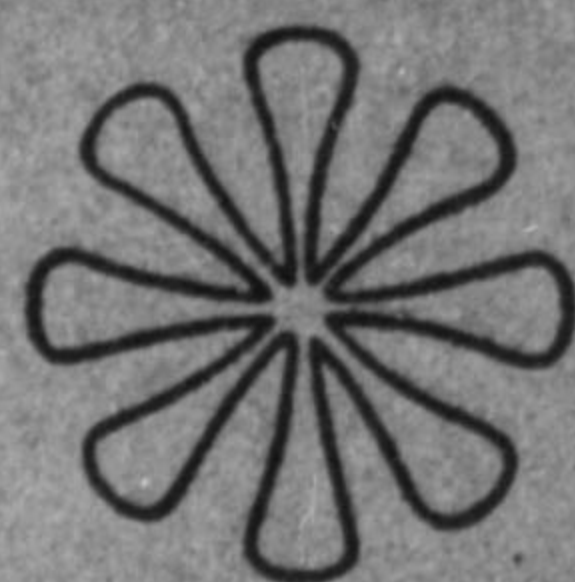


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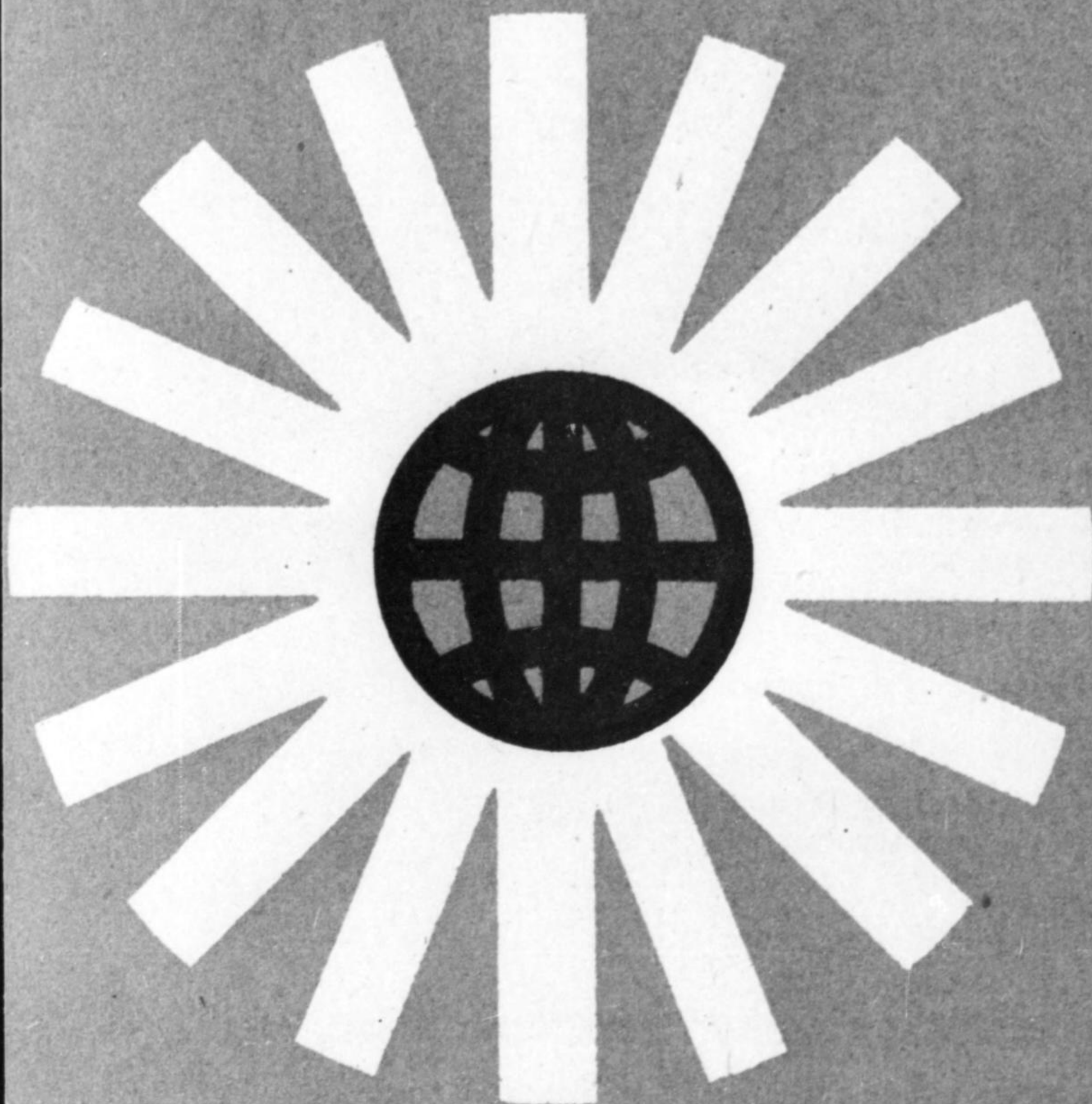
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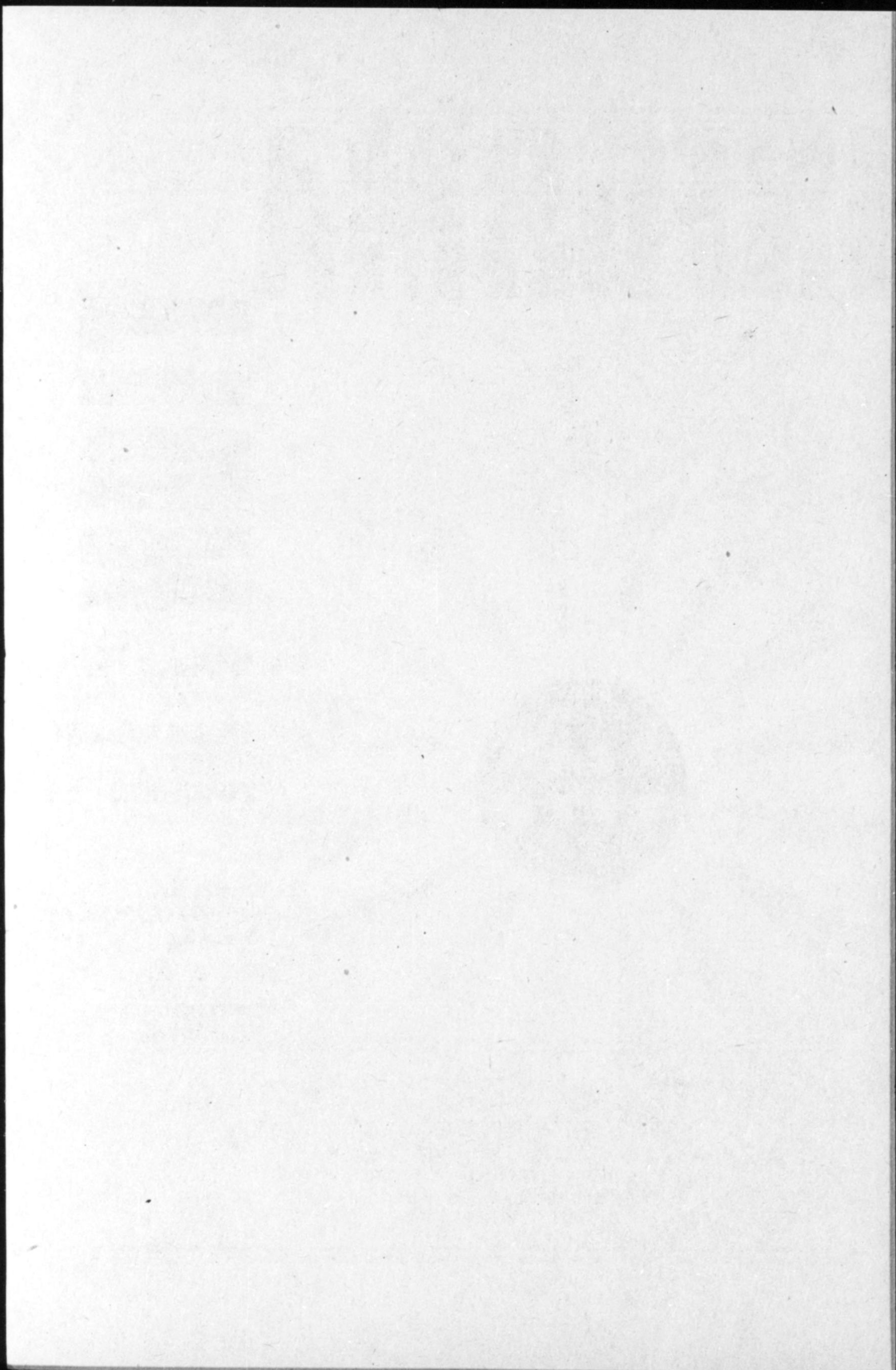
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contents

Soviet-Yugoslav talks 5

From the speech by
Leonid Brezhnev 6

From the speech by
Josip Broz Tito 7

DOCUMENTS

France

Twenty-third Congress of
the French Communist Party 10

From the report by
Georges Marchais 10

Speech by Boris Ponomarev 18

Dominican Republic

Second Congress of the
Dominican Communist Party 26

From the DCP CC report 26

Congress resolutions 29

El Salvador

Communiqué on the Seventh Congress
of the Communist Party of El Salvador 31

Continued next page

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Continued

Honduras

- Heighten the working people's
vigilance, defend their
democratic freedoms 33

FROM THE PRESS

- Against diktat,
for fair negotiations
Pravda 36

- The aggressive schemes
of Mao's successors
Dietmar Klein 41

- China joins hands
with imperialism!
The African Communist 48

- Whence the threat to Indochina
and Southeast Asia?
Nhan Dan 52

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SOVIET-YUGOSLAV TALKS

Talks were held in Moscow over May 17 and 18 between Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU and President of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and Josip Broz Tito, President of the SFRY and Chairman of the LCY. Also taking part were Andrei Gromyko, member of the CC CPSU Political Bureau and Foreign Minister of the USSR, Konstantin Rusakov, secretary of the CC CPSU, Stane Dolanc, member of the CC LCY Presidium, and Josip Vrhovec, Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs of the SFRY.

Leonid Brezhnev and Josip Broz Tito exchanged information on the development of the Soviet Union and the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and characterized the results achieved in fulfilling the decisions of the 25th Congress of the CPSU and the 11th Congress of the LCY.

The sides set forth their views on key international issues, assessed the advance of the détente, the obstacles in its way, and outlined steps to deepen the détente and to make it universal.

Leonid Brezhnev and Josip Broz Tito paid special attention to the present state and prospects of promoting Soviet-Yugoslav cooperation in various fields.

Leonid Brezhnev and Josip Broz Tito emphasized that expansion of mutual ties in policy, economy, science, culture and other spheres meets the vital interests of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia and the peoples of both countries. The sides reaffirmed their readiness to deepen Soviet-Yugoslav cooperation and emphasized the need to expand high-level contacts. They attach special importance to furthering cooperation between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

Leonid Brezhnev and Josip Broz Tito noted that the principles and provisions of the joint Soviet-Yugoslav documents, which are the result of summit meetings, provide a reliable basis for cooperation in various fields and for stable relations, for mutual understanding and trust between the USSR and the SFRY.

In the course of the talks, the sides noted that, despite difference in the evaluation of some foreign-policy issues, the fundamental fact that in international relations the USSR and Yugoslavia come out for peace and détente, for the independence of all countries and peoples,

for social progress, is of determining importance in Soviet-Yugoslav relations.

Both sides stressed the importance of disarmament — one of the most burning problems of our time. They consider it essential to intensify efforts to curtail the arms race and to go over to real disarmament and in this connection expressed support for all constructive initiatives, notably the decisions of the special UN General Assembly on disarmament, which are aimed at accomplishing this task. Leonid Brezhnev and Josip Broz Tito expressed confidence that this will be facilitated by the conclusion of the new Soviet-U.S. treaty on the limitation of strategic offensive arms.

The USSR and the SFRY noted the great significance of consistently and fully implementing the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act for strengthening confidence, security and cooperation in Europe. The forthcoming meeting in Madrid is called upon to play a positive role in this respect.

It was stressed during the talks that the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia take a firm stand for deepening the détente and spreading it to all parts of the world, for complementing the political détente with military détente, for settling crisis situations by peaceful means, through negotiation, with strict respect for the equality and sovereignty of the peoples and their right to free and independent development.

Leonid Brezhnev and Josip Broz Tito came out for active participation by all countries in the struggle to consolidate peace and to improve the world political climate. All the forces of democracy and peace can do much to help bring this about.

The USSR and the SFRY call for better mutual understanding and continuation of a fruitful and constructive dialogue on fundamental international problems. With this aim in view, regular exchanges of views at different levels will be continued.

On May 17, the CPSU Central Committee and the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet gave a dinner in honor of visiting President Josip Broz Tito of Yugoslavia.

Leonid Brezhnev and Josip Broz Tito spoke at the dinner, which took place in a friendly atmosphere.

FROM THE SPEECH BY LEONID BREZHNEV

Relations between the Soviet and Yugoslav peoples, to whose interest we are committed, are marked by deep-going friendly feelings

and a constant endeavor for broad and diversified cooperation. This fundamental fact is not obscured by our different approaches to some international problems.

We believe that Soviet-Yugoslav friendship can and must be an influential factor of peace and progress in Europe and elsewhere. But it must be said frankly that our friendship is not to the liking of certain forces. We witness attempts to disorganize our cooperation, to speculate on the past, and make absurd conjectures about the future.

What we want is relations that are free of any ambiguities, relations that are sincere and absolutely equitable. We believe that our Yugoslav friends also want this. A solid basis for relations is provided by the principles reflected in the Soviet-Yugoslav documents.

The international situation is now all but quiet. Peace is being put to dangerous trials now in one and now in another part of the planet. Freedom is being won through numerous hard-fought battles on ground that has been disfigured by the domination of the old and new colonizers. The arms race poses a special danger.

We communists can see that much still has to be done for the sake of stable peace, for better and more developed international cooperation.

Different countries display a growing readiness for a dialogue, for joint efforts. This was eloquently confirmed by our recent talks with President Giscard d'Estaing of France. They actually became a model showing how new prospects can be opened up for cooperation for the sake of détente, for the sake of peace on earth.

We are now at the threshold of concluding our negotiations with the USA on strategic arms limitation. The agreements that will be signed during our meeting with President Carter will undoubtedly become a milestone on the far from easy but correct road toward peace and the security of the peoples. The Soviet Union appreciates the support rendered by socialist Yugoslavia and many other countries to this vital cause.

FROM THE SPEECH BY JOSIP BROZ TITO

I am convinced ... that good, all-round and stable Yugoslav-Soviet relations and cooperation represent a long-term orientation and serve the long-term interests of our two countries and parties. For decades these relations and cooperation have rested on the tested, principled basis laid by us as far back as 1955 and 1956 and reaffirmed in many subsequent joint documents, particularly during our meetings in 1976 and 1977. This basis is solid and irreplaceable.

Thanks to this, we have achieved significant results in many spheres of our cooperation. We have always highly appreciated your personal contribution to this matter, dear Comrade Brezhnev. There is every reason, given these principles and reciprocal efforts, for mutual understanding and mutual respect and, hence, trust and friendship between our peoples, countries and parties to continue growing stronger.

The achievement of this important and lofty goal requires that we should also treat with full respect certain differences in our views and policies, which naturally arise from our different roads of building socialism and our countries' international standing. We have repeatedly stressed that these differences, which are an historical reality, are not and should not be a cause of misunderstanding or distrust, let alone an obstacle to furthering our friendly relations and all-round cooperation.

In this connection we attach special importance to regular, constructive and equal exchanges of views at different levels and in various spheres. In this way we ensure, as practice has always confirmed, a fuller and more realistic mutual acquaintance with, understanding and respect for, the stands and policies of our countries and our parties. This is our fundamental approach, as suggested by our experience of cooperation with all countries.

In the course of a broad and all-round exchange of views we will, understandably, give special attention to the opportunities and ways of promoting further and strengthening the process of détente and broad international cooperation. This is particularly important in the present alarming world situation, burdened as it is with many crises and unresolved problems.

We are concerned over the dangers stemming from the deep-seated crises in southern Africa, the Middle East and Southeast Asia. We believe that the way to their settlement lies in full respect for the peoples' and countries' right to national sovereignty, independence and their own way of life, without outside interference.

Proceeding from these convictions, we support the peoples who are fighting for liberation from imperialism and colonialism, as well as from all other forms of foreign domination and exploitation.

We hold that, as a universal process, détente should embrace all regions and all countries. We are firmly convinced that this is the only way to stronger peace, security and equitable cooperation, and a prerequisite of universal progress. It implies vigorous steps to

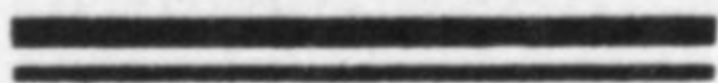
remove all dangerous seats of war and military intervention, consistent respect for the independence of all countries, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, peaceful and constructive settlement of outstanding issues. It also implies going over to effective disarmament measures. We are convinced that the SALT-2 accords, which are to be signed shortly, will also help to further this aim. At present it is of exceptional importance to restore and strengthen confidence in the détente through the concrete activity and cooperation of all countries.

The efforts of socialist Yugoslavia and other countries adhering to the non-alignment policy are also geared to this goal.

As an independent and self-sufficient factor outside blocs, the non-alignment policy, to which we are deeply and solidly committed, is predicated on the need for the broadest possible international cooperation by all factors, irrespective of their size, power, development level and orientation in the search for solutions to global problems, and in the struggle for more equitable international political and economic relations, for progress all over the world. Consistently adhering to the principles of non-alignment, the UN Charter and the Helsinki Final Act, socialist Yugoslavia wants comprehensive development of relations with all countries on the basis of equality. We see this also as a concrete contribution to all-round international cooperation, which we advocate.

I am convinced that our present talks will give a new impulse to friendly relations and fruitful all-round cooperation between our two countries and parties, which meet not only our mutual interests, but undoubtedly also the broader interests of peace, cooperation and socialism across the world.

Pravda, May 18 and 19, 1979



DOCUMENTS

TWENTY-THIRD CONGRESS OF THE FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY

The French Communist Party held its 23rd Congress in Saint-Ouen, a Paris suburb, from May 9 to 13, 1979. Taking part were 2,000 delegates elected at conferences of departmental party federations, as well as 88 delegations from fraternal communist and workers' parties and national-liberation movements.

FCP General Secretary Georges Marchais made the Central Committee report. Charles Fiterman, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the CC FCP, reported on behalf of the editorial commission of the congress. Paul Laurent, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the CC FCP, spoke on proposed amendments to the FCP Rules.

The delegates approved the CC report and the political resolution. They also voted for amending the FCP Rules. The congress elected new leading bodies of the party.

The Political Bureau, Central Committee Secretariat and Central Political Control Commission were elected at the first plenary meeting of the new Central Committee. Georges Marchais was re-elected as General Secretary. Maxime Gremetz, Paul Laurent, Gisele Moreau, Jean Colpin, Gaston Plissonnier and Charles Fiterman were elected secretaries of the CC FCP.

During the congress a mass meeting was held in Bobigny, a working-class suburb of Paris, at which Boris Ponomaryov, alternate member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the CC CPSU, head of the CPSU delegation, made a speech.

Below is a recapitulation of the report by Georges Marchais and the speech at the meeting by Boris Ponomaryov.

FROM THE REPORT BY GEORGES MARCHAIS

When at their 22nd Party Congress three years ago French communists adopted the decision to take the country along the road of democratic change, increasingly oriented on the struggle for

socialism, Georges Marchais said, they proceeded from a thorough analysis of the country's realities, its condition, and the profound phenomena engendered by the crisis that was plaguing France.

Analyzing the causes of the crisis, the French communists emphasize its nationwide scope and the fact that it is the result of sharpening contradictions of France's capitalist society. No references to the growing cost of oil in the world market or increased prices of other raw materials can conceal the fact that the crisis is rooted in the national bourgeoisie's self-seeking policy.

At the same time, Marchais said, we do not shut our eyes to the international character of the present crisis, or of the capitalist system itself.

The revolutionary parties, the FCP among them which are strengthening the international solidarity of the working people, see a way out of the crisis in fundamental social changes, in the struggle they are waging against national big capital.

The communists, he said, are fighting against unemployment, for new jobs through the expansion of internal consumption, to enhance the working people's purchasing power, for lower rents and taxes, a shorter working week, for lowering the pension age to 60 years for men and to 55 for women. They are waging a struggle for the expansion of the public sector, nationalization of vital industries, including metallurgy, mining and the nuclear industry, and for better living conditions and environmental protection. The communists urge setting up organs of genuine local power, elected by universal suffrage and possessing real rights and means.

Two roads are open to France, Marchais said. Either adaptation to the crisis in the interests of the multinationals with all the ensuing catastrophic consequences for the working people and the nation as a whole, or curbing capitalist domination, effecting deep-going democratic changes that will enable France to advance to socialism by democratic means. That is the only alternative.

The communists will do everything to help France avoid the hardships, desperation and oppression which the big bourgeoisie and the politicians on its payroll are preparing for it.

Georges Marchais stressed that the draft resolution submitted by the FCP Central Committee for discussion at the congress points to the need to unite all democratic, progressive forces of the country, to achieve unity of action, especially at grass-roots level, in the struggle for the everyday demands of the French working people.

Over the past decades, he went on to say, the balance of forces has changed in favor of the forces of national liberation, social and human emancipation. The Great October Revolution of 1917 in Russia was and remains a decisive event that determined these changes, and let no one expect the French Communist Party to do anything that would minimize its significance. The revolution transferred socialism from the sphere of hope into the sphere of its practical realization. The October Revolution also gave the signal for a decisive development of powerful forces of progress and peace throughout the world, and for other peoples to take the road of socialist construction. The transition of a number of countries onto the socialist road set the stage for the solution, in a historically short period, of major social, national and human problems. It paved the way for a powerful economic and social development in these countries.

The economic, political and military potential of the socialist countries has increased immensely. The contradictions of the capitalist world have grown sharper. The policy of peaceful coexistence is objectively helping the struggle against capitalist exploitation on a world scale.

In the capitalist countries the working class has grown stronger, become better organized and acquired new experience in vigorous class battles. The ruling circles must now increasingly reckon with its organizations. New democratic forces have emerged in many countries, France among them, and the struggle for deep-going political changes is on the agenda. Dictatorial regimes have fallen in such countries as Portugal, Greece and Spain. In Iran, the bloody dictatorship of the shah, which was actively supported by the United States, has been swept away.

The national-liberation movement has broken the old colonial order. New peoples — the Vietnamese and the Angolans, for instance — have inscribed their names into the annals of the heroic struggle for independence and freedom. Many formerly oppressed nations are now making their voices heard. They are demanding genuine freedom, the right to control their wealth and to direct their development themselves. Together, they are now playing a big role in international organizations and at negotiations, and constitute a new positive factor in determining the correlation of world forces.

The international crisis of capitalism has developed precisely within this framework and in connection with these basic factors of world revolution, and this is what gives it its present depth and uniqueness and also poses in a new way the question of its possible

solution. In the past, too, crises were international in character, particularly the crises which led to the two world wars. But with the new correlation of forces imperialism can no longer act as it did in the past — to have recourse to war or to fascism.

Needless to say, it has not given up the idea of defending its positions, and for this it still has considerable potentialities, as evidenced by the counter-attack it has mounted. Entrenchment of the transnational corporations, activization of 'Atlanticism,' ideological warfare against socialism, recurrent enroachments on national sovereignty, and interference in the internal affairs of countries — these are the main lines of imperialist strategy.

Though impelling imperialism to modify its strategy, the revolutionary and progressive forces have not yet been able to impose a solution to serious international problems that would rule out inequality, domination and force in international relations.

Moreover, Marchais said, problems have arisen in relations between socialist countries, primarily between the Soviet Union and China. We say it in no uncertain terms to the Chinese leaders that it is impossible to work for the benefit of their people, for peace and progress, and at the same time to see the Soviet Union as the chief enemy. It is impossible to fight for national sovereignty while advocating a NATO build-up, Atlantic and European integration. We seriously differ with them on this issue.

We condemned China's aggression against Vietnam. We consider that Vietnam's assistance to the Kampuchean people, who became the victim of genocide, is no justification for the Chinese aggression. We expressed satisfaction over the fact that the conflict has been ended, thanks, in particular, to the wise stand taken by the Soviet Union. We hope that the negotiations that are about to commence will help to define the framework of new, friendly cooperation between the countries concerned on the basis of respect for the independence of each. This is in the interests of everyone.

The speaker then went on to list some major international problems whose aggravation creates a real threat to peace. While the policy of peaceful coexistence is making headway everywhere on the initiative of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, he said, the arms race continues to swallow up enormous funds to the detriment of the people's welfare. The forces which are out to jeopardize the détente continue their plotting and maintain the seats of war and tension. While science and technology have made unprecedented progress, poverty, hunger and backwardness are increasing across

the world. At a time when nations are being established and conditions exist for extensive and diverse international cooperation, the transnational capitalist monopolies endeavor to bring international exchange under their control and to dismantle national production apparatuses. In these efforts they are supported by the imperialist powers, the United States in the first place, which are increasingly interfering in the internal affairs of sovereign states in an attempt to impose a 'supranational' integration strategy, to deepen the split of the world into hostile blocs.

Our goal, Marchais continues, is to vindicate the principles of national sovereignty, independence, non-interference in the affairs of any country. This concerns both France's domestic scene and its activity in the international arena.

However, the speaker went on to say, the aforesaid does not mean that we are indifferent to the consequences of the domestic policies of countries, particularly where it concerns human rights. We do not think that the U.S. rulers, the exploiters and the oppressors of the peoples have any right to use this banner to cover up the true purpose of their policies.

We are fighting for peace, for peaceful coexistence and the equality of the peoples. The right to live in peace is important for all peoples. The successes won by the détente must now be consolidated and expanded. In face of the persisting military threat, it is quite feasible today to rally the masses in defense of peace and for disarmament.

France is in a position to put into effect the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act on security, cooperation and human rights. Her actions should be aimed at setting up an effective system of collective security. France can play a positive role in settling the Middle East conflict, thereby helping to realize the objective of turning the Mediterranean into a zone of peace and broad international cooperation.

The FCP, the speaker continued, carefully follows and positively assesses the non-aligned movement.

We are fighting for a democratic Europe, for its economic and social progress, for an independent and peaceful Europe that is open to the whole world. As you know, the FCP opposed France's entry into the Common Market, for contrary to the champions of this idea, who then made fantastic promises, we maintained that this does not serve the interests of our country and people. Consequent developments have proved this to be true. However, the existence of the Common Market has linked the member countries, creating a situa-

tion that has prompted us to consider, since 1965, a unilateral rupture with it undesirable.

At present efforts are being made to increase France's involvement in the West European community in the interests of monopoly capital. That is why the FCP vigorously opposes expansion of the Common Market and France's integration in the West European and Atlantic conglomerate under U.S. tutelage, with the FRG playing the dominant role.

Emphasizing the need for solidarity between the communist parties, the speaker noted that at present the international communist and working-class movement has no single center and that the fraternal parties are working in increasingly diverse conditions. A number of communist parties run the affairs of their states, others — the majority — are waging a struggle against their class enemies who still hold the reins of political and economic power. All this attests to the maturity and growth of the communist movement.

This diversity, as well as the differences between the communist parties should not be seen as an obstacle to promoting cooperation and internationalist solidarity among them.

Internationalist solidarity and actions in favor of France's new and positive policy in the world are part and parcel of our struggle for a democratic and national solution to the crisis bedeviling France.

Georges Marchais dealt at length with the FCP's attitude toward the socialist countries. In face of the persistent fierce campaign in the bourgeois media against the socialist countries, the communists cannot take a stand of cautious neutrality, for this would amount to a concession to intense pressure. They must clearly assess it from the class point of view. To the question whether it is good that the peoples of these countries have built socialism, we answer unequivocally: yes, it is good for them and for us.

Above all we note that these countries have put an end to exploitation of man by man, to labor being used solely in the interests of capitalist profit. We have put it on record that they have eliminated the social evils inherent in the countries remaining under capitalism and colonialism, and the hardship experienced by hundreds of millions of people: hunger, poverty, illiteracy, ignorance, economic backwardness, insecurity and colossal social inequality. We also note that in economic development rates the socialist countries are well ahead of the crisis-ridden capitalist states. While industrial production in the USA, the FRG and France in 1960-78 registered only a slightly

more than twofold increase, that of the socialist countries has been more than quadrupled.

This development has a favorable effect on living standards in these states. As distinct from the capitalist countries, this is not accompanied by unemployment, spiralling inflation, inhuman intensification of labor, that is, all the hallmarks of capitalist society.

Nor can we ignore, the speaker went on, the progress under the socialist system in the sphere of education, health care, culture, sports, the organization of leisure and recreation, social security and democracy.

As for the development of democracy — an area where socialism is encountering the fiercest attacks of its enemies — progress is indisputable. There can be no doubt that the advancement of democracy goes to the credit of the socialist system. As a result of deep-going social changes, the working people and their organizations enjoy new broad rights at enterprises and in every sphere of activity. This process is continuing, though much remains to be done.

Saying that in some socialist countries there had been violations of democracy in connection with the personality cult, the speaker noted that the CPSU itself — and this is its great merit — had denounced this practice and had taken steps to remove it. Simultaneously, he repeated the recurrent critical remarks claiming that, in his opinion, the 'universal democratic demands of which socialism is the vehicle' are sometimes underestimated in the socialist world.

The policy of the socialist countries, Marchais said, has certainly been instrumental in producing a new world balance favoring the forces of social and national liberation. The socialist countries' existence and vigorous actions have ensured for humanity more than 30 years without a world war. The socialist countries, particularly the Soviet Union, extend substantial material and political aid to the national-liberation movements in their struggle for independence and social development. Their support is also the key element in the struggle of the working class in the capitalist countries.

All these factors point to the superiority of the new social system built by the socialist countries, and this gives us every reason to assess their overall result as positive.

The French communists realize that if today they are able to chart their distinctive road of advancing toward socialism, they owe this largely to the existence of the socialist countries. The construction of a socialist society should proceed from the conditions actually existing in each country, and hence there can be no single model. As more

countries take the road of socialist development, the more diverse will be the forms of this development. This does not, however, preclude the existence of general laws, general principles, such as above all the abolition of private ownership of the basic means of production and exchange, and the establishment of the power of the working class and its allies.

Displaying a readiness to draw lessons from the experience of the socialist countries and on the whole positively assessing this experience, as well as showing concern for the further development of international solidarity in the struggle for common goals, the French communists are pursuing a consistent policy meeting the interests of the struggle for socialism in France, as well as the interests of socialism in the international arena.

Touching on the proposed amendments to the FCP Rules, Marchais said that the ideology of the French communists is scientific socialism whose founders were Marx and Engels and their great continuers, notably Lenin. It is the formulation 'scientific socialism,' and not Marxism-Leninism, that we propose introducing into the Party Rules. The FCP is a revolutionary party whose organizational principle is democratic centralism.

Georges Marchais pointed to the party's substantial numerical growth since the previous congress. At the end of 1978, it had 702,000 members and 28,000 branches, 10,000 of which were factory branches. But our possibilities, the speaker said, are far from exhausted. In the immediate future we can and must increase our membership to one million, and the number of factory branches to 12,000.

The French Communist Party is a revolutionary party of the people. It is a powerful force for the social and national renovation of the country, Georges Marchais said in conclusion. Noting the importance of the broad pre-congress discussion, he said he was confident that the 23rd Congress of the FCP will arm the party with new means for the struggle for social progress, against unemployment, for democratic freedoms and national independence, in order to consolidate the united popular movement, which is essential to surmount the crisis. The 23rd Congress will give our party new means for resolving the historic objective of advancing the French people along a democratic road to socialism.

L'Humanité, May 10, 1979

SPEECH BY BORIS PONOMARYOV AT A RALLY IN BOBIGNY

Dear comrades,

The CPSU delegation is happy to have this new meeting with the French communists. Our parties have ties of long-standing friendship and solidarity. We want to assure you that we Soviet communists sincerely seek to continue strengthening these ties and promoting our relations and cooperation.

Allow me, first of all, to convey to all those present here, and through you to all the French communists and the other working people of France, fraternal greetings and good wishes from Comrade Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, General Secretary of our party's Central Committee.

Every meeting between communists of different countries is a fresh opportunity to gain more knowledge of each other's life. We have heard with interest and attention the Report given by Georges Marchais, your party's General Secretary. The Soviet communists are highly interested in the FCP's activity, and we wish you great successes in the struggle for the vital interests of the people of France and for their right to take decisions and work in their country for democracy and socialism.

For my part, I should like to describe, however briefly, the activity of our party and the Soviet people.

First of all, I must tell you that our society has entered upon a stage of its development at which the tremendous potentialities of the socialist system are being ever more fully and comprehensively revealed.

This relates to every sphere of the life of the country and the people: town and country, the economy, the people's living standards, science, culture, art, social and political problems. In the economy, there is a broad and intensive renewal of the fixed assets in production, a further build-up of the country's economic potential on the basis of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution. In the social sphere, large-scale measures are being taken further to raise the people's well-being, with an unprecedented growth in the cultural level of every section of the country's population.

In the political plane, we have been steadily improving and deepening Soviet socialist democracy, and this is formalized in our new Constitution.

These general features of the present stage in the development of

Soviet society are embodied in thousands of concrete accomplishments.

Those who visited the Soviet Union a few years ago now frequently fail to recognize the places they once saw. For instance, our Siberia, which at the beginning of the century was a sparsely populated area and a place of hard labor and banishment, is now undergoing a true revival. Only recently a start was made on the development of oil and gas fields in the western part of Siberia, and it now yields roughly one-half of the Soviet oil. The building of the giant Baikal-Amur Railway was started only a few years ago to enable us to develop the vast riches of eastern Siberia and the Far East. One-third of its length is now in operation. We are implementing a great project for raising agriculture and transforming the Soviet countryside in the non-chernozem area of Russia. This is 29 regions with an area equal to that of France.

As in the past, our economy has been developing in a balanced way, without crises or inflation. The Soviet people themselves set the pace and proportions for the development of their economy in such a way as to obtain optimal provision of present requirements, while creating reliable stocks for the long term. We are tirelessly advancing, and not only in the areas which are traditional for our country, but also in new ones which meet the requirements of scientific and technical progress.

We have long since forged to first place in the world on indicators like the extraction of oil and coal, and the smelting of steel, the production of cement, tractors, fabrics, footwear and some other types of goods. Now we are confidently securing remarkable results of world importance in areas like petrochemicals, electronics and precision engineering.

All of this is an expression of our party's line of enhancing the quality and efficiency of production as prerequisites for fresh advances in building up the material basis of a communist society.

The unprecedented scale of construction in our country, the stable pace of our economic development, the world's highest educational levels among broad masses of the population — all these are obvious facts, but the main thing is the goal to which our whole development is geared: the establishment of the most just, most humane and most democratic system, a system which assures the working man of the necessary opportunities for all-round development of his personality.

Everything for the benefit of man, everything for the sake of man is a requirement which remains the basic and definitive law of Soviet

society. That is why it is natural that from 1974 to 1978 direct appropriations for the people's well-being were nearly a third higher than they were over the preceding five years. It is natural, therefore, that we have no unemployment. We have the lowest and most stable prices for bread, public transport and housing, and these have not changed in decades. Metro, bus and trolley fares, for instance, have not changed in 30 years.

A major achievement of our system is that we have free medical services for the whole population, free education from the first grade in primary school to the end of higher schooling.

In the Soviet Union, everyone is free to choose his occupation in accordance with his vocation, and to spend his holiday at a sanatorium or a rest home, with the whole or a part of the cost being paid for by the trade union.

From year to year, tens of millions of people in our country receive new flats. In 1979, 6,200 flats are being commissioned every day. What is more, the Soviet citizen pays nothing for the building costs when he is given the keys to his new flat. The USSR has the world's lowest rents, which come to 4-5 per cent of family budgets.

Every Soviet citizen knows that today his life is better than it was yesterday, and that tomorrow it will be better than it is today.

Of course, we still have our outstanding problems, which are natural in every great and — most importantly — new endeavor. Our party has openly spoken of them and has mapped ways of overcoming the difficulties and making the utmost use of the reserves and advantages of the socialist system.

But the main thing, of course, is not these individual difficulties or problems. It is no secret for anyone that the Soviet people, who suffered tremendous losses in the fight to save world civilization from fascist barbarity in the course of the Second World War, have been forced to shoulder the heavy burden of defending peace throughout the world in the postwar period.

Comrades, the implementation of our projects and the attainment of our goals in themselves require an organic combination of activity by our party and state organs and vibrant and active initiatives on the part of all the working people. In practice, this means that the factory director, the worker, the minister and the scientist work as associates in one common endeavor.

Two months ago, we had elections to the Supreme Soviet, which recently met for its first session. Its composition is indicative: one-half of the deputies are industrial workers and collective farmers, and

almost one-third are women. No capitalist country has such a democratic parliament in terms of composition. Such are the Soviet citizen's actual rights and liberties. That is why our socialist democracy is a real democracy for the people, instead of being a nominal democracy. The Soviet people are building their own present and future, relying on the power which belongs to them.

The substance of our party's policy in the sphere of democracy, to quote Comrade Leonid Brezhnev, is that 'Soviet democracy can and must serve economic progress even better, while economic progress has been and remains the foundation, the material basis for the ever fuller exercise of the Soviet people's rights and liberties, and for the further flourishing of socialist democracy.'

Our Constitution legislates the further extension and deepening of socialist democracy as the fundamental line for the development of socialist society's political system. What do we have in mind in the first place? It is the ever broader involvement of citizens in managing the affairs of the state and society. It is the use of the tremendous potentialities available to various social organizations. It is enhancement of the effectiveness of the ramified and essentially highly democratic system of people's control. It is the utmost extension of publicity, the importance of which was emphasized by Lenin. It is the all-round consideration of public opinion by the organs of popular representation when drafting and passing decisions. Just as genuine democracy is impossible without socialism, so socialism is impossible without the sustained development of democracy. That is an idea of Lenin's which the CPSU has been consistently implementing.

Comrades, all of our people's achievements are based on Marxism-Leninism, on combining fidelity to this great doctrine with constant creative development of its basic ideas. Marxism-Leninism enables us to analyze the past in order to learn its lessons, helps us to obtain a profound insight into the substance of the processes of social development, to take note in due time of the problems that arise and to map out their correct solution. Marxism-Leninism enables us to sum up the results of the past and to see the perspectives of the future, setting out reliable guidelines for our further advance.

Of course, comrades, we are well aware that the doctrine of Marx-Engels-Lenin gives strength to those who do not regard it dogmatically, but creatively, who develop and enrich it on the basis of scientific achievements and the practical experience of the masses. And our party is true to this principle. It has boldly blazed new trails,

relying on the theory and methodology of scientific socialism, which have been tested by life.

Dear comrades, broad masses of people clearly see that the Soviet Union has consistently pursued a peaceful foreign policy. It springs from the very nature of socialism, from the noble goals which it sets itself. The party, the country which is moved by the spirit of creation and carries on peaceful construction on a vast scale sincerely wants peace all over the world!

Carrying on an active and purposeful struggle against the danger and preparation of war, and for peace and the security of nations, the CPSU has also been making a contribution to the common struggle of the communists and the whole of the working-class and democratic movement for peace and social progress. And I think that you well understand us Soviet people when we say with pride: a great part of the credit for the fact that a nuclear world war has been averted for over 30 years should go to the Soviet Union, the socialist community, and all the other peace forces.

Especially much has been done here in the 70s when, at its 24th and 25th Congresses, the CPSU put forward its Peace Program. The successes in realizing it have largely helped to bring about that switch from the cold war to the détente which now largely determines the course and character of developments in the international arena.

The establishment of the principles of peaceful coexistence and the deepening of cooperation and consolidation of security have promoted, as you are aware, a fresh upswing in the struggle of the working-class and the national-liberation movement. In response, imperialism started a wild anti-communist campaign demanding that the socialist countries should give up their solidarity with the fighters for national liberation and social emancipation, and threatening to undermine the détente. This campaign has been pivoted on anti-Sovietism, above all on the lie about a 'Soviet military threat.' This is a malicious invention of the enemies of peace and détente, of the imperialists and the Peking rulers. They need it to deceive the working people, to whitewash imperialism, the chief source of the arms race and the war danger.

Indeed, talk about a Soviet threat is now being used as a screen by circles in the West who are to blame for sharpening the situation in the world over the past few years. A special danger here is the strident line of the aggressive NATO bloc aimed to push the race in all types of weapons, which in the United States and some other Western countries has assumed unprecedented proportions. More and more

new types of lethal weapons are being developed and stockpiled in the arsenals of NATO. This poses a sinister threat to peace, a threat to mankind. This dangerous development is compounded by the fact that in the recent period the Chinese leadership has ever more actively abetted NATO.

We believe that it is high time for all the fighters for peace to get down to a practical solution of the most urgent, the most acute problem of our day: that of halting the arms race, and going on to disarmament.

Those are the questions which are always central to our state's foreign-policy activity. No country in the world has come forward with so many major initiatives aimed to halt the arms race, whether in conventional or nuclear weapons, as the Soviet Union has! A tireless struggle for détente and lasting peace is being carried on by Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU, President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. All these incontrovertible facts show very well what the Land of Soviets wants and what it urges all the other countries to do.

Special attention is naturally being given to limiting the build-up of nuclear weapons. The Soviet Union has done and continues to do all it can to conclude SALT-2 with the United States. The SALT-2 negotiations have come to an end and the agreement is to be signed at a summit level. The Soviet Union and the United States, and all the other nations equally need this agreement.

This is an important contribution to the détente, although it does not mark the end of the arms race. The Soviet Union will continue to carry on the struggle for disarmament.

This year will see the 40th anniversary of the outbreak of the Second World War. It blazed both on the fields of France and on the fields of the Soviet Union. We well remember that imperialism was able to start that war, in particular, also because the split in the working-class movement prevented the proletariat and other working people from frustrating its plans. Only as a result of the heroic struggle of the Soviet Army, which was supported by the Resistance movement and the Western allies, was Europe liberated from the fascist yoke. The important thing today is to prevent another war. It would be a tragedy which this time could have disastrous consequences for mankind.

Today, there is the might of existing socialism, and the international working class has tremendous strength and potentialities. The communist parties and the trade unions are acquiring an ever more

important role and growing weight. But for the working class of the world to be able to play an effective role in the struggle against war, as in the struggle for social progress, much importance attaches to the further invigoration of cooperation among all its contingents, all the political parties acting on its behalf, above all the communist parties. The Soviet communists value the French Communist Party's active struggle for détente and lasting peace, and against the arms race.

People in the Soviet Union know well, remember and value the brilliant speeches by Jean Jaures against the imperialist war, Paul Lafargue's impassioned pamphlets denouncing the system which breeds wars, and Henri Barbusse's wrathful *Le Feu* (The Fire). Nor have we forgotten Maurice Thorez's wise and prophetic statement in the cold-war period about the friendly attitude of the French people to the Soviet Union, the bulwark of peace and socialism, remaining unchanged, whatever the circumstances.

The recent campaign of solidarity with the heroic Vietnamese people, which swept across the globe, provides fresh evidence of the vivifying power of internationalism. We highly appreciate the fact that the French Communist Party came out in support of the Vietnamese people and its struggle against the Chinese aggression.

The Vietnamese people's heroism and the strength of internationalist solidarity have proved once again that the period of arbitrariness in the international arena has gone. This should be a stern warning to all the claimants to the role of aggressor, to all those who have hegemonic ways.

Our country gave Vietnam powerful support, firmly declared its readiness to fulfill its allied duty with respect to socialist Vietnam, and worked to put an end to the criminal war. The Soviet Union's resolute but restrained stand met with profound understanding on the part of world opinion.

The Soviet people, working for world peace and against all the moves by the forces of imperialism and aggression, are keeping a close watch on the development of the situation on the European continent. Here substantial positive changes have occurred, and the fruits of détente and mutually advantageous cooperation between states with different social systems are most tangible. But one should not forget that Europe continues to be the area where the greatest quantities of troops and armaments are concentrated in confrontation with each other. We must work together for understanding on real measures to lower the level of military confrontation on the continent.

A great deal in Europe depends on the relations between our two

countries. The recent Soviet-French summit negotiations were another major step in their development. The program of further cooperation between the USSR and France in promoting peace and détente, signed in Moscow, is aimed to exert a beneficial effect on the situation in Europe and on international relations generally. This and other important documents adopted during the talks are designed to give Soviet-French cooperation a fresh impetus. The talks and agreements have given a fresh impetus to trade. In the five years it has tripled, and is to increase by as much again by 1985. This means jobs for tens of thousands of French workers.

For millions of people in France and throughout the world, these documents provide convincing refutation of the inventions about a Soviet 'military threat.' The agreements reached at the new meeting create favorable potentialities for strengthening the feelings of friendship and sympathy between the Soviet and the French peoples. Implementation of the signed documents will benefit the peoples of both countries, and the cause of peace and international security. One could put this as follows: if the USSR and France closely cooperate in the international arena in the interests of peace and security, if there is a sound and lasting accord between our two countries, this will be the greatest contribution to the prevention of war in Europe and improvement of the political climate beyond its boundaries as well. The Soviet communists are glad that both our parties act together in this direction.

Comrades, the Soviet and French communists are united by ties of strong and long-standing friendship and solidarity. Our parties are united by their common stand on the basic problems of our day. History and the present, our joint struggle in the past and today, have created a sound basis for the further development and strengthening of cooperation between the CPSU and the FCP for the benefit of the Soviet and French peoples, and in the interests of peace and socialism. The fraternal friendship forged in the long years of struggle for peace, democracy and socialism, and against all the manifestations of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, cannot be undermined by the class enemy or the opportunists, however hard they may try to.

Long live the French Communist Party, the militant vanguard of the working class and the other working people of France!

Long live the friendship and solidarity of the CPSU and the FCP!

May the friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union and France flourish and grow stronger!

Long live peace and socialism!

SECOND CONGRESS OF THE DOMINICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

The Second Congress of the Dominican Communist Party, the first legal congress since its foundation in 1944, was held in Santo Domingo from March 17 to 19, 1979. It was attended by 404 delegates, representatives of the Communist Parties of Mexico, Panama, Puerto Rico, the USA and France and about 200 specially invited guests.

Congress discussed the Central Committee report delivered by DCP General Secretary Narciso Isa Conde and adopted the Constitution and Program of the party, as well as a number of resolutions.

The delegates elected a new Central Committee and other leading party bodies. Narciso Isa Conde was re-elected as General Secretary.

Below are excerpts from Narciso Isa Conde's report as well as some resolutions adopted by the Congress.

FROM THE DCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE REPORT

Left unity, and the formation of a broad united movement with a clearly defined anti-imperialist orientation are still the goal of the Dominican revolutionary process. However, now that the attempts in that direction have failed, it is obvious that in order to reach this goal new political alliances and a regrouping of forces are required.

The left forces must reinforce their ties with their social support, which, as a result of mistakes and in view of the special political situation that has now taken shape, came under the influence of the bourgeois parties, particularly the right wing of the Dominican Revolutionary Party. They must define their potentialities and regroup their forces.

A clear distinction must be drawn between left unity based on renewed ties with the masses, the similarity of political and program goals and a corresponding redefining of positions, on the one hand, and on the other, an alliance proposed by those responsible for the split and the present disarray of forces, and who are still unwilling to admit their mistakes.

Paradoxically, Bosch — a political leader who, being in a position

to achieve left unity in the early 1970s, destroyed it instead — is now posing as its standard-bearer.

While heading the main political forces of the opposition, he betrayed them and concluded an absurd alliance with the right-wing forces, which eventually negatively affected his own position as a leader.

It is equally paradoxical that these and other political forces which were unable to maintain their internal unity and avoid the splits now in evidence in their ranks, are insolently demanding a decisive say in today's struggle for left unity.

Their proposals abound in contradictions, reflecting their inability to follow an independent road. They lack a clearly defined platform for unity, nor do they have any idea of what stand the left forces should take today or in the future.

The present correlation of the forces which call themselves left does not permit placing the question of effective alliances on the agenda.

Some left groups and parties should, in our opinion, reassess their positions, evolve clearly defined concepts and programs, overcome dogmatism, endeavor to grasp the realities and courageously acknowledge their mistakes. . . .

Undoubtedly, among these groups there are some which, under the influence of present developments, find themselves at a crossroads and are beginning to reject the positions of pro-Chinese tailism. There are also other political groups which are in the process of political reorientation. All these facts are taken into account and positively assessed by our party. Obviously, however, this process is just commencing inside the groups and their positions cannot so far be considered stable.

Still other forces calling themselves left cannot today be considered either anti-imperialist or revolutionary. Witness the pro-Chinese groups. Submitting to the diktat of the PRC leadership and defending its overt alliance with U.S. and world imperialism, they are spreading the theory that the USSR is the main enemy, support the campaign designed to discredit revolutionary Cuba and other socialist countries, justify China's collusion with the Pinochet regime, the reactionary parties and movements, and support NATO and the U.S. military presence in Asia. Their policy is exemplified today by their shameful support of China's armed incursion into Vietnam and their approval of Teng Hsiao-ping's statements frankly urging the USA to take a 'tough' stand toward Cuba and Vietnam.

If this position — a position befitting the right-wing extremists — is examined in conjunction with the unceasing provocations and slander campaigns against our party, elementary fidelity to the principles of revolution and anti-imperialist struggle will not allow us to regard these groups as possible allies.

Only those who tacitly agree with these counter-revolutionary actions can enter into such an alliance. Only those who are ready to reject solidarity with Vietnam can suggest that the DCP ally itself with the pro-Chinese groups.

Let no one hope that our party will barter its principles or waste time on shady deals and actions that are doomed to failure.

The main objective now is to wrest the masses from the influence wielded by the leadership of the social-democratic DRP and the Reformist Party in order to build a mass movement in support of the anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist road of development.

It is in that direction that our party must concentrate its efforts.

Today our party is faced with the task of becoming one of the most influential political forces in the country. We must strengthen and expand our positions in the working-class movement and among the peasant masses, among the poorest sections of the population, students and the revolutionary intelligentsia. Today we must work to reinforce our well-organized and numerically stronger party with new members. This will add to the organizational strength of the party and the popular movement.

The Dominican communists' 35-year participation in the world communist movement is characterized by indestructible friendship with the CPSU and the other parties standing at the head of victorious revolutions and upholding revolutionary principles.

The DCP will not disappoint the hopes of the Dominican working class and people, the working class and progressive forces of all countries of the world.

We shall continue holding high the banner of a forward-looking organization committed to heading the struggle of the working class, peasants, the poor, the revolutionary intelligentsia and middle strata to effect a revolutionary transformation.

We demand with renewed vigor:

- land for the peasants,
- jobs for the unemployed,
- higher wages and better living standards for the workers,
- nationalization of foreign enterprises,
- housing, health care, education and freedom for everyone.

CONGRESS RESOLUTIONS

ON DÉTENTE, GENERAL DISARMAMENT AND WORLD PEACE

1. We Dominican communists, gathered here at our Second Congress, call for improved relations between all countries of the world, for the removal of all obstacles to the détente.

2. We vigorously denounce the arms race, which is being escalated by the war industry and governments of the imperialist states.

3. We consider criminal the U.S. ruling circles' intention to manufacture the lethal neutron bomb, which clearly shows that from their point of view human life is not worth anything compared with material wealth. At the same time, the people of the United States have to bear enormous sacrifices as a consequence of the colossal arms expenditures.

4. We support the struggle being waged by progressives the world over to save humanity from a nuclear catastrophe.

5. We highly assess the initiatives of the socialist countries at various forums to safeguard peace, particularly the proposals made by the Soviet Union, the first socialist power, at the talks with the United States on strategic arms limitation.

6. We hold that the deterioration of the international climate only plays into the hands of the imperialists, who are using this to obstruct the struggle for social changes and public freedoms in various countries.

7. Jointly with all peace forces we are fighting for peace, seeing it as part of our struggle for deep-going changes in the Dominican Republic and for the democratization of international relations.

AGAINST THE FASCIST AND REPRESSIVE REGIMES IN LATIN AMERICA

The Second Congress of the Dominican Communist Party emphatically condemns the fascist and repressive regimes in Latin America — in Chile, Uruguay, Paraguay, Brazil, El Salvador, Guatemala and other countries where the working people, peasants and the poorest sections live in conditions of repression, political persecution, assassinations and suppression of elementary rights.

We express solidarity with the democrats and revolutionaries who in the most difficult conditions are waging a just and determined struggle against imperialism and the fascist and repressive regimes in

Latin America and the Caribbean, against terror and torture, for democracy, for the return of the natural resources to the peoples of these countries, and for social progress.

Our Second Congress, a milestone in the political struggle of the Dominican people, vigorously calls for the release of political prisoners, clarification of the fate of the disappeared, as well as the immediate restoration of all constitutional rights.

ON SOLIDARITY WITH THE PEOPLE OF VIETNAM

For more than 30 years the Vietnamese people countered the armed aggression of France, Japan and the United States.

France was the first to 'land in a puddle' at Dien Bien Phu as a result of the crushing blows dealt by the people of Ho Chi Minh and Vo Nguyen Giap.

A few years later U.S. imperialism, true to its mission as policeman of the capitalist forces, took over from the decrepit French colonialism and for 12 years made futile attempts to subjugate the indomitable people of Vietnam.

The capture of Saigon, capital of the puppet South Vietnam state, by the National Liberation Front forces signified a military defeat for the United States and opened up new prospects for the Vietnamese people and progressives across the world. After prolonged suffering, the courageous Vietnamese people finally won the well-deserved opportunity to begin building a sovereign homeland in conditions of peace.

But now they are once again being threatened.

The Chinese leaders, using first the criminal Pol Pot gang in Kampuchea and then launching an armed aggression, and playing into the hands of imperialism as an instrument of the forces of capital, are attempting to turn back the wheel of history.

The Chinese leaders' mad and criminal venture suffered a defeat first in Kampuchea, when the patriotic forces of that country, relying on the internationalist solidarity of Vietnam, forced the Pol Pot group to beat a hasty retreat.

The Chinese leaders, blinded by their arrogance and enjoying the support of U.S. imperialism and its allies, invaded Vietnam.

To all intents and purposes the Chinese leaders were out to achieve what the Western powers (still unable to forgive the heroic Vietnamese people their two defeats over a period of 30 years) had failed to do before them — to break the will of the Vietnamese people.

Having repulsed the aggression provoked by the Teng Hsiao-ping

clique and world capitalism, Vietnam once again demonstrated what a people inspired by revolutionary ideals are capable of.

Proceeding from these anti-imperialist positions, the Second Congress of the Dominican Communist Party denounces the deal between China and imperialism, as expressed in the armed aggression against Vietnam, and reaffirms its revolutionary support for the heroic Vietnamese people.

Vietnam will win!

COMMUNIQUE ON THE SEVENTH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF EL SALVADOR

The Communist Party of El Salvador (CPS) has held its Seventh Congress. The Congress, which proceeded in a comradely atmosphere, devoted close attention to the agenda. Rigorous security measures were adopted.

The Congress heard the Report of the Party Central Committee summing up nine years of work, done since the Sixth Congress (August 1970). It indicated the prospects of the revolutionary process unfolding in the country and formulated long- and short-term guidelines for the activity of the CPS. A detailed generalization of the party's experience in the past period and a highly self-critical attitude of the CC were the most salient features of the document, discussed at length and approved by the Congress.

The Seventh CPS Congress also discussed and approved a document entitled 'Basis and Theses for the General Line of the CPS.' The first part of the document examines the socio-economic system of the country, its political regime and the material prerequisites for building socialism in El Salvador. The second part defines the character of the revolution which is maturing in our country and for which the CPS is fighting, and deals with strategic and tactical problems of the revolution.

Also, the Congress approved amendments to the Party Rules after a final discussion, completing work carried on by the whole party and Communist Youth over a long period, well in advance of the Congress.

In conclusion the Congress elected the new Central Committee which will guide the party's effort in the next four years. The CC is composed of the most experienced and tested members of the party cadre, and is headed by Schafik Jorge Handal, General Secretary.

The Congress received greetings from numerous communist parties of all continents, including those of the Soviet Union, Vietnam and Cuba. It was attended and greeted by delegates from the fraternal parties of Central American countries and Mexico. This was an expression of strong bonds of friendship and of the militancy of the CPS as a contingent of the international communist movement and one of the world forces of revolution and social progress.

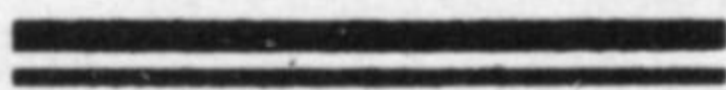
In turn, the Congress expressed support for and solidarity with the peoples fighting for their freedom, against aggression and for peace and those building socialism. It emphatically condemned the armed aggression ordered by the Chinese leaders against the heroic Vietnamese people.

With regard to Central America, the Congress reaffirmed our party's solidarity with the struggle of the Nicaraguan people against the bloody dictatorship of the Somoza family, which has oppressed them for more than 40 years, and with the struggle of other peoples of the region.

The Congress ended with concluding remarks by the General Secretary. It reaffirmed the political and ideological unity of the CPS and provided the party with a clear guide to action which offers it excellent opportunities to further the struggle of the working class and people of El Salvador in accomplishing their tasks as they advance to socialism.

Workers of all lands, unite!

*Central Committee
Communist Party of El Salvador
San Salvador, May 1, 1979*



HEIGHTEN THE WORKING PEOPLE'S VIGILANCE, DEFEND THEIR DEMOCRATIC FREEDOMS

Statement of the Communist Party of Honduras

The public is already familiar with the events that occurred in the town of San Pedro Sula when, on March 6 last, the workers at the Bemis-Handal textile mill who had gone on strike were attacked by FUSEP.* As a result of this grave provocation, three persons were killed and several others wounded, and dozens of trade unionists found themselves in jail.

Those who have tried to confuse public opinion at home and abroad by making out a peaceful protest strike to be a sinister subversive plan that is part of a 'communist escalation' would do well to think of the situation which the mill workers have long had to endure — of their working and living conditions which are a challenge to the nation's democratic consciousness and an insult to the dignity of the working class. The management's policy toward the workers has been characterized by an exhausting working day, the use of obsolete machinery, constant and rigid surveillance, recurrent violations of the collective agreements and a defiant and aggressive attitude on the part of foremen and overseers. The workers' patience was exhausted when one of them was beaten so badly that he had to be hospitalized. To make things worse, this worker was forcibly taken away from the hospital and locked up in a DIN** cell.

It must be said that as in other enterprises where labor conflicts have broken out and are still unsettled, the workers had repeatedly appealed to the employers to seek a negotiated solution but had invariably come up against rudeness and arrogance, the employers not only turning a deaf ear to their legitimate demands but even threatening them with force.

The events at Bemis-Handal should serve as a lesson for other employers who not only refuse to engage in peaceful and dignified talks or honor collective agreements, but are out to destroy existing

*Paramilitary public security organization formed by the army to suppress patriotic citizens. — *Ed.*

**Secret police. — *Ed.*

unions as well as those in the making by attacking trade union rights or having recourse to massive dismissals. This approach is made possible by the behavior of the army, which refuses to listen to the workers and to examine the causes of their protest. Drawing on the aid of the so-called security corps, it acts as a policeman guarding the employers' interests — witness the events at the Cementos Bijao plant and the Bemis-Handal mill.

The living standard of the working people of town and countryside has been declining fast due to an economic crisis that is becoming intolerable because of the high cost of living, decreasing real wages and galloping inflation, all of which nullify the meager incomes of the dispossessed and exploited masses. This is the reason for general disaffection and the wave of labor strikes, land seizures by peasants and protest movements by students and teachers. It explains why the appeal for 'peace and wisdom' directed to Hondurans by the armed forces government should have been directed above all to those whose excessive bid for profit and intransigence provoke the rightful anger of the working people, who refuse to go on living in conditions less than fit for human beings.

There were those who, like *Diario la Prensa* or other mouthpieces of the oligarchy, exploited the occasion to attribute to the Communist Party of Honduras a 'subversive plan' or the intention to mount an 'escalation' allegedly designed to alter the social order for its own narrow ends.

We communists have never concealed our revolutionary goals or our tactics for each given stage. We are realists and so set democratic objectives meeting the interests of the people and corresponding to their level of social consciousness and organization in this political situation. We are no terrorists, for we believe in the ability of the masses to mobilize and fight. Ours is the party of the working class and, as such, we never conceal our sympathy for it, nor do we stint our solidarity with it in the struggles which manual workers or intellectuals wage today, insisting on their legitimate right to a better life.

The sole purpose of the veiled or open accusations levelled at our party today is to justify the repression already unleashed against us and against other democratic forces of the country so as to silence the protest of those who are fighting to preserve social rights and democratic freedoms, safeguard the working people's gains and prevent — through joint action by the political and social forces, both civilian and military, that declare for a democratic solution to the current

crisis — the imposition of a fascist-like government by means of a coup or rigged elections.

We openly state our determination never to allow the ultra-rightists to carry through their plans of forming a government pursuing their policy in the name of a false democracy and a sham peace benefiting none but those who daily use violence against the people, as is the case in other Central American countries, where the peoples have seen the peaceful road to the recovery of their flouted rights barred.

We protest vigorously against the brutal action of which workers at the Bemis-Handal mill became victims and emphatically reject the gratuitous imputation that we are hatching a 'subversive plan.' We declare that it is precisely the ruling classes that subvert public order and provoke national anarchy by their irresponsible and intransigent stand with regard to those who only demand respect for inalienable rights.

Lastly, we call on all popular organizations to be on the alert, and express our class solidarity with all victims of repression.

We need vigilance and mobilization to stop those who would like to end democratic freedoms and eliminate our people's social gains.

*Political Commission of the CC,
Communist Party of Honduras
March 7, 1979*

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FROM THE PRESS

AGAINST DIKTAT, FOR FAIR NEGOTIATIONS

When the government delegations of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and China first met in Hanoi on April 18, no one doubted that the ensuing negotiations would be complex and difficult. On one side, an aggressor who only yesterday had boasted far and wide that he would teach Vietnam a lesson; and on the other, a state that was once again upholding its independence, a people who take pride in freedom and are capable of fighting for it. It is far from an easy task to bring an aggressor — moreover an aggressor humiliated by defeat on the battlefield — to the negotiation table. And the fact that Vietnam was able to do so is in itself a big political achievement. It is also a success for the forces of socialism, for all progressives who effectively assisted and supported the Vietnamese people in courageously rebuffing the aggressor.

The negotiations began at a time when the ashes of the conflagration, an evidence of the Peking adventurers' shameful deed on Vietnamese soil, were still smouldering. The aggressor is infuriated over the failure of his attempts to crush a neighboring country and of intimidating it by his military force. Mao's heirs are boasting that during the month they lorded it over a relatively narrow border strip (the aggressor was unable to penetrate to more than 30-40 km) the half a million Chinese troops destroyed whatever they could not take away. Public buildings, bridges, roads, factories and mines were reduced to ruins. Fields and irrigation systems were damaged. But their greatest crime was the annihilation of people: the aggressor spared no one who had been unable to leave in time. They killed thousands of civilians, mostly children, women and old people.

In entering the negotiations the Socialist Republic of Vietnam relied on the profound solidarity and sympathy of the broad popular masses the world over, who like the Vietnamese, have a stake in upholding peace, security and prosperity in Indochina and in Southeast Asia as a whole. The SRV leadership went to the negotiation table because it was convinced of the justice of Vietnam's cause and the indisputabil-

ity of the rights it is defending. The stance of socialist Vietnam, its approach to the difficult problem of restoring the peace — perfidiously and brutally violated by Peking — characterize its good will, its desire and readiness to discuss constructively all questions of bilateral relations with China.

While staunchly defending its sovereignty and independence, rejecting interference in its internal affairs, the SRV invariably expressed its preparedness to settle disputes through negotiation. Even at the height of China's aggression, Vietnam demanded an immediate halt to it and withdrawal of the interventionist troops beyond the historically established borders. It called for a political settlement of contradictions and differences, and rejection of the use of force in inter-state relations.

Hence at the very first meeting with the representatives of China the Vietnamese delegation submitted concrete proposals on the basic principles of maintaining relations between the two countries, as well as urgent measures for safeguarding peace. Understandably, the SRV attaches key, crucial importance above all to improving the situation on the border, to ruling out a new aggravation and to liquidating the severe consequences of Peking's aggression. Socialist Vietnam's proposals to call a halt to the military provocations and to all hostile activity that infringe the sovereignty, territorial integrity and threaten the security of the sides, and also on the exchange of POWs, are extremely important for improving the situation.

The SRV proposed that relations between the two countries be normalized on the universally accepted principles of peaceful coexistence. All border and territorial disputes should be resolved in a spirit of respect for and in conformity with the historically established Vietnam-China border.

What kind of program did the Chinese representatives bring with them to Hanoi? Faced with the universal condemnation of Peking's aggression, they pretend that the idea of a political settlement is not alien to them, but... And then a list of conditions follows which, if accepted, would amount to Vietnam being subjected to the crude diktat of China.

The Chinese delegation's attitude suggests that, despite the failure of their venture against Vietnam, they are now banking on its bearing some fruit at the negotiations. Their behavior clearly shows that Peking intends to use the talks not to work out an accord and a mutually acceptable solution, but to exert crude pressure on Vietnam in an attempt to justify post factum its armed attack against a neighbor

country and even to prepare world opinion for the eventuality of another armed incursion.

It is becoming increasingly clear that it is no accident that the aggressor is retaining about a dozen locations on Vietnam territory under its control. The concentration of large numbers of Chinese troops in the regions bordering on Vietnam speaks for itself. There is evidence that 12 of these divisions have been moved right up to the border.

With the concentration of troops and military equipment targeted at the SRV, the Peking hegemonists' threats and demands are becoming more and more insolent. Hardly a day goes by without their vowing to "repeat the lesson," to deal "new blows" at Vietnam. The Peking leaders are callously telling official foreign representatives that China "reserves for itself the right to act," "to teach Vietnam a new lesson."

While the talks are going on in Hanoi, Chinese troops keep on shelling border towns in Vietnam and violating its sovereignty and territorial integrity on land, the sea and in the air. The Chinese political and military leaders who organized the chauvinistic celebrations in honor of the troops who took part in the incursion into Vietnam are not only justifying and lauding their aggression, but emphasize that they are now conducting a "study of the experience gained in the battles," "hurriedly building up armed forces and a volunteer army" in the regions bordering on the SRV, and "stepping up war preparations."

Contrary to the well-known fact that the Vietnamese people are defending themselves, their territory, national independence, their right to build a socialist society, Maoist propaganda is repeating that the SRV is not defending its own but alien, "Soviet," interests. The Peking rulers' attempts to represent their policy of expansion against the Southeast Asian countries as a counteraction to a mythical "Soviet threat" are becoming increasingly obvious. Vietnam is being faulted and Peking justified on the grounds that the SRV concluded a treaty of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union, joined the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, developed relations with the socialist community countries, because of its solidarity with the peoples of Kampuchea and Laos, its wish to develop equal relations with the countries of Southeast Asia and the entire Asian continent and its active participation in the non-aligned movement. Vietnam's refusal to provide special privileges to the ethnic Chinese inhabiting the country is declared seditious. Naturally the SRV cannot permit

the setting up of a so-called "Chinese state" within the Vietnamese state.

More, Peking is hinting that the list of accusations against, and demands to, socialist Vietnam is far from complete, that the final reckoning is yet to come.

That is the substance and the spirit of the "eight-point proposal" submitted by China in Hanoi on April 26. It would be more correct to call it a diktat than a proposal, for the Chinese side declares that acceptance of its demands is "the only correct way to settle the dispute between China and Vietnam." Its terms were that without agreement on the eight points "not only existing concrete questions would remain unsettled," "but new problems would keep arising, leading to a further aggravation of Chinese-Vietnamese relations."

In other words, it is demanding that the Vietnamese capitulate. It is out to attain through blackmail at the negotiations what it failed to accomplish by aggression. Peking is demanding that the SRV relinquish its sovereignty over the Paracel and Spratley islands; it is dictating to Vietnam its line of conduct toward Laos and Kampuchea, telling it what international treaties it has a "right" to conclude; it insists on returning to Vietnam the hundreds of thousands of ethnic Chinese whom Peking itself forced to emigrate to China. Vietnam, as well as Kampuchea and Laos, are to acknowledge that they belong to Peking's special sphere of interest. It is the duty of socialist Vietnam, China declares, to align itself with the so-called "anti-hegemonistic" policy of the Peking rulers, which implies alignment with the most reactionary regimes and attempts to line up anti-socialist blocs.

No self-respecting state can accept such demands, of course. And Vietnam had every right to reject them, which *Nhan Dan*, organ of the CC CPV, justifiably called the "eight points of expansionism."

What is the reaction of those who at the start of the Hanoi talks had hailed them as nothing short of miraculous? Definite circles lost no time in declaring that Peking no longer threatens Vietnam, Laos and other states of the region, that the "Chinese military action" against the SRV was merely "an episode," which should not hamper efforts to bring China into the "world community." It is not by chance that this thesis is being repeated especially by those who lauded the Chinese-Japanese and Chinese-U.S. rapprochement as Peking's entering an era of "constructive cooperation." These circles would like to see China's piratical attack against Vietnam, which cost the Chinese people themselves tens of thousands of lives, to say nothing of the tremendous moral harm to China, to be forgotten quickly and

completely, to relegate it to the archives. For the peoples' condemnation of the perfidious adventurist actions of the Peking leadership was simultaneously an evaluation of the policy of its abettors, who whetted the great-power appetites of the Maoists. Some would obviously like to see the Hanoi negotiations go unnoticed and world opinion to be content with the mere fact that such talks were being held, irrespective of their results.

Small wonder then that there are politicians, as well as journalists serving them, who are inclined to see in Peking's eight points something that never existed there — the wish of the present Chinese leaders to bring their policy in line with the dictates of the times, to reject banking on force, to take the road toward peace. To these politicians it matters little whose hands "re-carve the world," provided the positions of the socialist community are threatened.

The Chinese leadership is looking for ways to tighten the knot of conflict with socialist Vietnam. While talking about negotiations it is in fact trying to continue the very same policy for the sake of which it resorted to aggression. Such an approach can only evoke condemnation by the peace forces, for it is fraught with the danger of a new, serious sharpening of the situation in this region of the world.

As the head of the SRV delegation noted, "the people and government of Vietnam are fully resolved to defend the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of their motherland and will not succumb to pressure." He called for negotiations in a spirit of equality and mutual respect.

The rational and constructive position of the SRV meets with understanding and support across the world. Broad international solidarity, as demonstrated these days by the fraternal socialist countries, the communist and workers' parties, international public organizations, by all to whom peace and justice on earth are dear, is again on the side of the Vietnamese people.

"No one can remain indifferent when people in some part of the world try to substitute law with might and to replace good-neighbor relations with hostility and diktat. Peace is a common possession. This is why collective efforts of states in favor of peace and fair, peaceful cooperation is essential," said Leonid Brezhnev.

It is the duty of everyone for whom the interests of the peoples and security are not merely a phrase to firmly warn Peking that the peoples will not put up with its penchant for playing with fire and that it will finally turn against Peking itself.

I. Alexandrov

Pravda, May 11, 1979

THE AGGRESSIVE SCHEMES OF MAO'S SUCCESSORS

Important successes have been scored in the struggle for peace and security. The changes in favor of détente are tremendous. At the same time, it is quite obvious that the aggressive imperialist and hegemonistic forces have been trying hard to contain the necessary improvement in international relations and to reverse the process. China's rulers have a place apart among the adversaries of the détente and disarmament, among those who seek to trigger off large-scale armed clashes in the world.

The Peking leaders' policy, which is hostile to peace and socialism, has been established as China's official state policy by the decisions of the CPC's 11th Congress (August 1977) and the First Session of the Fifth National People's Congress (February-March 1978). This policy is marked by a further shift to the right, undermines the gains of the people's revolution in China, and creates the conditions for an onslaught by internal and external counter-revolution. It cuts across the interests of the peoples, including the Chinese people. The activity of Mao's successors is wholly geared to implementing their teacher's schemes for world supremacy.

Mao tried to attain world domination by every possible means. In his efforts to win recognition from the world communist movement, he sought, in the early 50s, to present as his own achievements the major successes scored by the party and the whole Chinese people in socialist construction (which was then started in alliance with the fraternal parties). The Peking leaders expected the "Great Leap Forward" in industry and the "People's Communes" in agriculture to carry China into communism ahead of the rest of the world. In that way, Mao had hoped to occupy the leading position in the socialist world and the international communist movement, and so bring on the realization of his hegemonistic plans.

When that scheme failed and China was plunged into chaos, the Peking leaders tried to attain their goals in a different way, by splitting the international communist movement. Behind a screen of revolutionary catchwords, the Chinese leadership began to set up Peking-oriented splinter groups in various countries to help it subordinate the international communist movement to its interests. But these splitters did not make any substantial political headway.

At the 10th Plenary Meeting of the CPC Central Committee in

September 1962, China's leaders decided to meddle more actively in the national-liberation movement. They then claimed that a revolutionary situation existed in all the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America without exception, that is in the "world village," as they called it. They induced fledgling liberation movements to take armed action, which ended in severe defeats.

Today, the developing countries are ever more clearly aware that the Chinese leaders want others to do their dirty work. They are coming to understand that cooperation with China will inevitably isolate them from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The national-liberation movements refuse to be an instrument for the Peking clique's hegemonistic plans. In the past several years, China's rulers have increasingly exposed themselves as allies and patrons of reactionary regimes in Asia and Africa, and as opponents of the national-liberation movements who work hand in glove with the CIA. The peoples remember the support the Peking leaders gave the enemies of the Angolan people, and the cordial relations between the Maoists and Chile's dictator Pinochet.

Despite their defeats, the Peking leaders have not given up their hegemonistic claims. At the slightest opportunity they make fresh efforts to implement their schemes. This applies to the national-liberation movements, the non-aligned countries, the international communist movement and the socialist states.

Following the countless defeats of their policy, China's rulers turned to new partners, the imperialist powers, so exposing their unprincipled policy and their true face. They made a deal with imperialism in the hope of using it to realize their hegemonistic schemes. At the same time, imperialism, playing the "China card," hopes to realize its own plans for world domination. Anti-Sovietism provides the basis for the link-up of these forces.

The Soviet Union is the Chinese leaders' arch enemy, against whom all their war preparations are directed, and against whom they hope to set up the "broadest international united front." They have said this again and again. The Soviet Union's assistance to China in building numerous enterprises and whole industries, which laid the foundation for China's industrialization, is being slanderously attacked. Although the Chinese rulers have kept talking about proletarian internationalism, they have, in fact, worked very hard to stamp out among the Chinese working people the feelings of deep sympathy and friendship for the Soviet people which originated during the revolutionary battles and in the first decade of socialist construction in China. The

rising generation, whose minds have been warped by the "cultural revolution," have been fostered in hatred for the USSR.

This basic postulate of Peking's policy has not changed under Mao's successors either. As in the past, anti-Sovietism was the strategic line of the Maoists' policy at the 11th Congress of the CPC. At one of its final sittings, Teng Hsiao-ping reiterated: "If our state is threatened with disaster from outside, it comes from the North."

Why has the Peking leadership slandered the great socialist power and spread hostile inventions about it? There are a number of reasons for this, and they lie in Peking's policy of hegemonism and preparation for war.

The truth about the Soviet Union would show the Chinese people, who took the path of socialist construction 30 years ago, how much could have been done in that period in developing the country, in raising its people's living standards, but for the Peking rulers' great-power chauvinistic policy, which has prevented the advantages and uniformities of socialism from being fully manifested in China.

The Soviet Union's consistent internationalist policy of supporting all the forces fighting for national liberation has frustrated the attempts by some countries to establish domination of others and has exposed the unprincipled alignment with imperialism and reactionary regimes, as the Peking leaders have ever more frequently been doing. It is ever more difficult for them to use socialist catchwords to cover up their policy which is hostile to peace and progress, let alone laying claim to leadership of the anti-imperialist forces.

The Soviet Union, with its mighty economic, political and military potential, is the bulwark of peace, and has rebuffed the aggressive policy of imperialism in close alliance with the fraternal socialist countries and all the peace forces of the world. Thanks above all to the Soviet Union's efforts, Europe has now had peaceful skies above it for over 30 years. The Soviet Union is a force which blocks the unleashing of a world war the Chinese leaders want to start. The USSR's whole policy demonstrates that socialism and peace are indivisible. Its policy accords with the interests of all the peoples, including the Chinese people.

Having started its drive against peace and socialism, Peking has tried over the past few years to pursue a policy of differentiation with respect to the socialist countries in order to sow discord among them. For several years, the Maoists, for instance, tried to fan hatred for people's Mongolia and socialist Cuba, countries which have resolutely rejected the hegemonistic claims of the present-day Chinese

emperors, and have demonstrated to the whole world the successes once-backward countries can achieve in socialist construction if they work in alliance with the fraternal countries of the socialist community.

The whole world was especially indignant over the Chinese leadership's treacherous attitude to socialist Vietnam. The heroic Vietnamese people, which beat back the aggression of French colonialism and U.S. imperialism, enjoy sympathy and solidarity throughout the world, but as the open letter of the CP USA's Central Committee said, the Maoists have, in effect, substituted for imperialism in the plot against the Vietnamese people. After all, they regard a strong Vietnam as the main obstacle in the way of their schemes to dominate Southeast Asia.

The fact that events in Kampuchea did not develop according to the Maoists' scenario shows up the contradiction between their wild ambitions and their actual potentialities. The Kampuchean people rose against the hated Peking-installed clique and drove it from the country, so paving the way for independent development, along which it will have the friendship and solidarity of the independent peoples. The bloody crimes of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime, perpetrated over a period of several years, have inflicted tremendous harm on the country's development and have led to the death of millions of people. They show how unashamed the Maoists are in pursuing their hegemonistic goals, and how altogether indifferent they are to the destiny of whole nations over which they want to establish their domination.

The Peking leaders' brazenness and their readiness to use every possible means to implement their hegemonistic policy is best illustrated by their rapidly developing cooperation with the imperialist countries, notably the United States. Their policy is oriented upon a long term, and should be analyzed in all seriousness. It entered upon a new stage with the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and the United States on January 1, 1979. Of course, official diplomatic ties between two sovereign states are a normal phenomenon, but in this case the event requires a different yardstick. These relations, says the open letter to the Chinese leaders for the CP USA's Central Committee, signed by Gus Hall, are within the "framework of support for the policy of U.S. imperialism." They have developed as anti-Sovietism increasingly became China's state policy. The joint U.S.-Chinese communiqué on the establishment of diplomatic relations contained the same anti-Soviet "hegemony

clause" as the 1978 Sino-Japanese "treaty of peace and friendship." In this context, it is not too far-fetched to suggest that an effort is being made to set up a Peking-Washington-Tokyo axis against the Soviet Union, and against peace and progress.

Alongside the development of ties with the United States and Japan, the Chinese leaders have been extending their contacts with the imperialist countries of Western Europe. They have derived benefits from the schemes of the NATO strategists, who call China an "Eastern NATO."

Nor have the Peking leaders left any doubt that their sympathies are with the revanchist forces which, doing the will of the FRG monopolies, would be happy to annex the GDR under the pretext of "re-unifying Germany." The Peking leaders' reckless great-power policy coincides with the policy of the forces of imperialism which seek to undermine the détente and to return the world to the cold-war period. Playing the "China card" means acting in support of these forces.

With the recent growth of China's political contacts with the West, it began to readjust its foreign economic ties as well. At present, the share of industrialized capitalist countries in China's foreign trade has exceeded 60 per cent.

Extension of military contacts is a substantial element in China's relations with capitalist countries. The Chinese leadership is interested in receiving modern arms and military hardware from the West. Chinese Deputy Foreign Minister Yu Tsiang told newsmen: "If you mean modern weapons, and (West European) countries are prepared to sell us these weapons, we shall take it into consideration. We believe that West European statesmen want to see a strong China." A contract with Great Britain providing for the purchase of Harrier jump-jets is to be signed soon. The USA began to sell China up-to-date technology which can be used for both civilian and military purposes. The Chinese leadership has been showing great interest in the neutron bomb.

The Maoists have long believed that their hegemonistic claims can be satisfied only by the use of force. Mao Tse-tung always considered that power grows out of the barrel of a gun. "War is a continuation of policy, it is a continuation of peace. A new world war can only be postponed, but it cannot be avoided," declared China's Minister of Defense in an article to mark a Chinese army anniversary.

The domestic policy of the present Chinese leadership is entirely aimed at creating, by the end of this century, requisites for realizing

the global hegemonistic ambitions of Maoism. But plans are one thing, and the actual situation in China is quite another. As Hua Kuo-feng admitted, between 1974 and 1976, the losses in industrial production totalled 100 billion yuans; the Chinese economy was on the verge of collapse. Over the past two decades, the social base of Maoism has shrunk still more. The removal of seasoned cadres in the ceaseless purges has created a situation in which the long existing shortage of leading cadres has assumed disastrous proportions. The policy pursued so far in the sphere of education and the Maoists' attitude to intellectuals seriously hampered efforts to stabilize, let alone speed up economic growth.

The Chinese leadership intends, therefore, to "shift the main efforts into the sphere of the economy and the technical revolution." It has begun to "seriously reform the system and methods of economic management." It intends to implement the so-called program of "four modernizations": in agriculture, industry, defense, and also in science and engineering, and to draw up legislation.

The army, according to China's constitution, is the mainstay of the present regime and, despite the purges, is the most organized and most influential force. More than one-half of the members and alternate members of the CPC Central Committee are military men. During the 1978 election to the National People's Congress, the number of the deputies representing the armed forces has grown. China spends roughly 40 per cent of its national income on the war industry. The 120 major projects, which are expected to be built by 1985, are in the basic sectors of the arms industry.

The system of coercion is being expanded and hardened. The purpose of the innovations here is to suppress more effectively the existing, albeit heterogeneous, opposition to the policies of the present-day Maoist leadership. Simultaneously, the Peking leaders are taking steps to eliminate organized crime, which is very widespread in the country, especially among unemployed young people, and at the same time to toughen up control of the whole of society. The so-called people's militia is being placed under the direct control of the army, so increasing the armed forces contingent. At the all-China conference on the militia, Deputy Chief of the General Staff Yang Yeng said that the militia should not only actively prepare for war but must also actively maintain law and order, defeat the "class enemies" and strengthen the existing power.

The Maoists' policy is characterized by a striving for world domination, to make the Chinese leadership's role decisive in the solution

of all international issues. Militarism and determination to achieve their goals by force, by way of large-scale military conflicts, are the main instruments for satisfying their hegemonistic claims. Frantic anti-Sovietism is part and parcel of Maoist ideology, which is hostile to Marxism-Leninism. The Maoists are sanctimoniously using some propositions and conclusions of scientific socialism to meet their own ends. Unprincipled pragmatism is a typical feature of Maoist ideology. Maoists are never ashamed of asserting today the very opposite of what they were preaching only yesterday.

The rival groupings in the Chinese leadership have different approaches to a review of China's former and present positions. The assessment of Mao's personality and of the "cultural revolution," effectiveness of the measures to "activize the masses," the problem of exonerating the persons condemned in the past 20 years — all this has caused new collisions in the Peking leadership, which continue to this day. But the leadership is doing everything to hide these conflicts from the public eye.

The facts show that Mao's followers have not departed from Maoism. Moreover, they exert every effort to attain its goals by more subtle and cruel methods. As they proceed along this path, they veer increasingly to the right. Despite the wide gap between the Maoists' boundless ambitions and their real potentialities, Maoism poses a serious threat to peace and the future of mankind. The primary militant task of all forces coming out for peace and the progress of humanity is to defeat the unprincipled policy of Maoism, unmask its essence disguised under revolutionary catchwords and expose its collaboration with the most reactionary, man-hunting forces of our time.

Dietmar Klein
Einheit, No. 2, 1979

CHINA JOINS HANDS WITH IMPERIALISM!

Editorial notes

The recognition of China by the United States government has brought in its wake the most dangerous threat to world peace since the Munich agreement which preceded the outbreak of the Second World War. This was made clear by the visit to the United States last February of China's Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping, who used the platform provided for him by President Carter to call for common action by the United States, Western Europe, Japan and China to combat what he described as "Russian expansionism."

U.S. recognition of China was long delayed. The normal criterion for diplomatic recognition is *de facto* exercise of power by any government — an unquestionable fact in China accepted by the rest of the world for the last 30 years. The U.S., however, withheld recognition for political reasons, to express its hostility to the great Chinese revolution, and its determination to prevent the consolidation of the socialist system in China. U.S. hopes of restoring China to the orbit of capitalism and imperialism were reflected in the recognition of the puppet regime in Taiwan, as well as in a succession of CIA plots to overthrow the Chinese government and assassinate its leadership.

The fact that the United States has decided that the time has now come to waive its objections to the Chinese government and grant its formal recognition does not in any way indicate a change of heart on the part of the U.S. administration. It is not that President Carter is more liberal, more tolerant, more peace-loving than any of his predecessors — after all, the first overtures to China were made by President Nixon, that arch-exponent of reaction and the double-cross. No, what has changed has been the Chinese government, which has abandoned all pretensions to be following the line of Marxism-Leninism in building communism, has abandoned the fight to end capitalist exploitation of the human and material resources of the world and has openly thrown in its lot with the forces of imperialism, neo-colonialism and racism.

We live in the era of the transformation of the world from capitalism to communism, a prospect opened up by the great Russian revolution of 1917 — and greatly enhanced by developments since the Second World War — the consolidation of the power of the socialist countries, the dismantling of colonialism and the achievement of

independence by so many countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America, the triumph of the revolution in Cuba, Vietnam, Mozambique, Angola, Ethiopia — yes, and China itself. In all corners of the globe imperialism is being driven back and the forces of national liberation and of socialism are on the advance.

At the heart of this mighty movement of progress toward tomorrow's communist world stand the people of the Soviet Union, led by the CPSU, who have braved counter-revolution, civil war, famine, the horrors of the Second World War and the rigors of the cold war in recent decades to hold aloft the banner of proletarian internationalism. To say this is not to make a model or a fetish of the Soviet Union, nor to ignore the faults and errors of its history to which the CPSU has itself drawn attention, but to acknowledge a fact of life — that the Soviet Union is the rock on which rests the whole anti-imperialist structure of the world today. Take away this rock and what will happen to the anti-imperialist cause, to the cause of socialism throughout the world?

It is to the everlasting credit of the Soviet people and the CPSU that they have stood firm in defense of proletarian internationalism even though often at great cost to themselves. The living standards of the Soviet people could have been much higher had they not given so much in support of the principles for which their own revolution was made; they never hesitated to help others whose need was greater than their own. When the United States stopped fuel deliveries to Cuba, it was only the Soviet Union which could and did come to Cuba's aid. When the United States closed its markets to Cuban sugar, it was again the Soviet Union which bought up the crop, even though it had no lack of sugar of its own. Help with the military aid, science and technology required to enable Cuba to resist outright U.S. aggression was again provided by the Soviet Union.

We who are fighting for national liberation in our countries know the value of the aid and support, both moral and material, we receive from the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. Which is not to say that we would not fight without them, that if there were no Soviet Union there could be no revolution anywhere. But our task would become immeasurably more difficult, and the time-span of the revolutionary process immeasurably lengthened, if the factor of proletarian internationalism were to be omitted from the political equation.

And the time has come to ask: in what way does the Chinese leadership demonstrate the principles of proletarian internationalism?

Nowhere in the world today is the revolutionary process assisted by the Chinese leadership. On the contrary, everywhere the Chinese leadership makes common cause with the enemies of revolution, with the imperialists, racists and fascists. In Chile, Angola, Ethiopia, wherever the people stand, weapons in hand, fighting against imperialism and reaction, they find ranged against them the leadership of the Chinese party. And it is in opposing the Vietnamese revolution that the Chinese leadership has plumbed the depths of degradation. Even during the course of the 30-year-long war which the heroic Vietnamese people had fought to win the right to self-determination and independence about which the Chinese leadership is constantly prating, that self-same Chinese leadership was hindering the flow of assistance from the Soviet Union which was essential to throw back United States aggression. And no sooner had Vietnam driven out the U.S. invaders and their puppets when the Chinese leadership began to provoke conflict on the Vietnam-China border, and incite and arm its puppets in Cambodia to follow a similar course of provocation and aggression. In pursuit of its own crazy politics, the Chinese leadership eventually sent its own armies across the Vietnam border.

In the name of what Marxist-Leninist principle is this policy of international opportunism and piracy being conducted by the Chinese leadership? When last did the Chinese leadership do anything to help the world struggle against capitalism and imperialism? When last did the Chinese leadership carry out its communist obligations in terms of the principle of proletarian internationalism? Time was, in the days of Mao, when the Chinese leadership was prepared to bracket the Soviet "revisionists" with the American "imperialists" as enemies of world revolution. But now even that mask has been dropped, and the Chinese leadership has totally abandoned the mighty cause of revolution and entered the ranks of the counter-revolutionaries side by side with the imperialists. Whoever is the friend of my enemy is my enemy, says the Chinese leadership. And this has made the Chinese leadership the enemy, not only of the international communist movement, but of the whole anti-imperialist movement. Echoing their imperialist allies, the Chinese leadership now brands all forms of indigenous revolution as "Soviet expansionsim." No independent African country, no national-liberation movement, which received aid from the Soviet Union can count the Chinese leadership among its friends. That privilege is reserved for Pinochet, Nimeiri, Jonas Savimbi, Holden Roberto, British Foreign Minister Owen, ex-President Nixon, President Carter and his evil genius Brzezinski.

It is precisely because the Chinese leadership have abandoned the principle of proletarian internationalism and substituted their own brand of petty-bourgeois nationalism that they have become acceptable to the imperialists. Carter junkets with Chinese Vice-Premier Teng because he no longer regards him as a threat to the interests of the United States and its multinational corporations, because he realizes he can use him in the fight against the real forces of revolution throughout the world. China is attractive to imperialism not only as a market now wide open for foreign investment but also as a recipient of foreign military aid which will be directed against the Soviet Union.

The danger of the policy of the present Chinese leadership is not only that socialism in China may be betrayed to the enemy, not only that the cause of world socialism may be undermined, but that a world war may be unleashed from the ashes of which no one can emerge the victor. The course being followed by the present Chinese leadership threatens the future not only of the socialist cause but of humanity itself.

We have throughout stressed that our quarrel is with the present Chinese leadership because we are convinced that they do not reflect the interests of the great Chinese people who will sooner or later realize that they have been led along the path to disaster. But recent developments make it clear that something must be done, and done quickly, if that disaster is to be averted. The whole world progressive movement must now unite to defeat the conspiracy which is being set up against them by the Chinese leadership in alliance with the imperialists.

And, if we may say so, we think the time has come for those in the progressive movement who think that they can gain support by distancing themselves from the Soviet Union to realize that proletarian internationalism is not a swearword but the only guarantee of the ultimate triumph of the revolutionary cause and the permanent defeat of imperialism and the capitalist system from which it sprang.

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WHENCE THE THREAT TO INDOCHINA AND SOUTHEAST ASIA?

Article by a "Nhan Dan" Observer

During his visit to Peking, former U.S. Secretary of State Kissinger made his Peking friends a "present": statements supporting the thesis of "moral justification" of China's aggression. Slandering Vietnam, he accused it of "aggression" and of "failure to honor the international treaties it had concluded from 1954 to this day." These utterances fully accord with the propaganda campaign launched by Peking after the very first session of the Vietnam-China talks in Hanoi.

How do the Peking authorities explain this stand to the Chinese people, a stand which differs so greatly from their previous statements in support of Vietnam against the United States? A close look at the facts will help us to understand this transformation.

We respect Vietnamese-Chinese friendship and will always remember with gratitude the support and assistance the Chinese people rendered the people of Vietnam in their patriotic struggle against U.S. aggression, but we must say that already since 1954 the Chinese leaders have nourished definite plans and taken actions that do not correspond to the interests of the peoples of Indochina or the long-term interests of the Chinese people.

At the time they were also intent on splitting Vietnam and Laos and on transforming North Vietnam and the two liberated northern provinces of Laos into a reliable buffer zone for China in the south. They ignored the interests of the revolution in Kampuchea, two-thirds of whose territory had already been liberated. Since this policy was dictated by self-seeking interests, it hampered Vietnam's and Laos' advance toward national independence and socialism and objectively created conditions for the U.S. incursion into South Vietnam and intervention in Laos.

They were opposed to the South Vietnamese rising up against U.S. aggression and insistently counseled them to "strengthen their positions" and to "bide their time," even if it took a hundred years. When the United States dispatched an expeditionary corps to Vietnam, the Chinese leaders indirectly told it: "Don't touch us, and we won't touch you," thus reassuring it and permitting it to continue the aggressive war against Vietnam.

Peking did not want Vietnam to combine combat operations with negotiations. It therefore rejected the Soviet proposal on coordinating the actions of the socialist countries and obstructed shipment of goods from these countries to Vietnam. Moreover, the Peking authorities sowed discord among the revolutionaries of the three Indochina countries and sought to lay their hands on Kampuchea and Laos.

In the early 70s, profiting by the obvious deterioration of U.S. positions in Vietnam, the Peking leaders openly allied themselves with the United States and made a deal with Kissinger and Nixon with the aim of perpetuating the division of Vietnam and maintaining the status quo in the Southeast Asian countries.

The coordination of the reactionary strategy of Washington and Peking, until then conducted in secret, became overt. As a result of this deal, which followed the signing of the Paris agreement, China greatly reduced its military aid to Vietnam, encouraged the U.S. military presence in Southeast Asia and endeavored to subordinate the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, and with the tacit approval of the United States occupied Vietnam's Hoangsa archipelago (Paracel Islands).

It is perfectly clear that the aggressive and hegemonistic policy of the U.S. imperialists, encouraged and inspired by the negative aspects of the Chinese leaders' policy, posed the main threat to the countries of Indochina and Southeast Asia in the period from 1954 to 1975.

Obviously, after waging a 30 year struggle for independence and freedom, Vietnam could not in any way benefit from a war with another country. But hardly had the threat of aggression and oppression on the part of U.S. imperialism weakened when another danger loomed. This time it was the deal between Peking and Washington, but with changed roles, China replacing the United States.

The deal also changed in form. It developed into a veritable alliance between the two sides, relying on other reactionary forces. All this stems from the great-power and hegemonistic expansionist ambitions of the Chinese leaders. They are out to "fill the vacuum" created by the U.S. which after its defeat in Vietnam had to retreat from many of its positions in Southeast Asia.

It is not we who attribute this mad aim to them. The Chinese leaders themselves have been openly harping on this for decades, saying: "we must conquer the whole world," "re-discover Southeast Asia including South Vietnam, Thailand, Burma, Malaysia, Singapore," for "this region is very advantageous for the development of China's industry;" The United States understands this hegemonistic

penchant of China's and is using it to its advantage by playing the "China card."

Small wonder that China and the United States have made common cause against the countries of Indochina and Southeast Asia. In other words, China is out to subordinate the three Indochina countries so as to start moving down south, into Southeast Asia.

Like the United States, China is bent on bringing the three Indochina countries under its sway in order to advance farther into Southeast Asia. Hence the special danger stemming from the mass extermination of people in Kampuchea and from the border war launched against Vietnam by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique with the support of tens of thousands of Chinese advisers. This is also the root cause of the so-called ethnic Chinese problem in Vietnam, the termination of Chinese aid, the recalling of Chinese specialists, China's provocations on the Vietnamese border and its aggressive war against Vietnam.

In all these actions Peking is being encouraged, justified and abetted by the United States and other reactionary forces. In waging a struggle against the aggressive war launched by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, that instrument of Peking, and against the Chinese aggression, the armed forces and people of Vietnam are giving effect to their sacred right to legitimate self-defense. It is aimed solely at defending the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of our country. The justice of our cause is as clear as daylight.

The great-power and hegemonistic expansionist policy of Peking, of which the United States is an ally, is fraught with immediate danger for the countries of Indochina and Southeast Asia. It has brought incredible hardship to the peoples of the region. Peking is still deploying more than half a million troops near the Vietnamese border and the border with Laos and is continuing its military provocations. With Washington's consent Peking is mustering pro-American forces such as Vang Pao, Kong Le, Lon Nol and In Tam for subversive actions in the Indochina countries.

The peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea are confronted by the virulently hostile policy of the Peking leaders, who have allied themselves closely with the United States. The militant solidarity of the three peoples in the fight against a common enemy is for them a vitally important and just cause. Peking is attempting to give a distorted picture of this solidarity, for it is an invincible force that opposes its expansionist designs and inflicts heavy losses on it. That

is why Peking's statements on this question sound so very much like Washington's.

Peking and Washington have triggered a clamorous slander campaign against Vietnam in an attempt to conceal their intention to sow discord between the countries of Indochina and to drive a wedge between the Southeast Asian countries and Vietnam. But how can the Southeast Asian peoples believe that Vietnam has suddenly come to represent a threat to them, while China, which has launched several wars against neighboring Asian countries, occupies a part of the territory of these countries and continues to make territorial claims, and which is using the ethnic Chinese as a "fifth column" to exert blatant political and economic pressure and even for subversive actions, does not represent a danger?

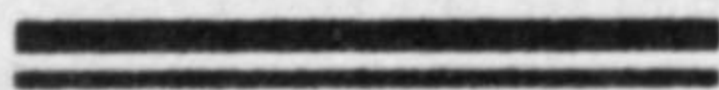
One cannot help but think about China's actions in Indochina. What would be the state of things if the example of the Peking and Pol Pot regime were to be followed in other places? For what reason has China arrogated the right to "teach a lesson" to an independent and sovereign country?

Formerly Vietnam was the bulwark in the struggle against U.S. aggression in Southeast Asia. Now, too, Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea represent an insurmountable barrier to Chinese expansionism. Our three peoples are fighting in defense of the revolution in each of our countries and in defense of peace and stability in Southeast Asia.

Though the China-Vietnam talks have only just begun, Peking is already jeopardizing them. Colluding with Peking in this slander campaign, Kissinger came out in support of the expansionists and prodded Peking to sabotage the talks, to prepare public opinion for their failure and then to lay the blame on Vietnam. No! The peoples cannot be deceived. Broad sections of world opinion are emphatically demanding that China renounce its policy of expansion and aggression and demonstrate its good will by responding to Vietnam's three-point proposal for the sake of peace and stability in Indochina and throughout Southeast Asia as a whole.

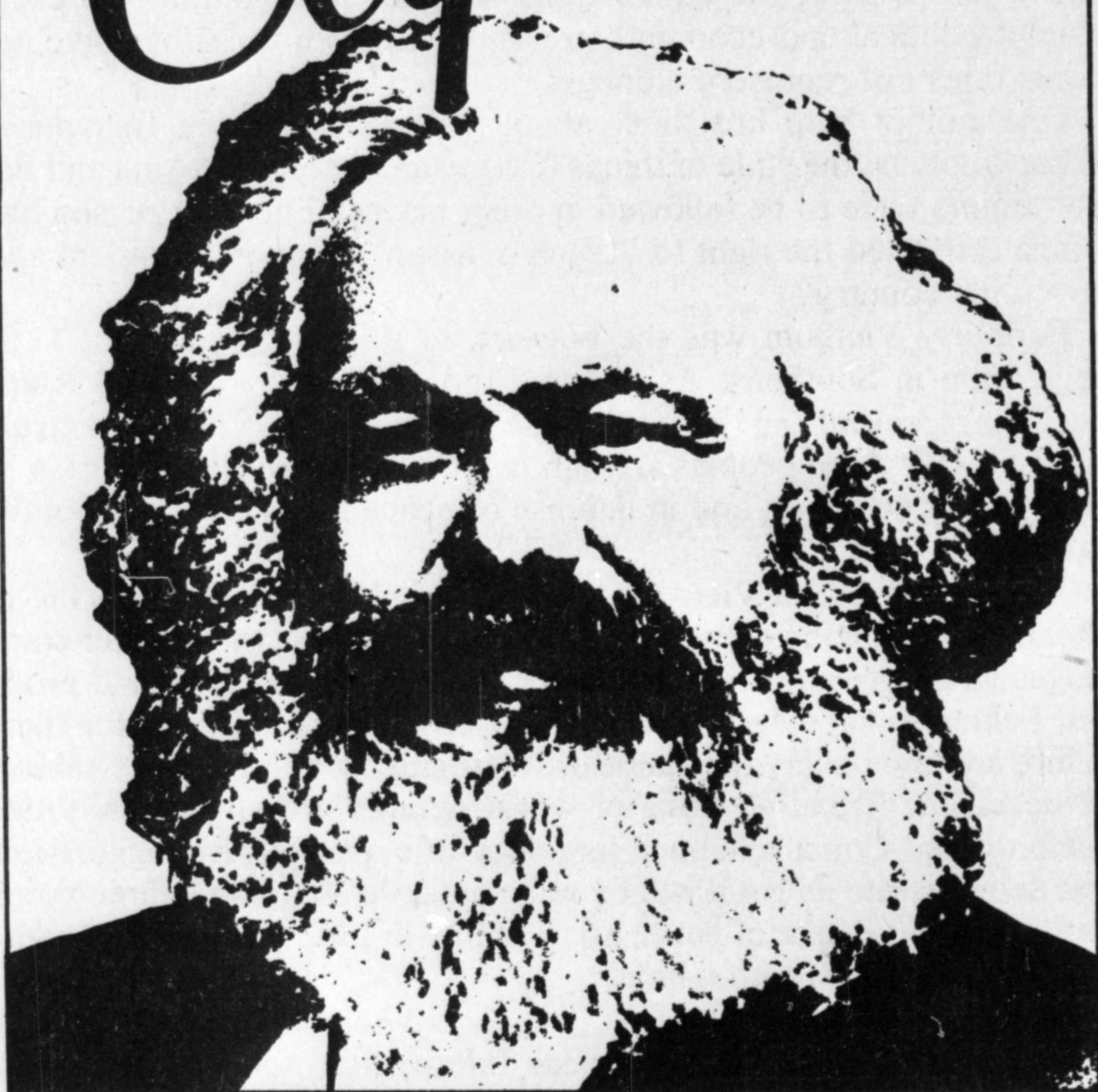
Nhan Dan, April 26, 1979

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