, your Foreign Minister said, "The Chinese people do not believe in the frightful talk about nuclear war leading allegedly to the peril of all mankind." Some spokesmen of U.S. imperialism agree with you. Zbigniew Brzezinski, the reactionary cold warrior, after returning from a visit to Peking, branded the proposition that a nuclear war would mean the end of humanity as "baloney," and stated:

"It is inaccurate thinking to say that the use of nuclear weapons would be the end of the human race. That is an egocentric thought. . . . In strictly statistical terms, if the United States used up all of its arsenal in the Soviet Union, and the Soviet Union used all of its against the United States, it would not be the end of humanity. That's egocentric. . . ." (*New Yorker*, May 1, 1978, p. 126.)

Such talk is irresponsible insanity. And this nuclear maniac is Carter's chief adviser on national security affairs.

As early as 1957, Mao Tse-tung expressed the same insanity:

"Can anybody suggest how many lives a future war would take? It will likely be one-third of the 2.7 billion people of the world population, that is, altogether 900 million people. But I think even this figure is too low if atom bombs really come into effect. Of course this is terrible, on the one hand. But on the other, it would not be

annoying if it were half of mankind . . . if half of mankind is killed the other half still remains . . . within half a century or within one century the population will grow again and even by more than half of it."

Your Foreign Minister's remarks about nuclear war were not a slip of the tongue. In earlier speeches, he had stated: "One should not by any means nurse the pipe dreams of disarmament," and that the "neutron bomb was not such a bad weapon."

In these statements you are dancing to the tune of imperialism. U.S. imperialism, the Pentagon brass, and especially its most right-wing reactionary elements, are delighted with your policies, statements and actions.

As a result, the Carter Administration has made a decision to speed up the supply of military technology and equipment to China, which can be used solely for aggressive military aims. Spokesmen for U.S. imperialism have been encouraging the increase of military aid to China by the Western European powers.

NATO's coordinating committee on the export of strategic goods recently sanctioned arms sales to China. Your government spokesmen have put out lists of what you want, which include combat and transport planes, helicopters, tanks, missiles and other military articles. The lists and the war-goods are the hardware for sustaining and building up of your military alliance with imperialism.

It is not necessary to speculate as to why you have embarked on this all-out military shopping spree. You have openly stated your intentions and privately assured the imperialist camp that your military buildup is directed against the Soviet Union, Vietnam, Mongolia and other socialist and Third World countries, and especially the countries that have borders with China. You keep reassuring U.S. imperialism that it is the Soviet Union you are preparing a "war of devastation" against.

Because you have replaced the concept of a struggle against war, and especially against nuclear war, with your insane advocacy of war, including a nuclear war, your policies now seriously add to the danger of war, and especially the danger of a nuclear disaster. Your advocacy of war and your preparations for war have become a shield, including an ideological shield, behind which the Pentagon and the imperialist forces prepare for war.

Lenin very correctly observed that in the world arena the critical question is: Who is using whom? You may be operating under the illusion that you are using world imperialism, and especially U.S. imperialism, to your advantage. It is possible to use contradictions

within the imperialist world. But that is not what you are doing. You are making it possible for world imperialism to use to its advantage divisions in the world of socialism, in the movements of national liberation, and in the working-class movements. In fact, you are the main force in creating such divisions.

You obviously have illusions about what concessions you will get from U.S. imperialism. Observing world developments from the viewpoint of the "belly of the beast" it is our conviction that such illusions will come home to plague you. You may get some crumbs from the table of imperialism, but it is U.S. imperialism that is reaping the benefits of your policies. It is a dangerous illusion for anyone to think that U.S. imperialism can be hoodwinked into becoming a base of support for the building of socialism anywhere.

Our party has always advocated and fought for the normalization of relations between our two countries. However, we would not be honest if we did not express our concern that the establishment of diplomatic and trade relations between China and the United States are taking place in the context of your support for the policies of U.S. imperialism.

There should be no illusions about why the Carter Administration moved to establish U.S.-China diplomatic relations. The Carter Administration is convinced that it can use China to further its policies of aggression against the countries of socialism, and its policies of imperialist aggression against the forces of national liberation and the developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Imperialism is never motivated by feelings of friendship or justice.

Anti-Sovietism is a major element in the ideological, political, economic and military outlook of U.S. imperialism. In an earlier period, you covered up your campaign against détente and the relaxation of tensions by labeling such policies as "appeasement" of imperialism. Now you have switched to the opposite extreme and call on U.S. imperialism and the NATO countries not to accept détente, not to negotiate arms control and arms reduction agreements because, as you say, "it would lead to a weakening of the NATO countries."

In November 1977, Li Hsien-nien, Deputy Premier of the State Council, stated: "We want Europe to be powerful and its defenses against the Soviet Union reinforced" and, "China and the United States need cooperation to get the better of the Northern Bear."

It is indeed a sad day when the leading cadre of a socialist country publicly shed tears because imperialism might be "weakened." Here

you advocate and campaign for the further arming of imperialism.

Your main pro-imperialist figleaf is that, "the Soviet Union is preparing to attack China." Of course you know that such a charge is a total fabrication. If such was the outlook of the Soviet Union they certainly would not have waited to this day.

You cannot deny the truth, that the leaders of the Communist Party and the government of the Soviet Union have repeatedly demonstrated their willingness and eagerness to negotiate an agreement with China on all questions.

If conquest of new territory was the policy of the Soviet Union it would have acted differently following the end of World War II. When the Soviet armed forces defeated the Japanese in Manchuria (which, incidentally, was Japan's largest military force on land), the Soviet Union turned over to the army, under China's communist leadership, all of the huge stores of Japanese military equipment and, in addition, much of the military equipment used by the Soviet armed forces. It was enough up-to-date, modern military hardware to equip an armed force (including army, navy and air force), of one-and-a-half-million men. As you well know, this military hardware, given to you by the Soviet Union, made it possible for you to go on the offensive, and to a victorious conclusion of your historic Revolution. Needless to say, that is not how a force interested in conquering your territory would have behaved.

Mao Tse-tung worked hard to cover up, but you know, and the world knows, that after the victory of the Chinese Revolution, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, gave China billions of dollars worth of every imaginable kind of material assistance. They gave China whole industrial plants, mining and transportation equipment, without any regard as to when, or if, China would be able to pay for it. This, also, is not the way a would-be conquerer would have behaved.

With your irresponsible anti-Soviet campaign you are synchronizing your ideological concepts with that of the anti-working class forces and the anti-socialism of the the most reactionary forces of world imperialism. You are now allied with the forces of imperialism who plan and advocate a nuclear war against world socialism and the forces of national liberation. You are now united with such cold warriors as Zbigniew Brzezinski, Senator Henry M. Jackson and others. In fact, you have become the most active and the leading ideological force within the anti-working class, anti-socialist, anti-national-liberation brigade of world imperialism.

By now most people, but especially people who are active participants in the world revolutionary process, understand that your clichés about “two superpowers,” and “hegemonism,” are but crude concealment of your policies of support for U.S. imperialism, and your own dreams and plans for dominating large areas of the world.

You are giving your support to the U.S., Japan and the imperialist powers in NATO in their efforts to stop the building of socialism and national liberation, hoping to get their blessing for your efforts to control and dominate, especially the smaller countries of Asia.

This becomes even more obvious in your latest Central Committee statement of December. You claim “new and important success in developing the international united front against hegemonism,” followed by a list of the “steps” you have taken in “developing the international united front,” “the China-Japan treaty,” and “the normalization of relations between China and the United States.” This, again makes it clear that your “united front” is with the imperialist powers, directed against the Soviet Union, the other socialist states and the developing countries.

In Europe you are encouraging the NATO military alliance to build up its armed forces, and you are allied with those of counter-revolution and anti-national liberation in every corner of the globe.

In the United Nations your spokesmen have vehemently opposed all proposals that would lead toward peace and disarmament.

Why do you pursue this course? What has motivated the leading cadre of your party to adopt and pursue this disastrous course for so long? What is the logic behind your policies of supporting imperialism and counter-revolution?

Because your policies are the very opposite of working-class policies; because your policies are alien to Marxism-Leninism; because your policies do not correspond to the interests of socialism or national liberation, it is difficult for many to understand why you continue along this opportunistic path.

Years ago, one could say Mao Tse-tung made some mistakes in assessment or judgment. One could also argue that there were some understandable tactical differences that reflected Chinese realities. But one cannot say that today.

As we know, in the application of the science of Marxism-Leninism, each Communist Party must take into consideration the history, the experiences and the level of development of the social and political forces of one's own people and nation. Therefore, we also know that the strategic and tactical line will not always be identical. We

have no argument about that. But that is not the case with the policies you are pursuing. You are following a general line that has nothing to do with national peculiarities. What has led your party into this swamp is, of course, an important question.

As you well know, the sharp internal struggles in your party have always been over basic questions related to the class struggle. In the past, many outstanding Marxist-Leninist leaders of your party have fought for a political line and for policies from the viewpoint that the working class is the leading revolutionary force. They well understood that the class viewpoint was not a matter of how many workers there were in China, but how to lead the movements and struggles from a viewpoint that takes a principled and clear working-class position in the class struggle.

It is clear that the roots of your present policies go back into the history of your party. The most consistent and clearest expression of the opposite line and policies, and their roots, are in the works of Mao Tse-tung. The basic flaws were present before the victory of the Great Chinese Revolution. In fact, they have been a feature of Mao Tse-tung's thinking from the very inception of his role in the Communist Party of China. To say he has been "70 per cent right" is a misstatement of history.

The history of the Communist Party of China is a history of struggle between two lines, two different approaches. One is the working-class Marxist approach. Many great Marxist-Leninist leaders, such as Li Da-chao, Chu Chiu-po, Peng Pai, Chang Tai-lei, Su Chao-cheng, Chu Teh and many others, made important contributions in this struggle.

The opposing trend has always been a wavering, classless, petty-bourgeois, narrow nationalist one. For them, the concept of class struggle, the class division, and therefore, a partisan working-class approach has never been its main point of reference. Mao Tse-tung has always been associated with this trend. As a rule, this trend attracts elements that have no class roots — nationalistic and alien elements. It is this trend that became the "thought of Mao Tse-tung."

The history of your party is also a history of heroic struggles and sacrifices. Because the class enemy concentrated its fire on the cities, the biggest losses were always among the working class, communists and working-class communist leaders. Many were in the leadership of the struggle for a working-class Marxist approach. Also, because of the brutal terror in the cities, the number of workers in the party

declined. All this had an effect on the international struggle in your party.

The victories of the Chinese revolutionary movement can be traced to the working-class Marxist contributions; the weaknesses and mistakes, to the influence of the classless petty-bourgeois trend.

The most basic of all flaws is that Mao Tse-tung never accepted nor understood the very basic idea of Marx that, "The history of all hitherto existing societies is the history of class struggle," and that capitalism is no exception to this rule.

The class struggle was never a basic point of reference for Mao Tse-tung. In his view it was one of many factors of equal significance. In fact, he rejected the basic truth that the contradiction between the capitalist class and the working class is the primary contradiction. He saw the world as a mish-mash of contradictions.

From this it follows that he never viewed the working class, which is a product of the primary contradiction, as the most consistently revolutionary class. He rejected the role history has assigned to it. Therefore, the class struggle was not his principled point of reference. In his thinking, the class struggle was not the pivot. It was replaced by concepts of classless nationalism. It is this basic lack of understanding — or the rejection of the nature of a class society and the forces of such a society — that is the basis for Maoism's subjective reactions to developments.

When one does not view phenomena from the standpoint of the class struggle, then the question of taking sides in that struggle, or being a partisan of the working class, is not a matter of principle. In such a classless outlook, taking the side of the working class is just one of the options.

For example, when one does not accept the class struggle, or understand the unique, advanced role of the working class, there is no motive or compulsion to accept the concept of proletarian internationalism, because the concept that the working class is not necessarily your class can also lead to the concept that the capitalist class is not necessarily the enemy.

In Mao Tse-tung's petty-bourgeois nationalist thoughts, the class struggle has never been a basic, guiding principle. Therefore, Maoism was never a trend in the working-class movement because Mao never accepted the basic concept of the class struggle.

In a conversation with a U.S. writer in 1944, Mao is quoted as saying:

"We by no means want to establish a policy of the dictatorship of

the proletariat. As regards government, our democratic government will include landowners, merchants, capitalists, bourgeoisie, peasants and workers."

Such a concept clearly was not based on the realities of the class struggle. The words, "and workers," were a concession to the class viewpoint. In Mao's concepts, workers were never more than a small concession to class pressures.

There is also no class concept in an earlier statement of Mao Tse-tung:

"Apart from their other characteristics, the outstanding thing about China's 600 million people is that they are 'poor and blank.' This may seem a bad thing, but in reality it is a good thing. . . . On a blank sheet of paper, free from any mark, the freshest and most beautiful pictures can be painted." ("Introducing a Co-operative," *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, page 36.)

To Mao, China was a classless, "blank sheet of paper." Mao's China was a "blank sheet," without classes or a history.

It is always necessary to question the accuracy of reported impressions by U.S. State Department emissaries. But it is of interest that in the recently released secret documents of their discussions with Mao, there is one line that runs through all of them. It is anti-Sovietism and rejection of a class approach.

For example, in 1944, a David Barnett reported Mao as stating:

"We will accept your help, with gratitude, any time, now or in the future. We would serve with all our hearts under an American general, with no strings or conditions attached. That is how we feel towards you."

And, "Every American soldier in China should be a walking and talking advertisement for democracy. He ought to talk it to every Chinese he meets. American officers ought to talk it to Chinese officers. After all, we Chinese consider you Americans the *ideal of democracy*." (Emphasis - GH)

And finally, "China must be industrialized. This can be done in China only *by free enterprise and with the aid of foreign capital*. Chinese and American interests are correlated and similar." (Emphasis - GH)

Working with the forces that were allied in fighting to defeat the world fascist axis was, of course, necessary. But from these reports it is obvious that Mao expressed ideas that went far beyond such considerations. In these released papers there are continuing reports about Mao Tse-tung's anti-Soviet remarks.

Lenin correctly spoke about the need and the possibilities of using the contradictions between imperialist countries, and even between different sections of monopoly capital in specific countries. This concept is based on using the contradictions in the ranks of your class opponent.

However, that is not what Maoism is about. The underlying thought of Mao is the concept of opportunistically using the contradictions between the countries of socialism and the world of imperialism, with special emphasis on using the contradictions between the imperialist USA and the socialist USSR. Of course, you would not do this if you accepted the class struggle and had a partisan, working-class viewpoint — because a partisan of the working class is also a partisan of socialism.

In a period of history in which there are socialist countries and capitalist countries, the leadership of socialist countries have two choices. The choice is between the two main classes. Because Maoism does not accept the concept of a class struggle, it also does not accept it as a guide in its policies in a world of two class powers — one capitalist, the other socialist.

The opportunism of the socialist parties of the Second International that came to a head during the First World War was tailored to fit into the relationship of forces in a world dominated by imperialism. In each case, it was, therefore, an accommodation to the interests and the pressures of the ruling class of one's own country.

Maoism is opportunism tailored to fit the relationship of forces in a world where there are two competing socio-economic systems. It is, therefore, the opportunism for a period of the transition from capitalism to socialism. It is basically policies of selling out the interests of the working class and socialism in return for some crumbs from the table of imperialism.

Maoism is an accommodation to the interests of imperialism in general, and especially to the interests of the leading country of imperialism, the United States. It is opportunism that is possible only because there are other socialist countries that hold to a firm policy of struggle against imperialism. In our working-class struggles, scabs and other anti-working-class elements can sell their services to the corporations only because militant workers and the trade unions hold onto a firm line of struggle.

Maoism is opportunism in a period when world capitalism is decaying and is forced to retreat, and is, therefore, looking for ways to divide

and weaken the forces of the world revolutionary process. Maoism is out to sell this service to imperialism.

There is only one way in which a socialist country can "use" the contradictions between the two socio-economic systems, and that is to play the game of imperialism, to lick the boots of imperialism and make concessions to imperialism.

For a socialist country to play this game and get paid, it must be of service to imperialism. A service to imperialism is a betrayal of the interests of the working class. The hopes and the illusions of those who push policies based on opportunism is to get some concessions, as payment for services rendered to imperialism. And, indeed, imperialism is willing to make some payments. But such services to imperialism are at the expense of the working class, of national liberation and of world socialism. That is the only kind of service imperialism is interested in. Such services are a betrayal of the interests of the forces that propel the world revolutionary process.

Your policies are a service to imperialism because they work to weaken the forces of the world revolutionary process, because that is what imperialism wants. You are working to split the forces of national liberation from the forces of world socialism, to split the communist and other revolutionary forces — because that is what imperialism wants.

But history is also witness to the fact that the promises of imperialist payments are big, but the actual payments are small and of short duration.

U.S. imperialism is willing to sell and loan military goods to China, as long as China follows its present policies, which are in line with U.S. imperialism's interests. A war between China and the Soviet Union is on top of the list of imperialism's priorities. U.S. imperialism is working to push China away from the building of its socialist industrial base, and into using its resources and manpower in the non-productive military wasteland.

Opportunism is a dead-end street. History is indeed a stern teacher. For the working class, the main lesson is that unity and struggle is a precondition for victory. Groveling at the feet of corporations, or of world imperialism has never resulted in any lasting victories. The class struggle on the world scale, between world capitalism and world socialism, is no exception to this rule.

There have been many warnings within the ranks of your party's leadership about the consequences of policies based on opportunistic

considerations. This is obviously what Liu Shao-chi had in mind in 1959, when he said:

"If one follows the bourgeois-nationalist concept of the nation . . . opposes the Soviet Union instead of uniting with it, opposes the Peoples's Democracies instead of uniting with them, opposes the communists, the proletariat and the people's democratic forces in all countries instead of uniting with them, opposes the national-liberation movements . . . instead of uniting with all the oppressed nations . . . then one will of course unite with the United States and other imperialists, will of course line up with the imperialist camp, will of course fail to achieve national liberation, will never accomplish anything in the cause of socialism, will of course make one's own nation prey to the deception and aggression of the United States and other imperialists, with the result that one's own nation will lose its independence and become a colony of the imperialists." (Liu Shao-chi, *Internationalism and Nationalism*, Foreign Languages Press, 1954.)

Making political assessments is not like balancing books. It is not a matter of weighing the positives and negatives. Truth demands an accounting of the consequences of actions that are the results of wrong policies or right policies. As assessment of Maoism is an accounting of the consequences of wrong policies.

It is impossible to estimate the amount of suffering and death in human terms that Maoism has contributed to around the world. And, it is possible only to generalize and speculate as to where the world revolutionary process, the transition to socialism, the national-liberation and working-class movements of the world would be, if it were not for the divisions, diversions, the slander of socialism and the confusion created by Maoism. Only history, in its objectivity, will make a full assessment of these crimes.

Maoism has done all this as a payoff — for what? For a few, largely meaningless, concessions. But, mainly, for fancy, illusory promises from world imperialism.

If united, the forces of the world revolutionary process could have won many more meaningful victories — victories that could have advanced and contributed to the building of socialism, including in China.

Maoism has gambled on using, opportunistically, the struggle between the two socio-economic systems — by betraying the interests of the working class. If the history of the revolutionary movement teaches anything it is that the swamp of opportunism is a bottomless pit. In the long run it is a losing game.

We send this letter in the spirit of the many past struggles our two peoples and parties have participated in.

Our party, and millions of our people, took part in the struggle against U.S. imperialism's attacks against China, and its oppression of your country and people. We were involved in the struggle against Japan's imperialist aggression against China. We were initiators of the struggle against General Douglas MacArthur's plans to use the atomic bomb against your country. We actively participated in the "hands off China" movement, following your historic revolutionary victory against feudalism, capitalism and imperialism.

We are convinced that we express the sentiments of the forces of the world revolutionary process, the millions who are building socialism the world over, the millions who are fighting against imperialist oppression, the additional millions who are fighting against neo-colonialism, the millions of workers in the capitalist world, the hundreds of millions throughout the world who are active in the struggle for peace, for détente, for preventing the world from sliding into a nuclear disaster, from which there would be no return. In fact, we are convinced that we are expressing the thinking and sentiments of the great majority of humanity when we say: Take a hard look at the direction you are going; examine the path you are following; make a searching assessment of the forces you are aligned with. If you do, we are sure you will conclude it is the wrong direction, a dangerous path; it does not serve the best self-interests of the people of China or the struggle for social progress. We are convinced you will conclude your policies are not in keeping with the needs of the historic transition from the world of capitalism — with all its evils, to the world of socialism — which opens up the great highway of unlimited human progress.

We are sending you this letter in the hope that it will serve to open up a discussion between our parties on these questions. These questions are critical to matters related to preventing nuclear war, to the struggle for socialism and national liberation, to the struggles and interests of the people of both China and the United States.

Fraternally,
Gus Hall
General Secretary,
Communist Party, USA
January 1979

OPPOSE CHINA'S EXPANSIONIST AIMS

The Socialist Party of Australia held its Third Congress in Sydney from September 29 to October 2, 1978. SPA General Secretary Peter Symon delivered the Central Committee report to the Third SPA Congress. The Congress adopted a number of resolutions and other documents (one of which we reproduce below).

The Congress elected a new Central Committee. At a SPA Central Committee meeting held after the Congress Patrick Clancy was re-elected Chairman and Peter Symon as General Secretary of the SPA.

The present leaders of the government and Communist Party of China are taking that country on the road to a war which could engulf the world.

The so-called Japan-China Treaty of Peace and Friendship is in reality a military alliance, aiming to rapidly build China's military power with the assistance of the Japanese military-industrial complex. Through the Japan-U.S. military alliance, China becomes linked with these two major imperialist powers. The Chinese leaders have also successfully negotiated for arms and assistance from NATO countries.

For a number of years the leaders of China have followed a course of extreme nationalism, anti-Sovietism and opposition to the national-liberation movements and have asserted the inevitability of war.

They have clearly expressed their expansionist aims, both to the north, against the Soviet Union, Mongolia and Korea, and to the south, claiming Southeast Asian countries, considerable parts of India and many islands in the South China Sea.

The policy of expansionism is being put into practice by China's pressure and provocation directed against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and her active support of the military attack against Vietnam by the Kampuchean army with Chinese weapons.

At the 31st UN General Assembly China's representatives voted against the resolution for a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations. She voted against the holding of a special UN General Assembly session on disarmament and voted against the UN

resolution calling for a general and complete prohibition of nuclear weapon tests.

In her opposition to the national-liberation movements, China backed the splinter groups and South African forces in their attacks on Angola; has supported the Pinochet junta with loans and helped arm Somalia's invasion of Ethiopia. China's arms and money helped the NATO organized suppression of the revolt in Zaire.

The extreme nationalism of the leaders of China is impelling her on a course of world domination which has been often proclaimed in Maoist statements. This course is not only fraught with the danger of provoking a major war but, if successful, would lead to the subjugation of many nations.

We condemn and reject the dangerous line being fostered by imperialist circles and supported by the Frazer Liberal government that Chinese forces can be directed into war against the Soviet Union in the hope that this will be of advantage to the imperialist countries. The outbreak of any major war on any continent is almost certain to develop into a world war embroiling all countries in a nuclear holocaust.

The present leaders of China have betrayed the heroic Chinese people who fought against Japanese and U.S. imperialism and defeated the reactionary Chiang Kai-shek regime. They have deserted all communist principles in both national development and international relations and put the socialist gains of the Chinese people in jeopardy.

We call for the widest discussion and exposure of the actions of the Chinese leaders and resolute opposition to the expansionist aims of the present leaders of China.

JUST DEMANDS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Resolution of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Israel

The CPI Central Committee met in plenary session over November 16 to 17, 1978 to discuss the political situation in Israel after the Camp David agreements and the country's economic situation. On the economic situation the resolution adopted says in part:

The Likud government, which represents the interests of big capital, is conducting a policy that is hostile to the workers and all the working masses, making them pay by their labor for the enormous military expenditures entailed by the occupation. This policy runs counter to the interests of the Israeli people.

During the tenure of the Likud government, the resolution notes, inflation has been running at unprecedented levels.

In inflation rates and cost of living growth Israel now ranks second in the world. In 1977 prices went up by 54 per cent and in October 1978 alone by 7 per cent. The price of consumer essentials, the taxes, etc., keep growing with every passing day. At the same time the profits of the bankers, owners of big enterprises and speculators are mounting.

The blue- and white collar workers of Israel are waging a struggle against exploitation and the government's onslaught on the working people's living standards. There have been strike actions throughout the year.

The CPI Central Committee expresses solidarity with the class struggle of the workers and other employees and demands that the leadership of the Histradut (General Federation of Labor) put a stop to actions which are directed — in concert with the government — against the interests of the workers.

The CC CPI supports the workers' actions against the rising cost of living, inflation and lowering of real wages.

It expresses solidarity in particular with the strike of the teachers of secondary schools and other educational establishments, now in its second week.

The CPI Central Committee urges the workers and other employees to demand a 25-30 per cent wage and salary increase, and a 100 per cent compensation for the rising cost of living, instead of the 75 per cent. The CC calls for stepped-up resistance to the Begin government policy, which is leading to the impoverishment of the working people and the further enrichment of the capitalists.

Recent experience shows, the resolution says in conclusion, that acting in a united front the working people can win big successes and impel the reactionary Begin government to meet their just demands.

