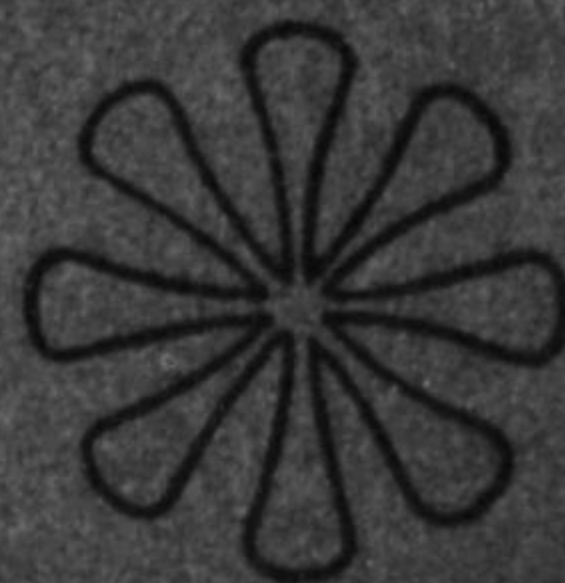


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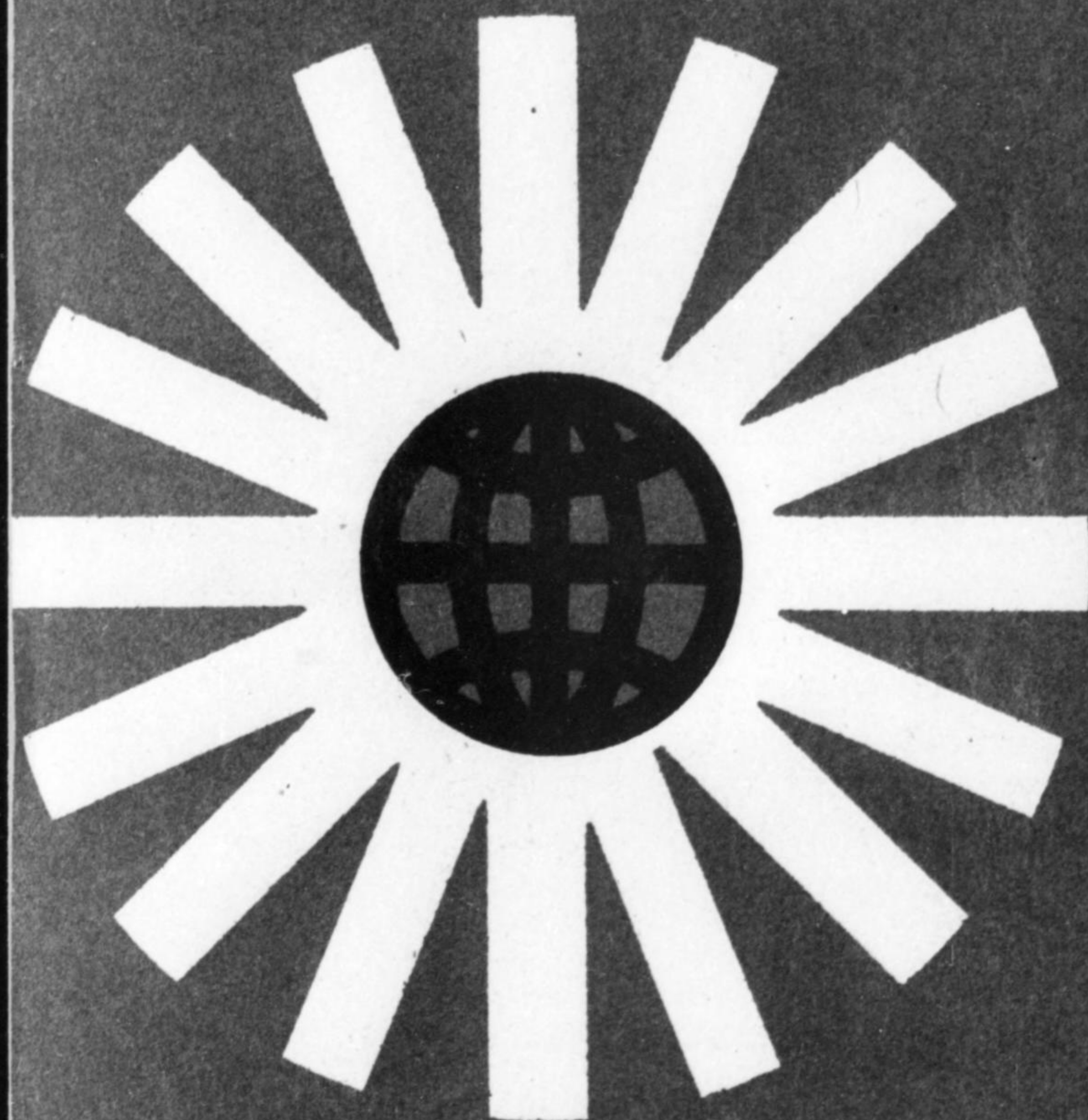


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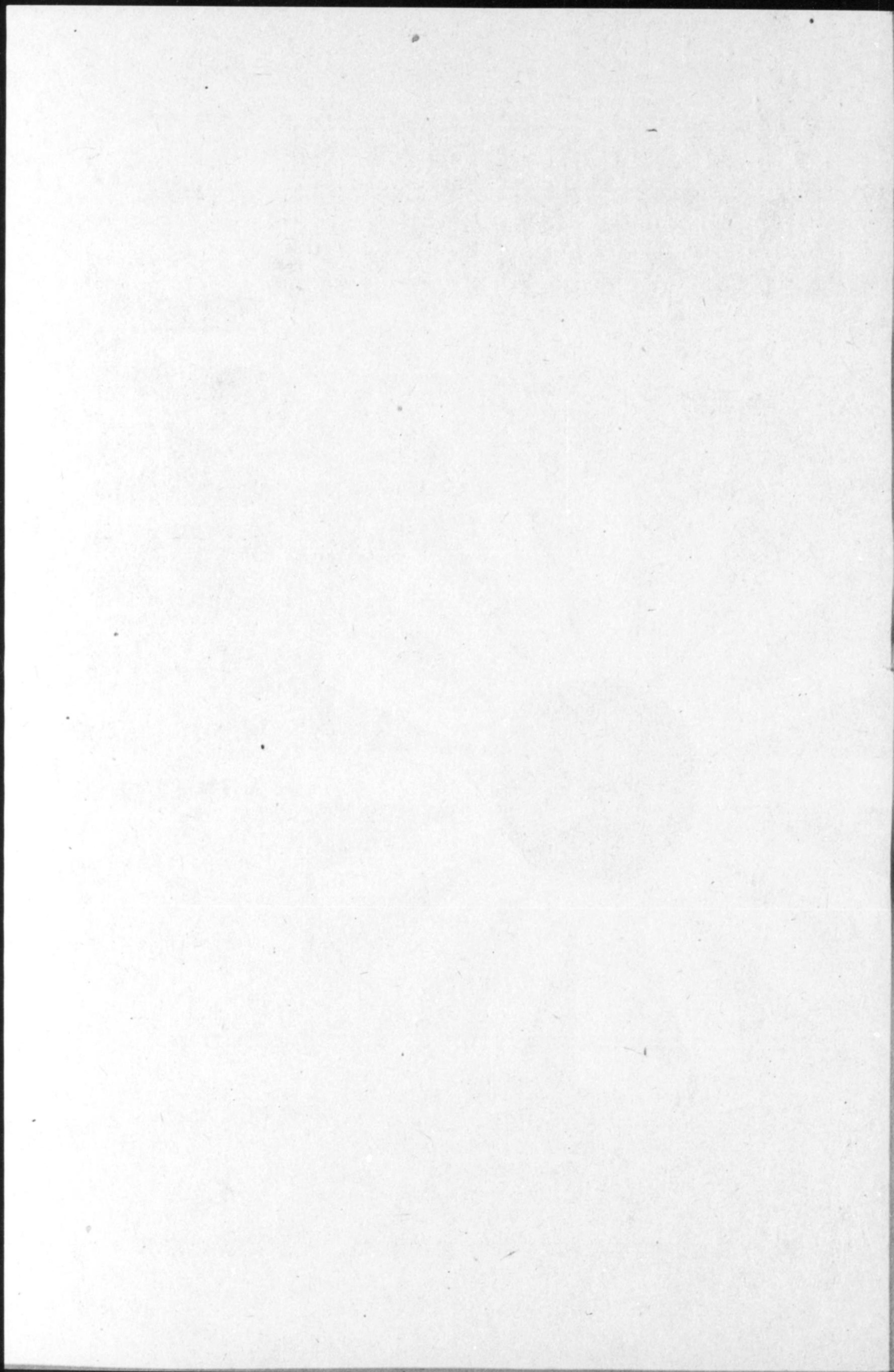
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TALKS BETWEEN PARTY AND GOVERNMENT DELEGATIONS OF THE SOVIET UNION AND HUNGARY

A Soviet party and government delegation led by Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU and President of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium was on an official friendly visit to Hungary from May 30 to June 1, 1979. The Soviet delegation had talks with a party and government delegation of the Hungarian People's Republic, led by Janos Kadar, First Secretary of the CC HSWP.

The Joint Statement on the results of the talks, signed by Leonid Brezhnev and Janos Kadar, says in part:

The participants in the talks discussed major ways of further extending Soviet-Hungarian relations and exchanged views on the urgent problems of promoting peace and international détente and on those related to the world's communist and working-class movement.

The Soviet communists and the Soviet people at large are truly pleased with the substantial progress made by the Hungarian working people in implementing the ambitious tasks set by the 11th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. The Soviet delegation took a great interest in the HSWP's creative development of problems related to the building of developed socialism: the strengthening of the alliance of the working class, the cooperative peasantry and the intellectuals; the strengthening of ties between the party and the people; and the furtherance of socialist democracy.

The Soviet delegation appreciated the contribution made by the Hungarian People's Republic and the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party to the cause of ensuring peace in Europe and the world over, consolidating the socialist community and strengthening the cohesion of the international communist and working-class movement, and to the peoples' struggle for national and social liberation.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people greatly value the spirit of internationalist comradeship and brother-

hood displayed toward the Soviet Union by the communists and the working people of Hungary.

The Hungarian communists and the Hungarian working people greatly appreciate the Soviet people's outstanding achievements in carrying out the decisions of the 25th Congress of the CPSU. The Hungarian side was pleased to note that led by their Leninist Communist Party, the Soviet people have achieved historic results in building a new social system is of great importance for the world's social progress.

The Hungarian side emphasized the Soviet Union's decisive role in maintaining world peace and promoting the peoples' struggle for social progress and national independence. The Soviet Union and the CPSU pursue a consistent internationalist policy aimed at strengthening the unity of all revolutionary forces of our time — the socialist community, the international communist and working-class movement and the national-liberation movement.

The Hungarian people believe that it is a great honor for them to have the USSR as their friend and ally whose effective solidarity and comradely support can always be relied upon.

I

The sides have reviewed the progress made in carrying out the fundamental accords reached during the visit of the party and government delegation of the Hungarian People's Republic to the USSR in 1974, and carried forward and further specified at subsequent top-level meetings. The delegations noted with satisfaction that Soviet-Hungarian relations are developing effectively and dynamically in full agreement with the 1967 Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance between the USSR and the HPR and with the resolutions of the 25th Congress of the CPSU and the 11th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

The brotherly friendship of the Soviet Union and Hungary has as its solid foundation the community of their social systems, identity of the basic interests of the Soviet and Hungarian peoples and loyalty to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism. The march of life conclusively proves the fruitfulness of the Soviet-Hungarian alliance which guarantees the defense of the interests of both countries and serves to strengthen the unity and international influence of the socialist community, as well as peace and security in Europe and the world.

The fraternal unity of the CPSU and the HSWP is the driving force

behind the relationship of friendship and cooperation between the USSR and the HPR, between the Soviet and Hungarian peoples. Summit meetings at regular intervals, systematic working contacts and extensive interchanges of experience enrich the activities of both parties and enable them to find optimal solutions to the problems they have before them. In keeping with the established relationship of profound mutual respect, candor and full confidence between the CPSU and the HSWP, the two parties will continue to do their utmost toward extending the links between party organizations at all levels, as well as contacts and cooperation between the USSR Supreme Soviet and the HPR National Assembly and also between the governments, and public and social organizations of both countries.

There was an exchange of opinion on the fundamental trends in long-range economic cooperation between the USSR and the HPR. The delegations noted that the dynamic growth of trade, the development of productive cooperation and the conclusion of long-term economic agreements are contributing toward the solution of the problems which the Soviet Union and Hungary have to cope with in their respective national economies. The implementation of the accords on principles, arrived at during the recent meeting of the heads of government of the USSR and the HPR, will serve to extend mutually beneficial economic relations.

The sides consider it necessary to improve their joint planning activities, develop cooperation and specialization of production. They stressed the importance of an early conclusion of the drafting of the long-term program for specialization and cooperation of production between the major sectors of the Soviet and Hungarian economies for a period up to 1990.

There are notable achievements on record in scientific and technological cooperation between the two countries which has been developing effectively for 30 years now. The parties consider it an urgent objective to raise the economic returns of joint scientific work and to bring it in line with the requirements of Soviet-Hungarian economic relations.

Having emphasized the importance of close cooperation of the sister nations in resolving major economic problems, including those of fuel and raw-material-producing sectors, the delegations noted as striking examples the construction and start-up of the Soyuz gas pipeline and the Vinnitsa-Albertirsa high-voltage transmission line, a product of international cooperation between thousands of building workers of the CMEA member-countries.

The Soviet Union and Hungary intend to do their utmost to promote the development and improvement of the activities of CMEA whose 30-year record has convincingly demonstrated the immense advantages of the concerted effort of fraternal countries in their economies, science and technology. They will take most determined steps toward implementing the Comprehensive Program for Socialist Economic Integration, and play their full part in carrying out the long-term goal-oriented cooperation programs of the CMEA member-countries. The Soviet Union and Hungary see further advance of economic integration as an important way of promoting the effective social and economic development of the sister nations.

The delegations have given much attention to Soviet-Hungarian ideological cooperation and stated their common determination to contribute in an active way toward promoting the professional cooperation of the ideological institutions and the mass media of the Soviet Union and Hungary. A Soviet-Hungarian agreement on cultural and scientific cooperation was signed during the visit, thereby opening up further opportunities for extending and deepening their relations in these areas and for mutual intellectual enrichment of the peoples of the Soviet Union and Hungary.

Both delegations note with satisfaction that the development and extension of Soviet-Hungarian friendship has become a cause of the widest sections of the public. They have positively estimated the activities of the Soviet-Hungarian Friendship Society and the Hungarian-Soviet Friendship Society which are actively promoting the drawing together of the two sister nations.

II

The delegations of the USSR and the HPR had a detailed exchange of views on key issues of international life. The sides pointed to the relevancy of the world development assessments contained in the Moscow Declaration of the Warsaw Treaty member-countries, adopted in November 1978. Although considerable positive changes have been brought about in Europe and the world, the forces of imperialism and reaction, who are seeking a return to the cold war days, continue to be active in the international arena. The militarist circles of NATO are pursuing the aim of achieving military superiority over the countries of the socialist community, whipping up the arms race, and striving to erode the foundations of the detente.

The Soviet Union and Hungary, together with their allies in the Warsaw Treaty, will, as before, do everything they can to strengthen

and extend the process of détente and to make it all-embracing and irreversible.

The USSR and the HPR consider it an exceedingly important task to take practical steps toward promoting confidence between states and achieving military détente on the European continent. This is the aim of the proposal made by the socialist countries, that all countries which participated in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe should conclude a treaty on not being the first to use either nuclear or conventional arms against each other. A useful step in the field of military détente and confidence-building between states in Europe could be the implementation of proposals on prior notification of considerable troop movements, large-scale air forces exercises, and naval exercises conducted close to the territorial waters of states-participants in the All-European Conference, in addition to the confidence-building measures which are being carried out at present in accordance with the Final Act.

The major new initiative made by the socialist countries in Budapest at the meeting of the Committee of Foreign Ministers of the Warsaw Treaty member-countries regarding the convocation of a conference on a political level with the participation of all European states, the USA and Canada, opens up wide possibilities for a businesslike examination of all these proposals, as well as of possible proposals by other states which lead to a lowering of military confrontation, a diminishing of the concentration and reduction of armed forces and armaments, and strengthening of peace and security in Europe.

The sides are convinced that the forthcoming conclusion of a treaty between the USSR and the USA on the limitation of strategic offensive arms will be of exceptionally great significance in promoting international security and peace. When put into effect, it will mark a major step forward on the road toward the curbing of the arms race.

The USSR and the HPR are decidedly in favor of progress at the Vienna talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. The proposals made by the socialist countries create conditions for carrying these negotiations into the stage of practical elaboration of an agreement, and it is now up to the Western countries to give a constructive answer to these proposals.

When considering the state of affairs on the European continent the sides pointed out again that consistent and full implementation of the principles and accords of the Final Act, which was adopted in Helsinki, will contribute to the further improvement of the situation on the

continent and the world as a whole. The Madrid meeting of representatives of the states that participated in the All-European Conference, to be held in 1980, has a positive role to play in this respect. The Soviet Union and Hungary are prepared to make a constructive contribution to the successful holding of that meeting.

The early conclusion of an agreement on the basic principles of relations between the CMEA and the EEC would be a concrete step toward expanding equal and mutually advantageous cooperation in Europe.

The delegations declared themselves for stronger peace, good-neighborliness and cooperation in the Balkans. They expressed the hope that the peoples of the Balkan countries would not allow this important region to become a seat of trouble and complications as a result of the intrigues of the forces hostile to détente and to the cause of peace.

The USSR and the HPR expressed their concern over the dangerous course of developments in the Middle East. They reaffirmed their solidarity with the Arab countries which resolutely reject the anti-Arab separate treaty signed by Egypt and Israel under the USA's aegis.

The sides stressed that China's hegemonistic and expansionist policy aimed at torpedoing détente, creating new seats of tension and unleashing military conflicts posed a serious threat to peace and to the interests of all the revolutionary and liberation forces of the present day.

The Soviet Union and Hungary once again declare their internationalist solidarity with the heroic Vietnamese people who have courageously repulsed the Chinese aggression and, together with all the peace-loving forces, firmly support the constructive stand of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam directed at establishing peace and strengthening security in Southeast Asia.

While giving a principled evaluation to the present-day foreign policy of China, the USSR and the HPR reaffirm their striving for friendship with the Chinese people and their willingness to maintain normal inter-state relations with the People's Republic of China on the principles of peaceful coexistence.

The USSR and the HPR actively support the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America fighting against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism, for national independence and social progress. They pointed to the positive role played by the non-aligned movement in this struggle and expressed the hope that the conference

of the heads of state and government of the non-aligned countries, to be held in Havana in September 1979, would make a fresh contribution to the consolidation of peace and international security and to the struggle against the imperialist policy of oppression and diktat.

The sides expressed their determination to spare no effort to promote cooperation in foreign policy of the fraternal countries of the socialist community, which is a powerful motive force of the process of détente and of the improvement of the world political climate. They reaffirm their willingness to consistently implement measures toward strengthening the Warsaw Treaty Organisation which is a dependable instrument for peace and international security.

III

Opinions were exchanged on a number of questions connected with the international communist and working-class movement.

The sides stated that the role and influence of the present-day communist movement in the international arena are growing. Such major problems as the prevention of a thermonuclear war, the ending of the arms race and disarmament, the affirmation of the principles of peaceful coexistence in relations between states, irrespective of their social systems, resistance to hegemonism, the elimination of colonialism and racism, and others have moved into the foreground of world politics, in the first place, thanks to the initiatives and joint efforts of communist and workers' parties both in the socialist and in the capitalist countries.

The CPSU and the HSWP treat with respect the creative question of the fraternal parties, which are developing the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin on the revolutionary transformation of society, on the building of socialism and communism.

Experience confirms that such a search is fruitful when account is taken of both the general laws governing the class struggle and the socialist reforms and of the concrete historical situation and the national specific conditions in every country.

Soviet and Hungarian communists consistently advocate the development of comradely cooperation between all communist and workers' parties on the basis of the generally accepted norms of relations between them worked out in the course of bilateral contacts and at international meetings, including the 1976 Berlin Conference.

The participants in the talks pointed out the growing role of internationalist solidarity between all the fraternal parties and the need to further intensify their joint actions, and strengthening cooperation

and unity. The CPSU and the HSWP have done and will continue to do everything necessary to this end.

The Soviet and Hungarian sides are deeply satisfied with the results of the talks, which took place in an atmosphere of cordiality, fraternal friendship, complete mutual understanding and identity of views of the CPSU and the HSWP, the USSR and the Hungarian People's Republic, on all matters under discussion. Confidence was expressed that the official friendly visit of the party and government delegation of the Soviet Union to the Hungarian People's Republic would serve the cause of furthering internationalist brotherhood and many-sided cooperation between the USSR and the HPR and make a fresh contribution to the strengthening of the socialist community.

On behalf of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Soviet government, L.I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, invited a party and government delegation of the Hungarian People's Republic with Janos Kadar, First Secretary of the HSWP Central Committee, at its head, to pay an official friendly visit to the Soviet Union. The invitation was accepted with gratitude.

Budapest, June 1, 1979

L. Brezhnev,
General Secretary of the Central
Committee of the Communist
Party of the Soviet Union, Presi-
dent of the Presidium of the Sup-
reme Soviet of the USSR

J. Kadar,
First Secretary of the Central
Committee of the Hungarian
Socialist Workers' Party

Pravda, June 3, 1979

THE UNITY OF GOALS AND ACTION

Speeches by L.I. Brezhnev and J. Kadar on Hungarian television on June 1.

FROM THE SPEECH BY L.I. BREZHNEV

Today Comrade Janos Kadar and I have signed a Joint Statement, reflecting the results of our talks. These were good and fruitful talks. They are bringing, I would say, a new charge of energy to the cooperation between our countries.

This applies to such an important field as economics. Way back in the spring Comrade Kadar and I mapped out ways for solving a number of key matters. Then the Chairmen of the Councils of Ministers did an appreciable amount of work. We can now confidently say that the efficiency and quality of Soviet-Hungarian contacts will grow dynamically.

The political results of the visit are also weighty. In the process of building communism and socialism both we and the Hungarian communists constantly encounter ever new phenomena and new problems. This is why it is useful to collate our routes, or to be more exact, our common route. We have done that. And it was interesting and useful work.

The discussion of the tasks of international politics was marked by full accord. Our motive is one: to preserve and strengthen peace, and to enable the peoples wholly to focus their efforts and resources on constructive goals. That is when full scope for mankind's social progress will open up.

It is difficult, very difficult to remove the danger of war completely. We are aware that we are setting a task which has remained insoluble in the course of the entire world history. The very nature of modern weapons makes it urgent. Ours are new times, and there are new possibilities nowadays. Such a direction of politics as détente has established itself in the world, and there is much behind it. As we understand it, it is not simply readiness for a dialogue but also consistent real steps for the purpose of removing everything that may create a war conflagration.

Just recall how many sceptics there were when ten years ago here in Budapest the Warsaw Treaty countries put forward a detailed platform for the preparation of an All-European Conference on Security and Cooperation. There was talk that nothing would come of it. But it did take place! The way to Helsinki was thorny but we traversed it. At present no one denies that as a result of the conference the political climate in Europe has improved, and a solid basis has been created for headway in different spheres of cooperation.

We consider it necessary to show every regard for the Final Act and to implement it in an ever fully way. Only thus is it possible to close forever the bitter chapter of European history connected with cold war and to consolidate détente.

Budapest has just become the birthplace of a new initiative of socialist countries. I mean the proposal to call a European conference with the participation of the USA and Canada. We understand it in

this way. Europe, which in its time launched the process of political détente can and must set an example of realizing détente in the military field.

The conference, of course, will not replace the negotiations which are already being held on matters of disarmament. But its success is sure to impart a more vigorous rhythm to them.

The task of disarmament, in our conviction, should always be brought to the forefront in international affairs. This is what we are guided by in preparing for the meeting with President Carter which is due to be held in a fortnight.

As is known, a Soviet-U.S. treaty on limiting strategic offensive arms is meant to be endorsed and signed during the meeting. The document, and work on it is nearing completion, will doubtlessly become the biggest act ever accomplished in the name of restraining the nuclear arms race.

The interests of peace undoubtedly require that détente assume a global character so that in every corner of the earth people can enjoy the fruits of peace and freely manage their own life. In this connection one cannot fail to mention the policy of a country which misses no opportunity to oppose détente by word and deed. I am speaking of China.

Chinese requests to the West for the most up-to-date weapons are growing with every passing day. Peking is turning its back on any proposals aimed at curbing the arms race. Moreover, constantly coming from Peking are calls to the NATO countries and to Japan to arm themselves. China, which so acutely needs peace for the solution of its domestic tasks, has become a serious source of military danger.

In April this year the Chinese leaders stated their refusal to prolong the Soviet-Chinese treaty. At the same time it was deemed necessary in Peking to express readiness to hold talks with the Soviet Union on an improvement of relations. This does not quite square with the facts — the renunciation of the treaty and the words about a desire to improve relations.

Nevertheless, we are ready to approach seriously and positively the organization of Soviet-Chinese talks. We have more than once proposed to the Chinese side to reach agreement on normalizing our relations and to bring them into a good-neighborly channel. We are ready for that now as well but not of course at the expense of the interests of third countries. In short, if the Chinese side manifests real good will, there will be no lack of cooperation on our part.

FROM THE SPEECH BY J. KADAR

The Hungarian and Soviet peoples and our parties have been struggling and working together for 34 years, both in good times and in difficult times — and this is how it will be in future as well.

It is not chance nor the decision of several people that has led us to travel along the same road, but the total identity of our socialist and communist principles and goals, the common interests of our peoples. All-round, broad-scale and profound relations have been established between our parties, countries and peoples in the decades that have passed. Our cooperation embraces all the principal fields in the life of society, it embraces all the areas of socialist and communist construction, economic activities, culture and all the important questions of our international activities. It is very important and useful to us that we meet regularly in this spirit, discuss and reach accord on the experience of our struggle, and exchange opinions on how to travel further.

The friendship of our peoples has deep roots in the masses. Complete reciprocity can be seen in our all-round relations . . . Looking back at the road we have covered, we can say that our results are tremendous, and that our people have achieved unprecedented progress since they began building socialism. However, this progress and development at a higher level pose new, more difficult and more complex tasks. The changes in the foreign economic conditions which are unfavorable for us are making our work especially difficult. But we are confident that we will carry out all our tasks. The socialist unity of our people and their national consolidation in the name of the achievement of socialist goals is the principal source of our strength.

We told our Soviet friends that we are doing all we can to make further progress in the economy and culture, using all the opportunities we have to do this. Our confidence that we will carry out the tasks posed is based on past results and on our people's firm determination to continue marching along the chosen road. Friendship and cooperation with the Soviet people, and the numerous opportunities offered by the further development of Hungarian-Soviet co-operation and by the consolidation of the socialist countries are a reliable foundation for us.

The security of our people and their confidence in the future is strengthened by the fact that the USSR and Hungary, along with other socialist countries, are members of the Warsaw Treaty, which literally like a shield defends our peoples, their socialist gains and

peace. The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance opened new opportunities for our economic activities. And this is also an important pillar of our confidence in the future and of Hungary's continuing steady development.

During the current meeting we, of course, also dealt with important international issues. The total identity, the unity of the Hungarian and the Soviet points of view, as well as the common principles on which these views are based, are the primary and the most important feature of our talks. Therefore, the talks between our delegations took place in an atmosphere of complete concord and friendship. We have common goals, and we struggle together in the international arena for peace and progress. We worked together for the holding of the Helsinki Conference, and we work together and will continue to work together for the fullest possible implementation of the principles adopted there.

At its latest meeting in Budapest the Committee of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Warsaw Treaty member-countries supplemented previous proposals with an important new initiative. We made the joint proposal that representatives of the European countries, the United States and Canada hold a new conference at which we are prepared to discuss the military aspects of détente and security in order to resolve these problems.

As we wage a struggle for détente, we encounter its enemies, the monopoly capital circles, every day, and a question which we also dealt with this time — the activities of the present Chinese leadership, who, whatever anyone says, is objectively helping the forces of reaction. The Hungarian people were outraged on learning about the Chinese aggression against Vietnam and strongly condemned it. We once again assure our Vietnamese brothers and sisters of our complete solidarity.

Soviet foreign policy, which has from the outset, since the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, always served and continues to serve the cause of social progress and peace, is now a decisive factor in the international situation. Everybody knows that special credit for this goes to Comrade Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, whom the Hungarian people know well and profoundly respect.

The coordinated foreign policy of the socialist countries, which are marching together, is also a factor shaping the international situation. We Hungarians, basing our actions on our goals and interests, stand and will continue to stand foursquare on the positions which this policy offers, because our joint actions are multiplying the direct

influence of our aspirations for peace and our efforts in support of progress.

I can say about our talks that we awaited the Soviet party and government delegation, led by Comrade Brezhnev, in a spirit of friendship, with the desire and hope that our Soviet guests would feel comfortable within our circle, in fraternal Hungary, among friends, and that we would conduct work on essentials. I listened to the opinion expressed by Comrade Brezhnev on our meeting and talks, and I thank him for the high evaluation, and am pleased by the fact that during the visit, the talks and the exchange of opinions we have done everything we intended to do. Friendship and unity reign supreme among us. Our positions coincide on all the questions discussed, and this has been expressed in the statement we have signed.

Pravda, June 2, 1979

IN THE POLITICAL BUREAU
OF THE CC CPSU, THE PRESIDUM
OF THE USSR SUPREME SOVIET AND
THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE USSR

*On the Results of the Soviet Party and Government
Delegation's Visit to the Hungarian People's Republic*

On June 7 the Political Bureau of the CC CPSU, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the USSR examined the results of the visit, over May 30 to June 1, 1979, of the Soviet party and government delegation, led by Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU and President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, to the Hungarian People's Republic.

The Political Bureau of the CC CPSU, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the USSR fully approved the activity of the delegation and expressed profound satisfaction with the results of the visit.

The talks with Janos Kadar, First Secretary of the CC HSWP, and other Hungarian leaders consolidate and promote the close and fruitful ties between the CPSU and the HSWP, the USSR and the HPR. The joint statement adopted in Budapest represents an exhaustive program for furthering Soviet-Hungarian cooperation in all major areas. An important aspect of this program is active participation by

the USSR and the HPR in the collective work of the CMEA member-states in developing socialist economic integration.

Friendship and the intrinsic identity of views and actions of the Soviet Union and People's Hungary are vital factors in strengthening the positions of the socialist community and consolidating international security in Europe and throughout the world.

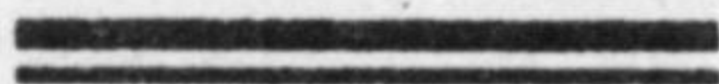
The visit of the Soviet party and government delegation became a new impressive evidence of the Soviet Union's and Hungary's deep adherence to the policy of détente and peaceful cooperation, their readiness to work in common with the other fraternal countries to curb the arms race and for a radical improvement to the international political climate.

What is highly important is that the Soviet Union and the Hungarian People's Republic are fully resolved to continue their efforts to promote measures favoring trust and the realization of military détente on the European continent and to convene for the purpose an all-European conference on the political level, with the participation of the USA and Canada. The socialist countries, members of the Warsaw Treaty, expect a constructive response to this proposal on the part of all interested states.

The Political Bureau of the CC CPSU, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the USSR highly assessed the energetic support by the HPR and the other socialist countries for the forthcoming Soviet-U.S. summit meeting and the contemplated conclusion of the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT-2).

It was noted with satisfaction that Hungary shares the principled stand of the Soviet Union with respect to talks with China. A serious and positive Soviet-Chinese dialogue would be in the interests of promoting détente and making it all-embracing. This, of course, will require that the Chinese side also take a constructive attitude to the holding of such talks.

The Political Bureau of the CC CPSU, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the USSR have instructed the corresponding ministries and departments to take practical measures for the realization of agreements on the development of Soviet-Hungarian cooperation in diverse fields.



VISIT TO CZECHOSLOVAKIA BY ALEXEI KOSYGIN

Alexei Kosygin, member of the CC CPSU Political Bureau and Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, visited Czechoslovakia from May 22 to 25, 1979, at the invitation of the CC CPCz Presidium and the government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

During his stay, Alexei Kosygin was acquainted with the Czechoslovak people's achievements in building a developed socialist society and in implementing the decisions of the 15th Congress of the CPCz. He visited the Skoda engineering works in Plzen, took part in a construction workers' meeting at the Jaslovske Bohunice nuclear power plant, which was built with Soviet technical assistance. Wherever he went, his meetings with the Czechoslovak working people developed into a potent manifestation of indestructible Soviet-Czechoslovak friendship and expression of the deep respect and trust shared by the Soviet and Czechoslovak peoples.

Alexei Kosygin met in a cordial, comradely atmosphere with Gustav Husak, General Secretary of the CC CPCz and President of the CSSR. He also met for negotiations with Lubomir Strougal, member of the CC CPCz Presidium and Chairman of the CSSR government.

During the meetings and talks attention focused on further promoting fraternal relations and all-round Soviet-Czechoslovak cooperation in accordance with the decisions of the 25th Congress of the CPSU and the 15th Congress of the CPCz, and the agreements reached during the official friendly visit to the CSSR of a Soviet party and government delegation led by Leonid Brezhnev.

The sides notes with satisfaction that Soviet-Czechoslovak relations were deep and multi-faceted in character and were developing successfully and dynamically on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism fully in accordance with the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance concluded between the USSR and the CSSR on May 6, 1970.

Views were exchanged on key questions of both countries' socio-economic development. It was noted that growing trade, closer production cooperation, and the expanding practice of long-term economic agreements have proved effective in resolving the economic tasks facing the USSR and the CSSR and in raising the living standards of the Soviet and Czechoslovak working people.

The sides declared their intention to continue developing and improving in every way cooperation in the CMEA, whose 30-year

fruitful activity became an eloquent demonstration of a splendid achievement of socialism — the creation of a new type of inter-state economic relations. The USSR and the CSSR see socialist economic integration as a dependable guarantee of the fraternal countries' successful socio-economic development.

The Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia emphasized the exceptional importance of fraternal socialist states' unity and cohesion in successfully working for stronger peace and international security, for mutually beneficial, equitable cooperation between all states.

The sides pointed to the importance of further steps to realize the proposals advanced by the Moscow meeting of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee aimed at consolidating peace and security in Europe and throughout the world, and at resolving the problems involved in ending the arms race and of disarmament.

Special urgency attaches in this connection to the new initiative advanced by the socialist countries at the recent Budapest meeting of foreign ministers of the Warsaw Treaty states for an early convocation on the political level of a conference of all the European states, the USA and Canada to agree on practical steps to strengthen trust between states in Europe, to ease the military confrontation and achieve a subsequent deconcentration and reduction of armed forces and armaments on the continent.

The sides stressed that the forthcoming conclusion and entry into force of the treaty between the USSR and the USA on limiting strategic offensive arms will greatly contribute to curbing the race in nuclear arms and lay the groundwork for stopping it altogether.

Both sides voiced serious concern over the persisting tension in several areas of the world, notably in the Middle East. They expressed solidarity with the Arab peoples, who reject the separate deal between Egypt and Israel under the aegis of the USA, and reaffirmed their invariable desire for a just and stable Middle East peace.

They emphatically condemned the great-power, hegemonistic policy of the present PRC leadership, which has taken the road of direct aggression against socialist Vietnam. The USSR and the CSSR declare their internationalist solidarity with the heroic people of Vietnam, with the peoples of Laos and Kampuchea and express their resolve to continue opposing the expansionist policy of Peking. The sides support the just struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and racial oppression, and for independence and social progress.

Pravda, May 26, 1979

DOCUMENTS

THE REVOLUTION AND COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY FORCES IN IRAN

*Statement by the Central Committee, People's Party
of Iran (Tudeh)*

The developments in our country over recent weeks, and especially the last few days, are clear evidence of the efforts aimed to undermine the gains of the people's historic revolution.

Characteristic of this counter-revolutionary activity are undisguised actions by the reactionary forces and counter-revolutionary elements during the events in Sanandaj, Naghadeh and Gonbad; the indirect attacks against Ayatollah Taleghani; the demonstrations in Tabriz, Tehran and Meshed, when Ayatollah Khalkhali's article was used as a pretext for weakening the role of Ayatollah Khomeini, the leader of the movement; the assassination of General Gharani.*

In other words, we witness, on the one hand, a marked expansion of counter-revolutionary subversive activity inside and outside the country and, on the other, the growing activity of forces which, in virtue of their class nature, participated only sporadically and inconsistently in the unfolding revolutionary movement of the Iranian people, but are now trying to prevent the revolution from developing toward meeting the demands of the working people of town and country. The international enemies of the Iranian revolution, that is, the imperialist circles of the West, above all the U.S. imperialists and Zionists, have mobilized all their subversive forces for a propaganda campaign against the Iranian revolution. The spies of imperialism in Iran, aided by the SAVAK criminals and supported by circles linked with imperialism, are stepping up their activity with every passing day. They are creating crisis situations, doing all they can to prevent the country's life from being brought back to normal in the economic, political, social, administrative and cultural fields, provoking discon-

*And later, Ayatollah Motahari. — Ed.

tent among the people and scaring them with revolution. They stop at no crime to attain their ends; they are assassinating revolutionary fighters and setting the Iranian ethnic groups against each other.

With the aid of these elements who are entrenched in the government apparatus, the army and other institutions, the counter-revolutionaries are obstructing realization of the key condition for strengthening the revolution — purging these bodies of the lackeys and agents of the corrupt shah regime and SAVAK.

By infiltrating the ranks of the revolutionary forces, setting up anti-revolutionary demagogic groups, which now assume extremist religious positions, now advance ultra-leftist slogans, the counter-revolution is obstructing the genuinely revolutionary forces from drawing together, provoking clashes between them, seeking to divert them from the correct course, to weaken and split them in order to defeat them.

Despite all the delays and wavering of the followers of conciliatory trends, the Iranian revolutionary movement has triumphed. The corrupt thousand-year-old monarchy has been consigned to the dustbin of history. A provisional revolutionary government was set up under the leadership of Ayatollah Khomeini and an Islamic Republic was officially proclaimed, marking the beginning of the construction of a new social, economic, political and cultural regime, the regime of the anti-imperialist popular revolution. But it soon became obvious that the forces which prior to the revolution worked together for its victory hold different views on how to build the new social system. An analysis of these differences reveals two basic lines of conduct in laying the foundations of the new order: a consistently revolutionary line and a conciliatory and inconsistent line. The consistently revolutionary orientation is to:

- immediately and radically dismantle the bases of the corrupt shah regime;
- — eliminate the evil SAVAK;
- purge the army, gendarmerie, police and judiciary of all servitors and hangers-on of the old regime and reconstruct them on a new basis, and in the meantime to:
 - reinforce the armed groups of the people, the guardians of the revolution;
 - firmly support the revolutionary tribunals whose duty is to allow no delay in meeting the revolutionary demands of the people to punish the traitors and criminals;

— severely punish the criminals without regard to the propaganda of their imperialist advocates;

— guarantee individual and social liberties to the whole people, with the exception of the plunderers and those who committed crimes under the overthrown regime;

— annul all shackling political, military and economic agreements with the imperialists;

— pull out from CENTO;

— renounce the bilateral military treaty with the United States and hundreds of other agreements linked with it;

— join the non-aligned movement;

— give every support to the world's anti-imperialist liberation movements, particularly the liberation movement of the Arab people of Palestine;

— establish full national sovereignty over the country's oil resources;

— use the oil revenues to boost the national economy and improve the condition of the poorest sections;

— extricate the country's economy from the dominance of monopoly-imperialist-Zionist capital and the capitalists linked with them;

— nationalize and turn over to the administration of the people, with the economic aid of the state, the property, assets, industrial and agricultural enterprises and banks belonging to members of the traitor Pahlavi family and their lackeys, that is, practically all the capitalists and landowners linked with imperialism and the old regime, most of whom have fled the country, taking colossal wealth with them;

— adopt vigorous measures to enable the masses to reap the fruits of the revolution, which owes its victory to their dedication, thus putting an end to plunder by the capitalists and speculators and raising the incomes of the poorest sections.

Such are the immediate and unconditional demands of all the revolutionary forces: the workers, peasants, artisans, intellectuals, the patriotic-minded national bourgeoisie, that is, primarily the owners of small and medium enterprises. These demands have been taken into account in Ayatollah Khomeini's absolutely clear and consistent directives and are unreservedly supported by all the genuinely revolutionary organizations and groups in our country.

Alongside this firm revolutionary line, certain leaders of the provisional government and circles linked with Iranian big capital adopted from the first days of the victory a stand which later led to an

inconsistent conciliatory political line. Its principal content is the following:

The revolutionary movement in Iran has gone too far in every field, and should be made more "moderate." Above all, there must be more "indulgence" and "pity" toward the criminals and plunderers of the old regime. The shackling treaties should not be annulled — there must be patience. Not all the American advisers should be expelled at once, a part of them must remain. The shackling contracts and the shah's crimes must not be discussed in public. The industrial and agricultural enterprises and financial institutions of the servants of the regime and imperialism must not be nationalized. They should be permitted to carry on unrestrained plunder of the national wealth and the fruits of the working people's endeavor, and even helped in this.

The army must be reorganized in the shortest possible time with the aid of the very same officers — servants of the shah regime — on the sole condition that they pledge to serve the Islamic Republic. Even SAVAK should be repatterned, but in a way acceptable to the people. No smooth running of the country's economy without the financial aid of the capitalists and industrialists. No encroachments on the enterprises belonging to the rapacious imperialist monopolies. Liberty cannot be extended to everyone. The laws enacted by the traitor Pahlavi's regime, which infringe freedom and are directed against the political forces and organizations which are not to the liking of the leaders, remain in force. The criminal laws against the revolutionary fighters who have battled against the Pahlavi regime for 50 years, remain in force. The capitulatory treaty with the U.S. colonialists also remains in force.

In short, this conciliatory line which is counterposed to the revolutionary line, is being pursued ever more vigorously and becoming more clearly defined with every passing day. It is an obstacle to the advance of the people's democratic anti-imperialist revolution. Its aim is to replace a regime fully dependent on imperialism with a "semi-dependent" one and to detract from the gains of the revolution.

Of course, not a single political organization has dared openly to subscribe to this capitulatory, conciliatory program, but this course can be traced in the orientation and position of the political leaders and groups on the right wing of the movement maintaining relations with the former ruling classes, that is, with the capitalists and landowners linked with imperialism and the old regime.

The internal and external counter-revolution, that is, the spies and agents of imperialism, members of SAVAK and their agents, who still occupy important posts in the government and the administrative and economic apparatus and who, profiting by the lack of vigilance on the part of the revolutionary forces, have infiltrated even the executive bodies of the revolutionary movement, are endeavoring to pave the way for this capitulatory, conciliatory political line by provoking unrest in the country, sabotaging the economy, creating new difficulties, engaging in profiteering, jacking up prices, and sowing discord and hostility among the revolutionary forces.

Using their agents, these forces are inflating minor errors and weaknesses of the revolutionary forces, the guardians of revolution and the revolutionary tribunals, thus dealing a blow at the main forces of the revolution.

It should be noted that in this they are supported and defended by the entire worldwide imperialist propaganda machine.

The present government is at the intersection of these two political lines, the line of the revolutionary people and that of the capitalists and landowners. The performance of the provisional government since its founding and to this day can be evaluated as conciliatory and moderate, with a growing tendency toward conservatism and renunciation of the charted course.

True, the government faces colossal difficulties in rehabilitating the country's economy; it lacks sufficiently skilled personnel to administer the disorganized institutions. It is also true that the provisional government has taken measures to meet the demands of the people's revolutionary movement (such as stopping the activity of the oil consortiums, pulling the country out of CENTO, expelling most of the U.S. advisers, annulling orders for armaments from the imperialist countries, putting an end to the U.S. imperialists' spying against neighboring countries, etc.) which have the full support of the patriotic forces. But along with that there is an obvious lack of resolve on both domestic and foreign policy issues, and in many instances the government clearly leans toward the second line, that is, the conciliatory course.

The Prime Minister openly argued against one of the key gains of the revolution — against the existence and activity of the guardians of revolution and the revolutionary tribunals — thereby departing from the revolutionary movement on this question.

On the issue of economic rehabilitation, the Prime Minister, while exaggerating the obvious difficulties, is not following a course of

extricating the economy from imperialist dependence, again departing from the revolutionary movement.

Regarding proposals for solving the people's economic problems the Prime Minister is almost totally in favor of reinforcing the capitalists, ignoring the creative forces of the workers, engineers, office employees and patriotic-minded national leaders.

If — on the basis of the revolutionary line enjoying the support of the bulk of the people — the government proposes short-term and longer-term measures which are not merely pretentious but useless promises, and clearly and convincingly show the workers, peasants, artisans, intelligentsia, employees, small and middle capitalists a way out of the present crisis in accordance with their legitimate demands, then there is no doubt that these plans will be accepted in the right spirit and supported by all the patriotic and progressive forces.

We are convinced that if such plans are proposed the working people of Iran, jointly with all patriots, will be ready, as they have recurrently demonstrated in the course of the revolution, to work selflessly and with dedication for their successful realization.

In the circumstances, when the provisional government shows weakness in adopting decisions that are essential to realize the revolution's goals, which complicates the use of every opportunity to find a way out of the difficulties, increasing responsibility devolves on the Revolutionary Council, on all the revolutionary forces, organizations and groups.

In the circumstances, it is the supreme duty of all revolutionary forces to:

- (1) rationally and in a revolutionary manner examine and evaluate all aspects of the revolutionary movement in Iran today, separating the principal elements from the secondary ones, and to concentrate on resolving the key issues vital to the destiny of the people's democratic national revolution;

- (2) use political perspicacity instead of blindly sticking to the survivals of the past and previously held correct or incorrect views. Political perspicacity implies exposure of counter-revolutionary plots, the need to make common cause with all revolutionary forces who are sincerely committed to the realization of the revolution's goals, to combat the enemies and counter the conciliatory attitudes of the vacillating forces.

The persisting discord among the revolutionary forces, the clash of diverse trends within the front of the people's fighters play into the hands of the counter-revolution. In this feverish atmosphere the lack-

eys of imperialism, members of SAVAK and other avowed enemies of the Iranian revolutionary movement are out to isolate the supporters of scientific socialism from the millions of fighters taking part in the revolutionary movement under the banner of Islam, to set the peoples of Iran against each other, provoke a fratricidal war between the Shiites and the Sunnites and to sow discord among the supporters of scientific socialism by infiltrating pseudo-socialist elements into their ranks.

In this complex situation, the professional counter-revolutionaries and renegades from the revolutionary movement, like Nikkhah and Djafarian,* have recourse to false accusations aimed to poison political life and the atmosphere of cooperation between the revolutionary forces. They are out to prevent these forces from drawing together and entering into an alliance.

The People's Party of Iran (Tudeh), drawing on its nearly 40-year experience of persistent, uncompromising struggle for national independence, democracy, social progress and a better life for the working people, mindful of the lessons of both victorious and unsuccessful revolutionary movements and aware of the historical responsibility devolving on it, urges all genuine supporters of the Iranian people's democratic national revolution to do all they can to create conditions for an immediate exchange of views.

The People's Party of Iran (Tudeh) holds that the exchange of views is essential to study and adopt decisions on the following key issues:

1. To find practical ways for effectively countering the diabolical plots of imperialism, Zionism, Maoism and Iranian reaction.
2. To consistently expose and neutralize the attempts of the conciliators — who in recent weeks and days have overtly or covertly called in question or perfidiously attacked the staunch and unremitting stand of Ayatollah Khomeini and his political leadership of the revolutionary movement — to sow discord in the solid ranks of the revolutionary forces.
3. To elaborate a common program for strengthening the gains of the revolution and its future fruitful development in the interests of satisfying the vital demands of the peoples of our homeland.
4. To endeavor to draft in common a new Constitution that would reflect all the demands of the people's democratic anti-imperialist revolution of the Iranian people.

* Executed on March 13, 1979. — Ed.

5. To build a united front for the convocation of a constituent assembly that would unconditionally approve the Constitution and lay the foundation for a people's democratic national regime in Iran.

6. To work in common to set up a national coalition government with the participation of all genuine revolutionary forces, the sole guarantor of giving effect to the Constitution.

Central Committee,
People's Party of Iran (Tudeh)
April 30, 1979

OUR PROFOUND BELIEF IN VICTORY

Statement by the Communist Party of Chile

The Communist Party of Chile maintains that if all the democrats, all anti-fascists and non-fascists — civilian and military — join forces in a vigorous struggle, they can quickly bring down the evil Pinochet regime. Being convinced of this, the Communist Party of Chile appeals to all workers and peasants, employees of private, government and semi-government enterprises, artisans, small and middle entrepreneurs in industry, agriculture, trade and transport, teachers and students, writers and artists, scholars, members of the free professions, technicians, soldiers, NCOs and officers of the army, navy and air force and the carabineros..., urging them to do all they can to bring nearer the downfall of fascism and to pave the way for a new democratic, free and just regime.

The Communist Party hails the working people who, challenging the tyranny, took to the streets during the militant May Day actions. The CPC hails the thousands of women who fittingly marked the 8th of March; the families of the "disappeared" who participated in heroic actions; the young medics who occupied the Medical Institute; the university students who are following the splendid traditions of the Chilean Student Federation; the workers of the copper mines who are staunchly defending their arbitrarily dismissed leaders; the miners fighting against pit closures; the textile workers of Tome, who came out in common against the closure of the mills; the employees of the national airliners who are protesting against the curtailment of flights; all those who, openly or clandestinely, are fighting for freedom, work, bread and culture, for a speedy end to the brutal regime of oppres-

sion. The Communist Party hails the successes achieved in uniting the working people and the nation.

Every day new sections of the population are joining in the struggle. They are gradually going over from a passive to an active resistance, thus strengthening the people's confidence in their own strength. The enormous social potential latent in the people is already making itself felt, which, the moment the mass movement reaches its peak, will put an end to the fascist nightmare. The concerted and coordinated struggle and its enhanced militancy provide an actual confirmation to the militant spirit of our whole people.

We must now give a fresh impulse to the struggle and unity of the masses. For this it is essential to promote ties between the anti-dictatorial political and social circles, increase the number of unity committees which have sprung up all over the country to tackle concrete aims, strengthen popular organizations and set up at various levels, above all at the grass roots, coordination and mobilization mechanisms that will make it possible to unite millions of Chileans in the struggle for the just demands and vital aspirations of the people.

The vast majority of Chileans can and must join in the struggle for higher wages, against dismissals and the threat of dismissal, for jobs for the unemployed, credits for the peasants, a differentiated approach in admission to higher schools and free tuition for the children of poor parents, against cutbacks in customs tariffs for imports leading to the ruin of new industrial enterprises, and for other demands.

The struggle against the repression and torture still practised by the DINA-CNI, for ascertaining the fate of the "disappeared" and for their salvation, for the restoration of public freedoms, respect for human rights and return of the exiled remains on the agenda and has an enormous mobilizing force.

The campaign against the constitutional trickery of Pinochet and Ortuzar, against the new sham plebiscite and for the convocation of a constituent assembly can and must become the starting point for mobilizing and rallying all the forces opposed to fascism and seeking a democratic alternative.

The fascist dictatorship has been in existence for five years and eight months thanks to the terror and aid on the part of U.S. imperialism and the finance oligarchy, as well as the continuous support of the top military. They are responsible for this state of affairs, and this should make them stop to think and change their position. Other factors have also contributed to the present situation. The policy of the Carter administration and the contradictions in evidence in the top

echelons of the tyranny have engendered unwarranted hopes among broad circles of the opposition, objectively dulling the edge of their struggle and slowing down the movement for democratic unity. Beyond all doubt only the Chilean people themselves — having discarded these illusions — can make Pinochet go and his dictatorship fall.

History has shown that no tyranny can remain in power if the entire nation is set in motion. The thousand-year-old empire in Iran had the unlimited support of U.S. imperialism, possessed powerful armed forces and a police force vying in brutality with the DINA. Yet the broad popular struggle swept that empire out of existence. It is not in doubt that the fascist Pinochet regime, too, will be thrown into the dustbin of history. The recent May Day demonstrations in Chile reverberated across the world. They have shown that our people have not been subdued and will smash fascism to smithereens.

The disaffection and struggle of the masses, denunciation of the regime at home and abroad have impelled the dictatorship to modify its tactics in an attempt to appear less brutal. Yet the regime continues its repressions for without them fascism cannot exist. Simultaneously, some freedoms, however limited and inadequate, have been won thanks to the coordinated struggle of the democratic forces. On more than one occasion these forces have compelled the tyranny to abstain from the use of one or another repressive measure.

But we must not deceive ourselves. Pinochet, who has compromised himself by his anti-popular and anti-national policy, has no intention of returning the country to democracy, for that is incompatible with the very essence of his regime, with the entire system he has set up.

This is why his draft of the constitution or constitutional status is directed not at normalizing democratic life, but at institutionalizing fascism.

The Pinochet dictatorship has turned Chile into a paradise for the imperialists and the oligarchy and into a hell for the people. A few live like princes, wallowing in luxury. The bulk of the people, however, suffer from all kinds of privation. Low wages and mass unemployment have led to a sharp increase in the number of those who live in extreme poverty. All these are phenomena that do not depend on the will of the tyranny alone. The application of its economic model requires further curbs on wages and the existence of a huge army of unemployed.

The illegal payment of millions of dollars to Anaconda and Ken-

necott and other multinationals, the reprivatization of practically all state-owned enterprises, denationalization of the banks and big industrial enterprises, which the Popular Unity government had included in the public sector of the economy, the return of millions of hectares of land to their former owners all add up to show that the Pinochet tyranny was set up and exists for the sole purpose of serving the interests of imperialism and the oligarchy. These "kings" are compelling the tyrant to do their bidding with the aid of their "pawns."

The so-called law on the Indians, which is intended to eliminate the Mapuche communities, the plan to destroy the Chiloe forests, encouragement of speculation in land near the big cities, handing the irrigation systems over to private ownership, restrictions on the state-owned railroads and the National Airlines, fostering the growth of private hospitals and polyclinics are also measures favoring the development of business activity designed to convert Chile into a capitalist paradise.

This explains not only the anti-labor and anti-popular character of the Pinochet dictatorship, but also its anti-patriotic and anti-national content. Whatever the tyrant may say about being guided solely by the interests of all Chileans, and for all his twaddle about patriotism, in reality he is nothing more than a pawn and lackey of imperialism and the oligarchy.

In countering all this, our people are waging a firm and vigorous struggle for the right to bread and freedom, for progress and the independence of their homeland. In this struggle no one can hold aloof, no one can remain neutral. All Chileans who aspire to democracy and who believe in the grandeur of their country, must have a fitting place in this struggle.

The Communist Party urges them to recognize the workers' and popular organizations as the bulwark of this struggle. It calls on the most militant and conscious working people to join its ranks. Guided by the immortal teaching of Marxism-Leninism, the party of Luis Emilio Recabarren, Elias Lafertte, Pablo Neruda has never spared and will not spare any effort in the struggle to liberate its people and its homeland from the fetters of oppression, poverty and backwardness.

The Communist Party is resolutely in favor of unity in the struggle against Pinochet and fascism.

First and foremost, we communists are working for mutual understanding and for joint action by all organizations of the working class,

including those whose leaders have one way or another compromised themselves by cooperating with Pinochet but are now inclined toward other positions. The working class is the most forward-looking and battleworthy force of society. The significance of its struggle cannot be overestimated. Recent actions in defense of trade union rights have forced the regime to make some concessions, though it continues the policy of repressions. The powerful mass actions for economic, social and political demands and international solidarity can and must help the working class to bridle the dictatorship and achieve fresh and significant victories. As it develops, this struggle will be joined by ever new sections of the population. The proletariat will establish firm ties with them, based on joint actions and alliances.

Once again we point to the importance of mutual understanding with the Socialist Party. We believe that the difficulties besetting it will not stand in the way of reaching such an understanding and will not weaken the forces involved in the struggle against fascism.

We believe that it is to be everlasting credit of Popular Unity that it was a program-based alliance of the Communist, Socialist and Radical parties, the Worker-Peasant MAPU, the MAPU and the Left Christian parties. We call for the maximum possible cohesion of this alliance.

We reaffirm our stand in favor of reaching agreement between the Popular Unity, the Christian Democratic Party and all those who are opposed to the dictatorship.

We favorably assess the drawing together of the people and the armed forces. We want the armed forces to know the truth about the communist, Popular Unity and other opposition forces who are not seeking revenge but a return to freedom and democracy. For this it is essential for the democratic circles to extend their contact and dialogue with the officers, NCOs and men. We want them on their part to adopt an acceptable position that would facilitate the country's return to a progressive regime. Such a regime should meet the fundamental interests of the nation.

The Catholic Church has a big role to play in the battle for human rights. The suffering of the people and the need to defend their gains and rights have brought about new relations of friendship and mutual understanding between the Catholics, Marxists and rationalists. The different philosophies espoused by these trends have not been and will not be an insurmountable obstacle to an understanding between all progressive Chileans. Unity of the people does not mean that

anyone should renounce his views. It implies a search for mutual understanding with respect for the concepts of each side.

Progress has been made in evolving common criteria for resolving political, social and economic tasks in the period following the overthrow of fascism. Conditions are maturing for putting an end to the tyranny and arriving at an agreement on the kind of democratic regime to be established after its abolition.

Popular Unity urges the creation of a widely representative democratic provisional government, comprising above all Popular Unity, the Christian Democratic Party and, of course, representatives of other circles, including the military.

The Communist Party considers that healing the split between the democratic forces, which has been the hallmark of political developments in recent times and which objectively favored the advent of fascism, will help to eradicate it, to put the country on a democratic footing and to implement the required structural changes. Hence the need for precisely such a government.

Popular Unity is re-elaborating the program which brought the government of President Allende to power. It takes account of the experience and new requirements of the country now living under fascism. The refurbished program of Popular Unity should give a clear prospect of democratic development and changes in the direction of socialism.

Moreover, it is essential to draw up a minimum program of unity of all the opposition forces, providing a basis for their common actions at present and in the future, irrespective of what kind of government will come to power after the tyrant's downfall.

In our opinion, this program should provide for full respect for human rights, restitution of trade union rights and democratic freedoms, a firm policy to uproot and destroy fascism, ascertainment of the fate of the disappeared, punishment of those responsible for crimes which are qualified as crimes against humanity, return of the property confiscated from the workers' organizations, parties and individuals, return of exiles, rehabilitation of industry and agriculture, higher wages and measures to eliminate unemployment, a housing program, development of education and health care to satisfy the most urgent needs of the masses, saving of public expenditures and their redistribution, and credits to boost production. The program should envisage control over inflation and measures aimed at reducing it. It is essential to put a stop to corruption, to restore the public sector by expropriating the big monopoly enterprises, to return to the

peasants the land that had been given to the big latifundists. This program should provide for the convocation of a constituent assembly to draft a new constitution and new legislation, and to define the policy and objectives of the Armed Forces. The working people and the people as a whole should be broadly involved in the administration of state affairs and in the management of industry and the services. The program should envisage a foreign policy aimed at establishing close fraternal and friendly ties with neighboring countries, with all the Latin American peoples, at a return to the Andes Pact, restoration of relations with the socialist countries, solidarity with all the peoples fighting against imperialism, friendship with all peoples, and world peace.

The Pinochet dictatorship has wiped out practically all the progressive gains of many generations and previous governments and plunged the majority of the population into poverty. It is impossible to restore these gains, and living standards of the masses, or to revive the democratic regime on a sound basis, free of past errors, in just a few days. The solution of these tasks requires enormous effort, time and the close cooperation of all the nation's forces, both civilian and military.

During the reconstruction period, the bourgeoisie will as usual attempt to restrict the rights of the working people, to make them give up their demands and to bear all the hardships. On the other hand, there are extremist groups which insist that all the people's problems be solved overnight. The working class and popular masses will never accept the policy of the bourgeoisie, but will at the same time act from positions of realism and responsibility. Convinced of this, the Communist Party evaluates as realistic the search for accord between all forces taking part in the national revival, especially as long as a coalition government has not yet been formed and they are forced to work in extremely difficult circumstances.

Seeking to prolong the regime's existence, the fascist dictator is drawing an apocalyptic picture of Chile after his departure, predicting general chaos and an atmosphere of revenge. He tries to represent the popular struggle, which is increasingly acquiring the character of a movement for democracy, as an attempt by politicians to realize their nefarious aims. At the same time, he claims that all the country's misfortunes are due to them. This is a brazen lie, demagoguery and politicking, the art of which the dictator has mastered to perfection. The truth is that politics is an activity linked with public affairs. Our first great politicians were O'Higgins and other founders of our home-

land. Moreover, Chile is known in Latin America as a country where over a period of 150 years parties and politicians created a republic and democratic institutions, which were then destroyed by fascism. All this must be restored. We are passing through a period of transition between a protracted stage when the people are valiantly defending their rights and resisting the terroristic onslaught of the tyranny, and a new phase of struggle, when they will take the initiative in their own hands. Many difficulties have yet to be overcome. There is a certain degree of disunity, even fear, among our forces. But all this can and will be surmounted.

Humanity is advancing toward freedom and progress, peace and socialism. Notwithstanding the support extended them by imperialism, the fascist and despotic regimes will be wiped off the face of the earth. Our heroic Chilean people, enjoying the invaluable solidarity of the working people and progressives throughout the world, will regain freedom and lead our homeland along the road of independence, democracy and social justice.

This is the future we are fighting for. To this struggle we dedicate our patriotism, revolutionary spirit, capacity for action and our profound belief in victory.

Communist Party of Chile
Abridged
Santiago, May 1979

AGAINST THE PERSECUTION OF COMMUNISTS, IN DEFENSE OF DEMOCRATIC FREEDOMS IN COLOMBIA

Open letter from the Communist Party of Colombia to the country's democratic forces and progressive opinion in Latin America.

We appeal to all democratic and revolutionary forces to display the most active solidarity with the people of Colombia.

The principal feature of the situation in the country is the contradiction between the forces of the people that are gaining in strength and the reactionary circles which have recourse to repressive measures to block the way to effective democracy.

To impede the start of democratic changes, the putschist circles in the armed forces have set up a military council to fabricate a dossier against the Communist Party on the basis of provocateurs' statements and "confessions" obtained under torture.

This is the way a major provocation has been organized in flagrant violation of basic constitutional guarantees. The names of outstanding leaders of the CPC, among them comrades Alvaro Vasquez, Jesus Villegas and Roso Osorio, members of the CC CPC Secretariat and prestigious and experienced leaders of the masses who have been tested in the struggle of our people, have already been included in the dossier.

On the basis of false "evidence" obtained under torture in the barracks, a political campaign has been launched to reinstitute punishment for dissent, to step up persecution of ideological opponents and to mount a McCarthy-type crusade against progress, democracy and freedom in Colombia.

The architects of this policy are taking preventive measures against the growing consciousness of the masses, against the resurgent struggle of the Latin American peoples.

But this process is facing powerful resistance. The policy of the Colombian government, pursued under pressure of the most aggressive military circles, which in turn act on orders from the U.S. Embassy, is being increasingly criticized both at home and abroad. The Forum in Defense of Human Rights has become the supreme expression of the aspiration for democracy in our country. This aspiration has been manifested so eloquently and forcefully that no public or political force in the country could remain on the sidelines, without expressing its attitude to the Forum, whether negative or positive.

Such is the situation in Colombia. Forces are gaining in strength in the country which advocate a democratic change, the beginning of a dialogue and renunciation of the authoritarian "solutions" imposed for 30 years on the pretext of the continuing state of siege.

It is the advance of these forces, which once again forcefully asserted themselves during the massive May Day demonstrations, that compels the organizers of the spurious military councils to speed up realization of their plans. That is why the name of Comrade Gilberto Vieira is now being mentioned with reference to "new investigations" that are conducted with the aid of despicable physical, political and moral compulsion, as the alleged "organizer" of the armed peasant struggle in Colombia.

Thus the putschists not only chose the Communist Party as their target but are intent on strengthening the emergency measures of the so-called "security statute," which has become the object of nationwide criticism.

General Camacho Leyva, the "father" of the repressive plans, who had the temerity to announce new projects for bolstering the "security statute," is facing vigorous opposition. In the circumstances he and his followers have to resort to open provocations in conducting the new offensive against the people.

At a time when the political forces are registering for the 1980 election campaign and are demanding a lifting of the state of siege, the putschist circles in the armed forces intend to retaliate by jailing people.

It should be noted that Defense Minister Camacho Leyva has chosen precisely the time when the head of state is preparing to go abroad, to begin curtailing the democratic gains.

We call for immediate action to frustrate the putschists' plans.

The name of Comrade Gilberto Vieira, leader and veteran of the Colombian proletariat, was selected as the object of new attacks by those who are out to plunge Colombia into the abyss of a dictatorship.

In attacking Comrade Vieira the putschists among the military want to create a situation that would obstruct democracy and stop the process of progressive changes now developing everywhere in Latin America, and as concretely embodied in the Caribbean.

That is why the aggressive designs represent an open challenge to the democratic forces of Colombia. Those who seek to outlaw the Communist Party will inevitably have to do battle not only against it, but against our entire people. This false step of General Camacho Leyva and his instigators from the U.S. Embassy will inevitably turn into a new defeat for them.

Central Executive Committee,
Communist Party of Colombia

Bogota, May 10, 1979

Abridged from *Voz Proletaria*, May 10, 1979

THIS IS NOT THE TIME TO SIT BACK

Statement of the CEC, CP of Canada

Canada has entered a period of increasing political instability. A Conservative minority government has replaced the Liberal government while the NDP has increased both its popular vote and number of seats. In these developments one can see a tendency toward both the right and toward the left in Canadian political life.

A basic factor in this turnover was a chauvinist anti-French backlash in English-speaking Canada which the Tories used to come to power. Clark's opposition to the right to self-determination of the French-Canadian people stimulated this backlash and at the same time signalled the fact that powerful monopoly interests in Canada were determined to "put Québec in its place."

No more important in deciding the outcome of the elections was the widespread dissatisfaction of Canadians with the economic and social policies of the Trudeau government expressed in ever higher inflation and growing unemployment. The Tories played upon this situation in the most demagogic way while in fact advancing policies calculated to strengthen monopoly while placing the burden of the crisis on the backs of the working people. The Tory victory was helped by the fact that monopoly interests in Canada and the media which it controls decided to make the Conservative Party its "preferred party." The overwhelming majority of the media switched from support of the Trudeau government to all-out support for the Tories. It played a decisive role in ensuring victory for the Clark government. It can be expected that the monopoly interests which backed the Tories will expect their pound of flesh, all at the expense of the working people of Canada.

Notwithstanding monopoly's efforts at preventing a mass breakaway from the two-party system, it was unable to completely achieve this objective. Through the efforts of the trade union movement, inadequate as it was, and of the democratic forces, the NDP was able to increase its votes and seats and become the balance of power in Parliament. However, its failure to advance a consistent anti-monopoly position and a tendency to veer to the right undermined the potential which was there to increase NDP seats particularly in the main industrial centers of Ontario.

Added to this is the fact that the working class has not yet broken

away from the parties of monopoly, or from big nation chauvinism in English-speaking Canada. The NDP, by its incorrect position on the national question made it possible for chauvinism to penetrate the working class and thereby made it easier for the Tories to gain their support in this election. Notwithstanding the above, the basic fact remains that the NDP is now the balance of power in Parliament. This created certain possibilities for the working class and democratic forces to advance an alternative program to the crisis policies of monopoly and to check the drive to the right providing it unites its efforts and correctly combines parliamentary and non-parliamentary mass political action.

The Communist Party throughout the election campaign strove to achieve three main objectives. First, prevent a shift to the political right. Second, help strengthen the positions of the working class and democratic forces in parliament. Third, strengthen the positions and influence of the Communist Party and increase the percentage of its vote. In a general sense these objectives were achieved. At the same time it must be noted that the vote for candidates of the Communist Party continue to remain low despite the changing attitude of working people to our party. The cold war attitudes of the past are receding and this is a positive development which is not to deny that prejudice, anti-communism and anti-Sovietism all continue to play their negative role.

However in this election the working people were faced with concrete choices — vote for Trudeau because they did not want Clark. Vote for Clark because they did not want Trudeau. Vote NDP because they did not want either Trudeau or Clark. In this kind of polarization, smaller parties are negatively affected and this was in fact the case in this election. Moreover, despite some minor improvements in media coverage of our party and its electoral program, it still had to contend with a countrywide blackout.

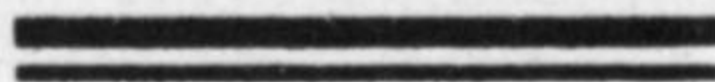
Notwithstanding these difficulties the party conducted a hard-hitting campaign. Candidates and party members worked around the clock to bring our position to as many people as possible. One and a half million copies of our platform in both French and English was distributed. The efforts of this political campaigning will “pay off” over the next period of time in new recruits, new readers for the press and increasing influence for the party.

We are now entering a new stage of the struggle. Canadian politics is in a state of flux. Another election is possible within the next two years unless a coalition of sorts is brought into being by either the

Tories or the Liberals. Clearly the working class and democratic forces, including our party, need to prepare for this. The election results have not changed the basic issues confronting the working people and the country as a whole. The achievement of a truly united Canada on the basis of the right to self-determination of both nations and full equality incorporated in a new made-in-Canada Constitution remains as crucial as ever, indeed is underscored in face of the forthcoming Québec referendum. The issue of resources and of energy under public ownership will become more acute. The issue of Canadianization of the economy and of jobs, of inflation, prices and living standards, of peace, SALT II, disarmament and withdrawal from NATO and NORAD, all these remain at the heart of the political struggle today. What is decisive is the united fight back of the working class and democratic forces and the unleashing of powerful mass movement on all these fronts so as to protect the gains of the working people, advance the struggle for democracy, and prevent monopoly from unloading the costs of the crisis on their backs.

This is not the time to sit back. It is a time for united action and for ever stronger and more effective work by our party.

Central Executive Committee,
Communist Party of Canada



JOINT DECLARATION OF THE UNITED PARTY OF HAITIAN COMMUNISTS AND THE DOMINICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

On May 15, 1979, a delegation led by Narciso Isa Conde, General Secretary of the Dominican Communist Party, met with a delegation led by Rene Theodore, General Secretary of the United Party of Haitian Communists.

The two delegations held an in-depth exchange of opinion on the situation in their countries and put it on record that U.S. imperialism is trying to strengthen its dominant position there. This is expressed in tightening U.S. control over their economy and in the imposition of veritable political tutelage. A sign of this evolution is the economic integration of Puerto Rico, Haiti and the Dominican Republic being effected under the aegis of U.S. capitalism. Indeed, the markets of these three countries are being unified; suggestions to this effect were made by the U.S. ambassadors to the Dominican Republic and Haiti during a meeting with the Dominican authorities at Santiago de los Caballeros.

In view of the present domination of foreign capital, integration can only benefit U.S. imperialism and will undoubtedly lead to greater exploitation of the two peoples and make them more dependent on the United States. To carry out an integration fostering the social progress of both countries, it is necessary that their peoples' national wealth be restored and that real national sovereignty be re-established.

The two delegations examined the condition of Haitian agricultural workers in the Dominican Republic.

Stressing that living and working conditions in the Dominican Republic are marked by exploitation and capitalist oppression and recognizing the limitations of the relevant agreement concluded by the two governments, the delegations take a positive view of the articles relating to Haitian workers. However, they note that the agreement will remain a dead letter for as long as its implementation depends on the arbitrary practices of officials appointed by the Haitian government and paid by Dominican sugar refineries. Everyone knows that these officials have been instructed, among other things, to deduct

part of the workers' hard-earned wages for the benefit of the Duvalier family and to keep them under police surveillance. In view of poverty, brutal exploitation and the unsanitary conditions in which these workers have to live, the Dominican government must — if it wants its prestige saved — proceed to effectively implement the agreement, using every means at its disposal.

Both delegations insist that Haitian workers in the Dominican Republic be granted the right to organize and to freely elect their representatives in the enterprises. This is the only measure likely to guarantee the actual implementation of the agreement.

As regards the meeting due in the near future between Antonio Guzman, President of the Dominican Republic, and Jean-Claude Duvalier, President of Haiti, both delegations note with concern the Dominican government's tendency to give in to the political pressure and police claims of the Duvalier family dictatorship. A very short time ago two Haitians who had fled to the Dominican Republic — Dolcine Dorce and Charles Monestime — were arrested by Dominican authorities for their anti-Duvalier activity. Several other Haitian refugees were persecuted and threatened with imprisonment or deportation. Moreover, steps were taken to ban the formation by Haitian refugees of political organizations to fight against the Duvalier dictatorship. This is confirmed by a communiqué of the Secretariat of State for the Interior and Police.

Such steps differ in no way from those taken by earlier reactionary Dominican governments; they seem to indicate that the secret agreements signed at the time are still in force.

The only manner in which the Dominican government can prove that it does not support these agreements is to do the following during the forthcoming talks with President Duvalier:

- insist that the Haitian government release, bring back or at least account in public for the disappearance of Delmont Choloute, arrested in the Dominican Republic under the regime of Joaquin Balaguer and extradited to Haiti;

- ensure complete publicity of the talks and the resultant agreements;

- abrogate all secret agreements still in force;

- recognize by a public act the trade union and political rights of Haiti's working people and the political exiles living in the Dominican Republic.

In accordance with the line approved by congresses of both parties, the two delegations decided to act together in order to bring about a

broad solidarity movement in the Caribbean countries and force the Duvalier dictatorship into repealing the anti-communist law of April 29, 1969. Haiti is the only Caribbean country having such a law; it is also the only one of the seven Caribbean countries where the existing Communist Party is outlawed.

Following the above line without fail, the two delegations reaffirm their solidarity with socialist Cuba, which U.S. imperialism still subjects to an economic blockade, with all the peoples of the world fighting against imperialism, and more particularly with the peoples of Latin America who find themselves under the heel of fascist dictatorships.

Lastly, they reaffirm their solidarity with the Vietnamese people, who have suffered so many aggressions and are still threatened by the expansionist claims of the Chinese government, but who earnestly seek peace, national independence, the rehabilitation of their country and well-being.

The delegations of both parties reaffirm the militant solidarity uniting the communists of Haiti and the Dominican Republic in the struggle for real democracy, for independence from imperialism, for peace and fraternity between the working people of the two countries, for progress and socialism in the lands of Dessalines and Duarte, Gregorio Luperon and Antenor Fermin, Jacques Roumain and Freddy Valdez, Orlando Martinez, Jean-Jacques Ambroise and Jacques Alexis.

Abridged from *Hablan los Communistas*, May 18-25, 1979

FROM THE PRESS

EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND SOME URGENT PROBLEMS OF EUROPEAN POLITICS

The public and political quarters in Western Europe have lately given a lot of attention to the forthcoming elections to the European Parliament. From June 7 to 10, 180 million people in nine countries will be given an opportunity to choose members of the now elective institution of the European Economic Community, which is commonly referred to as the Common Market.

It would be appropriate to recall here that the European Economic Community (EEC) was set up in 1957 when six countries — France, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, Netherlands and Luxembourg — signed the Treaty of Rome. Britain, Ireland and Denmark joined the EEC in 1973.

The European Parliament was formed simultaneously with the EEC. Its members have so far been nominated by the Parliaments of the member-states.

Now a new step has been taken to promote West European integration: the European Parliament is to be elected by universal and direct suffrage. Out of the total of 410 seats, 324 go to France, West Germany, Britain and Italy (81 seats each), and the remaining 86 seats are divided between the other member-states.

The establishment of an elective European Parliament is undoubtedly designed to enhance the authority of that political organ of the EEC, as this would signify approval of further European integration and more active coordination of the foreign and internal policies of the Nine, the countries ruled by big capital. This is something which the ideologues of "European integration" need badly.

The point is that the more than 20-year-old history of the EEC has failed to produce an encouraging picture of universal "prosperity" within the framework of the Common Market. True, the leading industries controlled by big monopolies have taken advantage of integration and managed to deepen the division of labor. Their profits have increased. But this is only one side of the coin. The other can be

illustrated by the following figures: more than six million jobless (almost a threefold increase compared with the early 1970s): a 20 to 50 per cent, and in Italy a 60 per cent rise in cost of living; decay of vast economic regions and a number of industries; recurrent monetary crises; reduction of expenditures on social programs. This is what "prosperity" has brought to the mass of people.

Flouting all forecasts, the differences between the EEC member-countries have sharply intensified and the class and exploitative essence of state-monopoly integration has become even more obvious. In view of the just resentment of the broad working masses to such a "European construction," a need arose to get a kind of "people's mandate" for it. This is the main reason why it was decided now to resort to universal and direct elections to the European Parliament.

Another reason is the desire of the ruling circles in the EEC countries to make up, at the political level, for the actual delay in the integration process in the economic and social spheres.

The third reason results from public protests owing to the fact that more and more substantive social and economic problems are decided by the so-called "Eurobureaucrats" and the Common Market departments which are beyond control by any elective bodies. An elective Parliament is designed to give an appearance of democracy to the EEC's political institutions.

These are the motives behind the elections to the European Parliament.

Whatever the motives, one has to take into consideration that an elective European Parliament will constitute a new factor in European politics, a factor on which different circles pin their hopes. Time will show what role it will play.

The Soviet Union treats West European integration as an objective reality. The main thing that interests the Soviet public at this stage is what positions this Parliament will adhere to on questions of vital importance to the peoples — the deepening of détente, strengthening of international security and the termination of the arms race. And this, of course, will largely depend on the alignment of political and party forces in the European Parliament.

The course of the election struggle reflects the contradictions peculiar to the state-monopoly integration, which is one of the forms of the international concentration of industrial and financial capital. The working people show a natural desire to get representatives into the European Parliament who could defend their interests there in counteracting the onslaught of the monopolies. The national and transna-

tional corporations, on the contrary, will seek to use the European Parliament and other EEC bodies to reinforce their positions and multiply their profits, in particular by way of shifting the effects of the crisis onto the working people.

Contradictions between the interests of individual countries also show themselves in the course of the election struggle. The history of the Common Market is a history of an unceasing struggle by its participants for more favorable conditions of production and marketing. Guided by these considerations, some speak out against bestowing supranational functions on the European Parliament, as well as the EEC bodies in general. Others — the FRG, for example — advocate, on the contrary, a considerable extension of its prerogatives, thinking that this will benefit the strong West German monopolies.

The communist parties of the Common Market countries have joined actively in the election struggle. They held several multilateral and bilateral meetings on the most controversial issues of the integration process, and defined a number of important stands for the election campaign. In July 1978, in Luxembourg, a consultative meeting of these Communist parties reached agreement that they would strive for concerted action based on the documents of the 1974 Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the Capitalist Countries of Western Europe.

The Common Market countries' communist parties assess differently the significance of the EEC for their peoples and hold non-identical positions on the elections to the European Parliament. Their main slogans and evaluations of the development prospects and potential of the EEC also differ correspondingly. But, irrespective of these differences, all of them resolutely expose the anti-people policy of monopoly capital, call for solidarity against the stranglehold of the monopolies and unemployment, defend the democratic rights of the working people and stress their determination to counterpose the line of the monopolies with their own course — for a Europe of peace, democracy, cooperation and social progress.

Accepting West European integration as a reality, the communists of a number of countries endeavor to counteract also through the European Parliament the forces in the EEC which intend to use the integration processes for anti-socialist purposes, for increasing pressure on the working masses, for deepening the division of Europe and impeding the détente.

The communists come out against the idea of turning the EEC into

a supranational institution which would manipulate the interests of the peoples of Western Europe so as to suit big capital. They demand the promotion of international cooperation with strict respect of the national interests and of national independence.

The socialist and social-democratic parties constitute an influential force in the Common Market countries. Their positions on key economic and political problems of West European integration do not coincide on all the points, however. Nonetheless, they have formed a special union on the eve of the elections to the European Parliament and count on establishing a strong parliamentary fraction. It is sometimes even said that the socialists and social democrats can win parliamentary majority.

In the summer of 1977 the Social-Democratic Union made public its draft election platform. But when the participating parties began discussing it, none of them approved the draft. After long debates it was decided to reduce everything to a short election appeal to the voters which was compiled on the basis of the "political statement" adopted by the Brussels conference of the socialist and social-democratic leaders in June 1978.

The "statement" spelled out a rather vague demand on turning Western Europe into a "social community" and on the need for "changing its economic and social structures" so as to free man from exploitation, dependence and want. But the socialists do not say how all these goals can be reached when monopoly capital and the transnational corporations hold a dominant position in the EEC.

The foreign policy section of the "statement" is more clearly laid down. The social democrats come out in favor of converting the EEC into a factor of peace, furthering political détente and supplementing it with effective agreements in the field of military détente.

There is a strong sentiment in some social-democratic parties in favor of turning the European Parliament into an institution with supranational functions. But this stand is not shared by all. The British Labour Party, for instance, shows a considerable degree of restraint in this question.

The conservative and liberal parties of the Nine have also created their own associations for the election struggle. The election platforms of the right-wing parties contain provisions which can considerably damage the détente and cooperation in Europe, apart from the fact that they are aggressively anti-communist in character. These provisions are designed to counter the growing influence of com-

munists and other progressive forces and prevent political developments in Western Europe from taking a leftward turn.

Elections to the European Parliament are certainly a concern of the peoples and political and public forces of the EEC member-countries. Nonetheless, they cannot be seen outside of the context of the Helsinki agreements, which apply to the whole of Europe and which determine the norms of peaceful coexistence throughout the continent.

Against this background, one cannot but take note of the fact that even in the course of the election struggle attempts are made to circumvent the interests of the détente in Europe. The matter at issue is the attempt to draw West Berlin into the elections to the European Parliament. Article 29 of the Law on the election of West German deputies to the European Parliament, adopted last year, provides for the inclusion of three deputies from West Berlin in the list of West Germany's MPs, along with its own deputies. What is more, in accordance with this law, the West Berlin deputies are to participate in the European Parliament as deputies from West Germany.

But this contradicts the relevant four-power agreement. Indeed, the pivotal provision of the 1971 Quadripartite Agreement is that West Berlin is not a part of the Federal Republic of Germany and will not be governed by it. Therefore, the approach to it as a constituency of the FRG, as one of the Federal Lands (provinces) of West Germany, can only be qualified as a serious violation of the Quadripartite Agreement — an important factor of European détente. The attempts to draw West Berlin as an appendage of the FRG into the process of state and political integration of Western Europe, to extend the EEC's jurisdiction to cover that city, are incompatible with its special status.

Actions of this kind only play into the hands of those who would like to freeze, or even to loosen, undermine, the accords reached at Helsinki.

Legitimate anxiety is also caused by the attempts of certain EEC circles — both in the recent period and in connection with the trend toward the Common Market's political integration — to establish relations with China (relations that are dangerous for the cause of universal peace) on the basis of anti-Sovietism, clearly to suit the interests of NATO.

It is possible, however, that representatives of the political forces which show a realistic approach to questions of peace, security and détente will carry considerable weight in the European Parliament. It will depend largely on the activity of these forces their honoring of

their commitments — commitments that are important for Europe as a whole — whether or not the reactionary forces succeed in turning the European Parliament into an instrument for whipping up international tension.

The intensification of the struggle between the two trends in European politics, characteristic of the elections to the European Parliament, imparts exceptional significance to the endeavor to rally all the forces of peace and democracy of Europe. In the circumstances, the idea of European cooperation in all areas and at all levels becomes ever more pressing.

The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe has created a favorable basis for deepening political détente and spreading it to the military sphere, for developing mutually advantageous contacts between all the European countries and peoples. The attempts to undermine the trends that took shape at Helsinki, including those being made within the framework and with the use of West European integration, cause anxiety among all those who cherish peace and who do not wish a return to the cold war.

The years of détente have shown that the peoples of Europe want and are able to live in an atmosphere of mutual understanding and cooperation. The Soviet Union has vigorously opposed and continues to oppose any attempts to deepen the division between the European countries, to intensify confrontation between the Western part of Europe and its socialist sector. Such attempts run counter to the principles of peaceful coexistence and the policy of détente. And these principles today are the only possible and reasonable basis for relations between states with different social systems.

I. Alexandrov
Pravda, May 24, 1979

NATO HAS NOTHING TO DO WITH DEFENSE

The people of 15 countries in Western Europe and North America have recently been asked to observe 30 years of increasingly massive spending on arms. They have been asked to honor 30 years of tensions, fears, crises, curtailed social services, and disruption of normal relations among nations. The bizarre kind of anniversary marked three full decades since the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was set up.

On May 14 the anniversary of another, somewhat parallel event will be observed: the founding of the Warsaw Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation and Mutual Assistance, referred to in the Western capitalist media as the Warsaw Pact.

NATO is the unification, under a central command, of the military forces of the Western capitalist powers. The Warsaw Treaty unifies in a similar way the armed forces of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries of Eastern Europe. Confrontation between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty countries has existed so long that a generation has grown to maturity in the West thinking of it as a built-in feature of international life. Older generations have lived with it for so long that they have tended to forget its origins or its development.

From its inception, NATO has been justified by its chiefs as being the necessary response to the "Soviet threat," i.e., the alleged threat of the Soviet army, joined with the armies of other socialist states, supposedly sweeping in conquest across all Western Europe. The specter of such a "threat" has been kept in garish colors before the people of NATO countries for every day of the past 30 years.

The truth of the matter has tended to be obscured by the mists of 30 years of cold war, arms race and vast propaganda. NATO chiefs prefer such obscurity. It helps them to make the claim, continually enlarged upon by the Western capitalist press, that NATO has been a defensive reaction to the Warsaw Treaty. NATO and its ever bigger arms budget have been and are needed far into the future to meet the military threat of the Warsaw Treaty, say the NATO chiefs.

Actually, the truth is very much different. *NATO was set up six years before the Warsaw Pact was established.* In essence, it was the military wing of the U.S.-devised Marshall Plan, the central aim of which was to set back the strong left-wing trend that was developing in Western Europe as a consequence of the defeat of fascism in World War II. The NATO military treaty completed the shattering of the

wartime anti-fascist alliance with the Soviet Union and arrayed the capitalist powers in an aggressive alliance against socialism.

NATO came into being when the U.S. was the sole possessor of the nuclear weapon, and when calls were being made by such leaders of the Western alliance as Winston Churchill for this decisive weapon advantage to be used to force the Soviet Union to its knees.

Original members of NATO were the U.S., Britain, France, Italy, Canada, Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, Portugal, Norway, Denmark and Iceland. In 1952 Greece and Turkey were added, thus extending the military alliance across the southern borders of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Finally, West Germany was first organized as a separate state and then brought into NATO in May 1955.

It was not until this final step of making a rearmed West Germany a member of an imperialist military alliance aimed at the socialist states, within a decade after the barbarous nazi armies had been driven from ravaged Soviet soil, that the Warsaw Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance was signed on May 14, 1955. It unified the armed forces of the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Rumania and Albania (Albania ceased its participation in 1961 and withdrew formally in 1968 under Chinese Maoist influence).

The Warsaw Treaty was nothing more than a defensive response to the organization and aggressive expansion of NATO. It was founded in reaction to the Cold War atmosphere being whipped by the Western powers, in which a "preventive war" against the Soviet Union was being freely advocated by top U.S. military brass, in which a program of "rolling back" socialism was being proclaimed, and when Radio Free Europe and other CIA-funded agencies were beaming calls for revolt into socialist countries and promising NATO support for uprisings. As early as 1949 the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff were drawing up the notorious "Dropshot" war plan for nuclear attack on the Soviet Union. On October 27, 1951, there appeared the incredible issue of *Colliers* magazine wholly devoted to a blueprint of a nuclear war on the Soviet Union, to occur between 1952 and 1955, in which an estimated 42,000,000 Soviet citizens would be killed and socialism obliterated.

Establishment of the Warsaw Treaty served as a major obstacle to the military schemes and "roll back" aims of NATO. This was due not merely to the military strength of the socialist countries that it embodied but also to the vigorous proposals for peace and disarmament that the Warsaw Treaty alliance began to put forward.

In May 1958 the Treaty organization's leading body, the Political Consultative Committee, met in Moscow and decided to *reduce* the armed forces of the treaty members. Between the date of founding and 1958 a total of 2,477,000 men were cut from those forces. Simultaneously the Warsaw Treaty countries proposed a non-aggression pact with NATO. The proposal was rejected.

This was but one of a steady series of proposals and urgent calls from the Warsaw treaty for the reduction of armed forces of both sides in Europe and for the elimination of the confrontation. In 1969 the Warsaw treaty countries initiated the call for a conference on European security and cooperation. This was repeatedly put forward, evoking a wide response from the people of Western Europe and eventually from their governments, and finally leading to such a conference that opened in Helsinki in 1973. *The Helsinki Agreement on European Security and Cooperation, signed in 1975, was the result of patient, persistent effort by the socialist countries, throughout which the NATO countries tried in every way to discredit the proposals and to erect obstacles to their fulfillment.*

NATO's attitude to the peace and disarmament proposals of the Warsaw Treaty is best seen in the enormous and constantly escalating arms budgets that the Western powers have adopted, always at U.S. insistence. In NATO's first year 1949, these totalled \$18.7 billion. By 1954, even before the Warsaw treaty came into being, these had more than tripled, to \$56.3 billion. In 1970 they amounted to \$104.3 billion. When talks on the Helsinki Agreement began in 1973, NATO was spending \$121.6 billion on arms. Instead of diminishing or remaining constant in response to the major step toward détente that the Helsinki Agreements signified, NATO arms spending has soared to unprecedented heights: in 1978 it hit \$189 billion, more than 50 per cent higher than in 1973. All told, between 1949 and 1978, the people of NATO countries have been made to shoulder \$2,572 billion in arms costs.

No sooner had the ink dried on the Helsinki Agreement than a new and more virulent campaign by NATO leaders set in to wreck détente and to attain military supremacy over the socialist countries. President Carter's cynical use of "human rights" to distort and overturn the Helsinki understandings has been exceeded by the NATO shrill propaganda about a "Soviet threat" and about a Warsaw Treaty "build-up."

On October 21, 1977, the Soviet Union put forward a set of proposals that included a commitment to no first use of nuclear weapons, no

expansion of either NATO or the Warsaw Treaty, no conducting of military exercises by either side with more than 50,000 to 60,000 troops, and a broadening of military confidence-building measures. These proposals were rejected out of hand by NATO with the excuse that "the right of self-defense" should not be "restricted."

The U.S. concept of "unrestricted self-defense" was illustrated by the intensive campaign, in which strident "Soviet threat" imagery was used; to win approval by its NATO partners for the neutron weapon to be stationed in Central Europe. This campaign failed, due to mass opposition in NATO countries. However, in 1977 the U.S. succeeded in pressuring the other NATO countries to boost their arms spending by 3 per cent each year until 1985.

Soviet First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs G.M. Kornienko, in a statement on January 26, 1979, quoting numerous statements by U.S. secretaries of state, defence secretaries and President Ford, who have admitted from 1973 to the present that there is a balance and a parity of NATO-Warsaw Treaty forces in Central Europe, said:

"Since those times the Soviet Union has not increased its forces in the area by a single soldier or a single tank. No one can challenge this fact. At the same time the strength of American forces in Europe, according to data published in the U.S. itself, went up by 17,900 troops in 1977 and by another 16,900 in 1978.

"After all this the West tries to allege some 'disproportions' in favor of the Warsaw Treaty countries and insists under this pretext an asymmetrical reductions in favor of the NATO countries. This is a strange and, frankly, hopeless line."

As Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev said in June 1978: "We are ready at any moment to sign an agreement in Vienna to reduce the level of armed forces and armaments of the two sides in Central Europe, by 5, 10, 20 or even 50 per cent."

No statement or proposal has ever come from NATO councils or from its individual member governments urging reduction of armed forces or arms budgets or taking the initiative for measures of détente. Acceptance of Warsaw Treaty peace proposals has only been reluctantly made when it was obviously politically inexpedient not to do so, as in the case of the Helsinki Agreement, but this has invariably been followed by concerted efforts to resume the arms race in pursuit of the will-o-the-wisp of gaining strategic and tactical superiority over the socialist states.

In May 1978 the NATO Council met and decided, chiefly a U.S. insistence, on an unparalleled long-range program of beefing up

NATO armed forces, a program in utter contradiction to the aims of détente for which NATO government heads have been compelled to express endorsement. *Leaning on the most strident assertions about a "Soviet menace," NATO has proposed to modernize and enormously strengthen its military potential, in all spheres, over a period lasting until the end of the 20th century.*

It is proposed to boost arms expenditure by \$80 billion by 1993, when the NATO arms budget would go beyond \$250 billion annually.

Along with the massive NATO military build-up that is in progress, which rings ominously like preparations for actual war, is occurring such trends as that enunciated by U.S. national security advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski in the March issue of the journal *NATO's Fifteen Nations*: *"It is clear that nations in the NATO alliance will have to pay increasing attention to what is happening outside of the treaty area itself. For example, crises in the Middle East, Persian Gulf, the African horn, and southern Africa can vitally affect the interests of our countries."*

NATO chiefs have also been looking in another direction outside their treaty area, toward China, which General Haig has referred to as NATO's "16th member." Supply of arms to China and concepts of a NATO-China strategy have been discussed in NATO councils.

The aggressive dreams of NATO, however, have always exceeded the realities that have confined its ambitions. Today its chiefs are looking over their shoulders at the disintegration and extinction of the other two treaty areas erected in the cold war days against the socialist countries and national-liberation movements; the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) and the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO). *These fell apart because the member countries themselves and their people came to view them as against their national interests.*

Within the NATO alliance itself discord has continually arisen. France withdrew from its military commitments in 1966. Greece partially withdrew in 1974, in deep conflict with its NATO partner, Turkey, which itself closed U.S. bases on its soil.

Five NATO members have failed to fulfill the U.S.-pushed agreement to increase arms spending by 3 per cent yearly to 1983 — Denmark, Greece, Turkey, Italy and Netherlands. In Belgium, Netherlands and Norway public opinion is strongly against the deployment of nuclear weapons, and in West Germany strong forces within the present government oppose the U.S. scheme to station nuclear missiles on its territory.

Fears are constant in NATO councils over the coming of communists into the governments of West European countries, especially in Italy and France. The current fear is that a neutralist trend will develop in West Germany, which relies heavily on trade with socialist countries.

After 30 years of aggressive aims and plans the NATO alliance remains as far, if not farther than ever from carrying out its anti-Soviet anti-socialist country programs. It remains, however, as a great hazard to peace, and an even greater drain on the resources and economic well-being of its member countries.

Only the persistent, patient, undeviating peace policies of the Soviet Union and of the Warsaw Treaty alliance, and the building of their defenses at great sacrifice that has interfered with their more rapid construction of socialism, have barred NATO from embarking on its war aims. If peace has been maintained and détente has begun it is because the aims of the Warsaw Treaty have coincided with the desires for peace of the peoples of the NATO countries. It is this essential alliance for peace that extends across military blocs that will assure the bankruptcy of present NATO schemes and the eventual dissolution of military treaty organizations themselves in Europe.

William Pomeroy

Abridged from *Daily World*, May 10 and 17, 1979

NEW CRACKDOWN ON URUGUAYAN COMMUNISTS

The Uruguayan dictatorship has carried out a new repressive operation. The scale of the operation is comparable to the crackdown on Uruguay's communist organization in October 1975.

The communiqué released by the authorities says that they have arrested 48 members of the "clandestine network" of the CPU. Among the arrested are leaders of district organizations of the capital, Montevideo, and of Cerro Largo and Canelones, labor leaders, bank and government employees, employees of the ANCAP oil company, the telephone service, the leather industry, construction, ports and the food industry.

The communiqué announces the arrest of Adolfo Drescher Caldas, trade union leader and party member, whose detention was de-

nounced earlier by the democratic forces. However, it says nothing about the arrest of another 300 communists, including Juan Diakakis. The imprisonment of Leon Lev, leader of the Union of Young Communists, is admitted for the first time.

Massive arrests among Uruguayan anti-fascists began in January, shortly before General Luis Queirolo took over as Commander-in-Chief and General Hector Linares Brum, then Minister of the Interior, was transferred to the post of commander of the country's most important military zone. These two men are the principal figures behind the repressive action.

The whereabouts of the democrats seized by the political police are unknown. What is certain is that they are in for torture. Uruguayan political prisoners lack all guarantees, for they are at their jailers' mercy. "Save the life of Leon Lev and hundreds of kidnapped patriots," says a handbill circulated by anti-fascists.

The dictatorship does not seem to have had enough although it is holding 6,000 opponents (4,000 of whom are communists) behind bars, although 80,000 Uruguayans have passed through its prisons, very many of them undergoing tortures, hundreds of people have died in prison and hundreds more are "missing," and hundreds of thousands have been barred from public office on account of their political convictions.

The fact is that the dictatorship is not backed, any more than in the past, by any political party, and that after five years the structural crisis has put the country on the verge of economic disaster. Uruguay is one of the world's most indebted countries today; its balance of trade is affected with a permanent deficit and the inflation rate this year will be as high as 70 per cent.

The past year has seen political struggles inside the regime among *aperturistas* ("liberalizers") and extremists. The latter have won the upper hand for the moment, but as CPU General Secretary Rodney Arismendi has stated, "the dictatorship is still weak and will have to resort to new 'liberalizing' maneuvers in an attempt to expand its political basis and improve its international image." This makes anti-fascist unity all the more necessary.

Guido Vicario
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