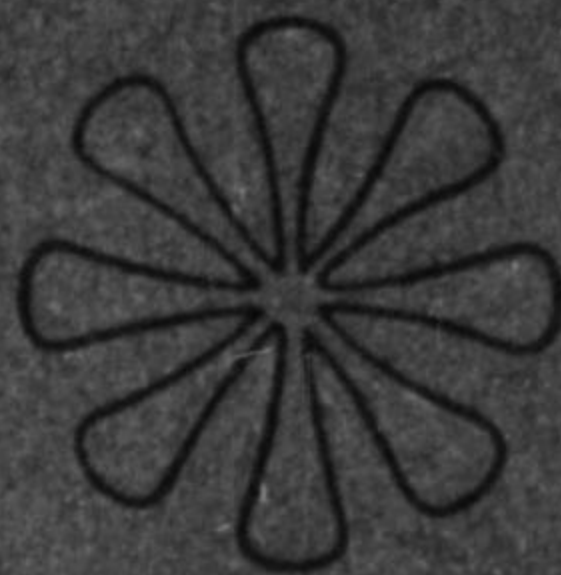


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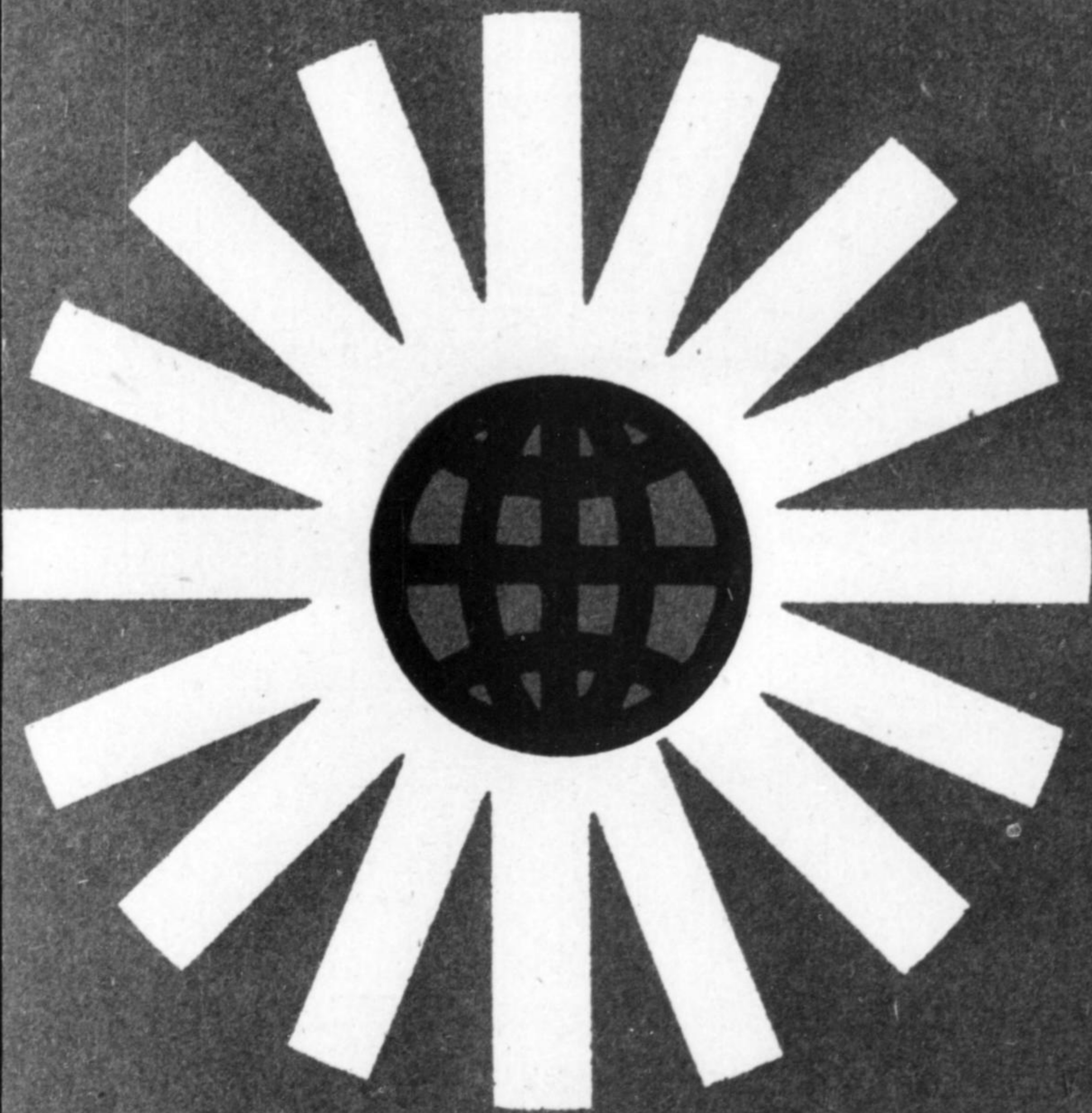


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GISCARD MEET**

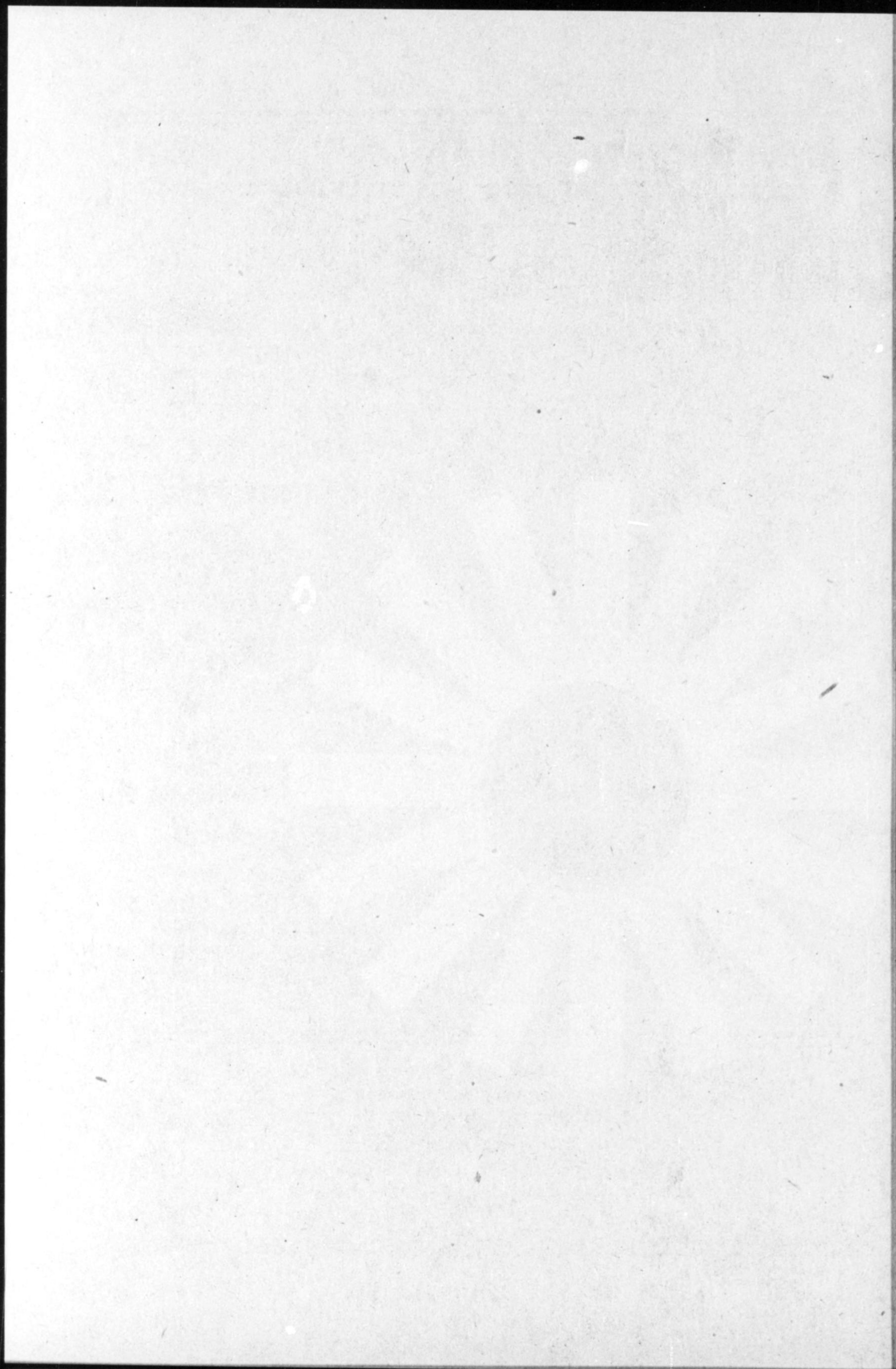
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**MONGOLIA**

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**AFGHANISTAN**

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## LEONID BREZHNEV MEETS VALERY GISCARD D'ESTAING IN MOSCOW

Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU and President of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and President Valery Giscard d'Estaing of France, met for talks in the Kremlin on April 27.

During the talks Soviet-French relations and their future prospects were discussed. It was noted that the French people are favorably disposed toward the Soviet Union, just as the Soviet people entertain friendly feelings toward France. The sides expressed the common viewpoint that the prospects were good for expanding mutually beneficial ties between the Soviet Union and France in the political, trade and economic, scientific and technical, cultural, and other spheres, and mutual understanding was reached on a number of practical aspects of Soviet-French cooperation. During the talks the French side emphasized that France is following an independent policy, which was met with full understanding by the Soviet side.

Much attention was paid at the talks to the policy of détente. It was noted that the Soviet Union and France were the trail-blazers of détente and that Soviet-French cooperation has been the pivot of this policy for the second decade now. The sides discussed events and actions that benefited this policy, or were detrimental to it. They noted with satisfaction the enormous significance of active cooperation between the Soviet Union and France both in deepening the détente and in developing it, and in enhancing its vital force.

Leonid Brezhnev and Valery Giscard d'Estaing expressed their resolve to promote friendly Soviet-French relations and to continue raising the role of mutual cooperation in the interest of both peoples, in the interest of détente in Europe and throughout the world.

Leonid Brezhnev and Valery Giscard d'Estaing discussed a wide range of international problems.

Examination of the problems of ending the arms race and some concrete aspects of disarmament were at the center of the discussion. They stressed that broader mutual understanding between the Soviet Union and France on this crucial issue would help to strengthen international trust, and to go over to real disarmament measures.



They also discussed the Middle East situation in the light of the present events, which engender international tensions and the deep concern of many peoples and states. The discussion revealed the approximation of views of the Soviet Union and France and their striving to help establish a just and stable peace in the region.

President Valery Giscard d'Estaing of France gave a dinner in honor of Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU and President of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, on April 27. Addressing those present, Leonid Brezhnev said:

#### **FROM THE SPEECH BY LEONID BREZHNEV**

Esteemed Mr. President,  
Comrades,

Thank you, Mr. President, for your kind words about our country and the Soviet people. It is a pleasure to be visiting the French Embassy once again and to experience French cordiality and hospitality.

Though our talks have not yet been concluded, I believe we can assess what has been achieved already today.

New vistas are opening up in cooperation between our countries. That is the main result. The documents born of this meeting cover our relations in diverse fields. But they all have one thing in common: advance along the road of cooperation.

I want to emphasize particularly the program of furthering cooperation between the Soviet Union and France in favor of peace and the détente, which is being drafted. The adoption of such a program will be a very important political milestone, one could say, a milestone marking a new stage. We are not only consolidating everything positive achieved by us in common over a decade and a half. The Soviet Union and France are prepared to do more. They set themselves identical or close aims and want to cooperate actively for the sake of a peaceful future for their peoples and for all humankind.

A series of other important agreements on which negotiations are nearing conclusion will further stabilize and enrich diverse Soviet-French ties, including those in trade and the economic sphere.

We consider it important that despite the different shadings of opinion, which is only natural, both our countries seek to help eliminate the seats of tension and conflict. Unfortunately, their number has not diminished.

This applies particularly to the Middle East, where the conse-



quences of aggression against Arab states and peoples have not yet been eliminated. The recent separate Middle East deal is anti-Arab in character. A sober analysis would show that not a single mine in this explosive zone has been defused, nor could it have been.

On the whole we have every reason to be gratified with the results of the Soviet-French summit meeting as well as with our personal contacts, Mr. President. We would like in future, too, to search and find agreement with France, a country that is close to our hearts. Let our agreements be embodied in good deeds for the benefit of our peoples, for the benefit of Europe, for the benefit of universal peace.

The talks continued on April 28.

Attention focused on developments in Europe. Leonid Brezhnev and Valery Giscard d'Estaing emphasized that the Soviet Union and France will continue along the course of consolidating European security and extending the détente to other continents as well. In this connection they reaffirmed the historic importance of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the consistent realization of its principles and agreements by all participants.

They also dealt with the situation in some other parts of the world. Both sides expressed their resolve to continue exerting vigorous efforts to help avert and eliminate the existing seats of tension, settle unresolved international problems, restore peace in regions of conflict and to prevent the emergence of new ones.

The talks ended with agreement on important questions of interest for the Soviet Union and France and the drawing up of corresponding accords and documents.

Leonid Brezhnev and Valery Giscard d'Estaing held the concluding meeting on April 28.

In the course of the ensuing talk, which took place in an atmosphere of trust, sincerity and broad accord, they discussed some key international issues and the furthering of relations of cooperation and friendship between the Soviet Union and France.

Leonid Brezhnev and Valery Giscard d'Estaing expressed the conviction that the fruitful character and important results of the new Soviet-French summit talks would serve the interests of peace and détente and help to lessen the war danger.

#### **FROM THE SOVIET-FRENCH COMMUNIQUE**

The talks and negotiations were marked by a spirit of great cordiality and mutual respect which is traditional in relations between the



Soviet Union and France, between the Soviet and French peoples.

Attention concentrated on examining urgent problems from the viewpoint of taking further steps to avert war, to consolidate détente in Europe and the whole world, and the need to stop the arms race and achieve disarmament, eliminate seats of tension and consolidate international security and trust between states. Broad mutual understanding was reached on the questions discussed.

A thorough exchange of views also took place on the main direction of furthering bilateral Soviet-French cooperation in concrete spheres.

Much attention was paid to economic relations between the two countries. The sides noted with gratification the growing importance of new forms of economic and industrial cooperation.

The sides agreed to continue their efforts to promote economic relations on a stable and long-term basis. The work of the permanent joint Soviet-French commission will be highly important in the realization of this goal.

It was noted with satisfaction that the interested organizations and enterprises of both countries concluded large contracts for equipment for gaslift oil extraction, equipment for the production of plant protection chemicals, equipment for the production of automatic telephone stations, equipment for the hot-rolling of pipes and automated information processing systems for TASS.

The sides attach much importance to the realization within acceptable time limits of industrial cooperation between the USSR and France on new large-scale projects, particularly the participation of French enterprises in the construction of Soviet industrial projects in metallurgy, including an aluminum complex on a compensatory basis, automobiles, chemicals, petrochemicals, electronics, including information and computer equipment; and the development of natural resources in the Soviet Union.

They also stressed the importance of expanding the supply of Soviet equipment for French enterprises.

The sides highly assessed the present trade, economic and industrial cooperation between the Soviet Union and France, and noted with satisfaction that the set goal of tripling trade in 1975-1979 compared with the preceding five-year period will be reached.

Fully resolved to promote Soviet-French economic relations, the sides agreed to take all the necessary measures to ensure a further substantial growth in trade on a balanced basis in the 1980-1985 period compared with the previous five years with the aim of achieving on



the whole the average development rates of the above-mentioned five-year period.

In examining the present scientific and technical cooperation, the sides declared that they would seek to raise it to a higher level and to expand it and, wherever possible, to link it with industrial and economic cooperation.

The sides noted the successful development of cultural exchange and cooperation between the countries and in particular expressed satisfaction that the exhibition 'Moscow-Paris' will be held shortly.

In the framework of Soviet-French cooperation in space research, the Soviet side proposed that a French cosmonaut take part in one of its space flights. The French side expressed gratitude for this proposal, the realization of which would make it possible to carry out a number of joint research projects. The French side declared that it would study the proposal in a positive spirit.

The talks resulted in the adoption of documents determining the prospects and direction of developing long-term Soviet-French relations.

Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU and President of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and Valery Giscard d'Estaing, President of the French Republic, signed a program for promoting cooperation between the Soviet Union and France for the benefit of the détente and peace.

They also signed:

A long-term program of promoting economic, industrial and technical cooperation in 1980-1990.

An agreement on economic cooperation in 1980-1985.

Signed also during the visit were:

An agreement on measures to improve the direct communication line between the Kremlin and the Elysée Palace;

An agreement on the study of the Russian and French languages;

An agreement on scientific, technical and industrial cooperation in computer technology and electronics;

An agreement on cooperation in the research of the world ocean.

It was decided to prolong till 1990 the agreement on developing economic, technical and industrial cooperation concluded on October 27, 1971.

Leonid Brezhnev and Valery Giscard d'Estaing expressed the conviction that the Soviet-French summit meeting had been useful and served to develop friendship and cooperation between the USSR and



France in the interest of consolidating peace and security in Europe and throughout the world.

President of the French Republic Valéry Giscard d'Estaing invited CC CPSU General Secretary and President of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Leonid Brezhnev to come to France on an official visit. The invitation was accepted with satisfaction.

#### **STATEMENT TO THE PRESS BY LEONID BREZHNEV**

The Soviet-French summit talks were concluded today and we have every reason to be satisfied with the exchange of views with President Giscard d'Estaing. We have done a large amount of useful work. The negotiations and talks proceeded in a businesslike and cordial atmosphere.

The current Soviet-French summit has brought about very important results, results marking a definite stage. It led to the signing of important documents and agreements: the program for the further development of Soviet-French cooperation in favor of détente and peace. Apart from drawing up the guidelines for promoting the policy of international détente, they point out concrete ways of achieving this goal.

This is something new in international relations. Just as in the 60s and 70s the USSR and France were the pioneers of the détente, and together with other states were active in its affirmation, so today, too, they have reached agreements which in the present world climate promote the détente.

Of course, our views were not identical on all the discussed questions. And the sides, apparently, did not expect them to be. But broad mutual understanding was reached on most of the issues discussed.

A number of agreements relating to diverse spheres of bilateral cooperation were concluded. This reaffirms that Soviet-French relations are developing on a sound, stable basis and the prospects look good.

The prospects of immediate and longer-term cooperation between the Soviet Union and France have become clearer and more secure. This will certainly meet with the approval of the Soviet and French peoples. It is, apparently, generally realized that cooperation between the Soviet Union and France helps to lessen the threat of war and to strengthen international security and the détente.

It has been gratifying for me to once again meet with President Giscard d'Estaing of France, with whom, as with his predecessors



— General de Gaulle and President Pompidou — we had established good personal contact and good mutual understanding.

The Moscow summit meeting has demonstrated the vital force of cooperation between the USSR and France, which rests on the traditional friendship between the Soviet and French peoples.

*Pravda*, April 29, 1979

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## UPHOLD AND DEEPEN THE DETENTE

From the speech by Yumzhagiin Tsedenbal, First Secretary of the MPRP Central Committee, at the CC plenary meeting in Ulan Bator late in April 1979.

The great Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are applying maximum efforts to strengthen and deepen the détente and to halt the arms race.

The socialist-community countries consider their supreme foreign-policy goal to be the total elimination of the threat of world war and ensurance of a lasting peace on the Earth. Hence the fraternal socialist countries' constructive course and numerous initiatives for the solution of urgent, crucial problems of our time in the interests of peace and progress of the peoples.

It is thanks to the initiative and vigorous efforts of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries that the détente has struck deep roots in Europe and continues to develop despite the stubborn resistance put up by the forces of imperialism and reaction.

At the same time one cannot fail to see that the intensified plotting by the imperialist, Zionist and great-power hegemonistic circles has recently led to events that are poisoning the international atmosphere in general, and of that in Asia in particular.

The forces of reaction and imperialism are still trying to torpedo the détente. They are stepping up the arms race, which is the material preparation for war. This, however, does not imply that imperialism and the circles aligning with it will be able to throttle the détente, to revert the peoples to the cold-war times. The steadily growing might and beneficial impact of existing socialism, as embodied by the Soviet Union and the other socialist-community countries, which play a truly historic role in consolidating peace and universal security, are a dependable guarantee against this.



It is common knowledge also that détente is an objective process resulting from the development of international relations and that it is essentially based on the world balance of forces which favors the champions of peace, democracy, national liberation and social progress.

The aforesaid, far from excluding, presupposes and requires that all people of good will intensify their struggle to further the positive principles of the détente, above all by curbing the arms race and adopting effective measures for disarmament.

The Mongolian People's Republic holds that in such a vital area as ensuring a world without arms, crucial importance attaches to an early and successful conclusion of the talks on a new Soviet-U.S. treaty on limiting strategic offensive weapons. The conclusion of SALT-2 will undoubtedly serve to strengthen the security not only of the peoples of the Soviet Union and the USA, but of all humanity. This step toward limiting the further stockpiling of the most destructive and costly types of weaponry will create a favorable basis for their subsequent reduction and give a new impulse to the disarmament talks that are now under way. This, of course, will benefit the political situation on the world scene in general.

The peoples of the world are closely following developments in the vast Asian continent, which have led to the emergence of new elements, both positive and negative, that determine their present complex, contradictory character.

The people's democratic revolution in Afghanistan, which marked the beginning of a new, bright life for the Afghan people, will shortly be celebrating its first anniversary. This revolution, which was carried out by the Afghan people under the leadership of the People's Democratic Party, is committed to putting an end for all time to feudalism, oppression, ignorance and poverty.

The People's Democratic Party, Revolutionary Council and government of Afghanistan, relying on the support of the working people, are successfully implementing socio-economic and cultural reforms and other democratic changes.

The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is pursuing a consistent peaceful foreign policy based on the principles of positive non-alignment, respect for independence, territorial integrity and non-interference in internal affairs. The people's government is firmly defending the revolutionary gains of the Afghan people and takes a stand for stronger friendly relations with all peace-loving countries, and in support of peace and the security of the peoples.



The consistent implementation of deep-going socio-economic changes by the People's Democratic Party and the people's government of Afghanistan, and the successes achieved on this basis are being fiercely resisted by the class enemies — the feudal beys and reactionaries of every hue. The Afghan counter-revolutionaries, leaning on support from the outside, are out to obstruct the constructive efforts of the Afghan people and to hamper the country's advance toward progress and democracy.

China's ruling clique has also taken the side of those who seek to intimidate the young Afghan republic. Only three decades ago the Chinese people themselves waged an armed struggle against their oppressors. Today their honor and dignity have been smeared by the Chinese ruling circles who pay lip service to the peoples' national-liberation struggle while actually helping the Afghan counter-revolutionaries, supplying them with weapons, combat equipment, etc.

The Afghan working people are firmly rebuffing the reaction and counter-revolution. They are firmly and courageously surmounting difficulties and vigilantly upholding their revolutionary gains, drawing on the support and solidarity of the socialist states and of all progressive forces.

The Afghan people have much in common with the history of our people, with their endeavor to build a new life. The Mongolian people invariably side with the freedom-loving Afghan people and cherish sincere feelings of friendship and solidarity for them. Significantly, Mongolian Culture Days are being held in Afghanistan during the first anniversary of the people's democratic revolution. This important political and cultural measure will undoubtedly highlight the mutual understanding and friendly relations existing between our peoples.

I take this opportunity to convey, on behalf of the people and government of the Mongolian People's Republic, warm congratulations to the friendly Afghan people on the occasion of the first anniversary of the people's democratic revolution and to wish them a peaceful and prosperous life and big successes in building the foundations of a new society.

Important changes have also occurred in the life of the Iranian people. As a result of the anti-shah, anti-imperialist revolution an Islamic Republic of Iran has been proclaimed.

The Khmer people have won a historic victory under the leadership of the Kampuchean United Front for National Salvation. This victory



dealt a strong blow above all at the policy and ideology of Maoism. The tragedy of Kampuchea, which came under the influence of the Maoists, showed the fatal consequences of following the anti-popular policy of the ruling clique of China. After the debacle of the pro-China regime in Kampuchea, the Maoist leadership of the PRC is out to mislead world opinion and to represent the Kampuchean people's victory as 'aggression by Vietnam.'

The imperialist circles and the ruling clique of China which is closely allied with them cannot resign themselves to the fact that the positions of socialism and democracy have grown stronger in Asia.

The armed aggression launched by the Chinese rulers against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam showed that Peking is prepared to go to all lengths to achieve its great-power hegemonistic and expansionist aims.

China's aggression against Vietnam has fully exposed the aggressive substance of the present PRC leadership's policy. The peoples have seen for themselves what a policy of hegemonism and expansionism really signifies, and the serious threat it poses for the security of the peoples not only of Southeast Asia, but of the whole world.

The entire measure of responsibility undertaken by policy-makers who tacitly or openly aid and abet the reckless adventurist course of the Chinese hegemonists has also become fully obvious.

The Peking aggressors, like the U.S. imperialists, suffered an ignominious defeat in Vietnam owing to the vigorous rebuff of the courageous Vietnamese people leaning on the fraternal aid and support of the socialist countries and the worldwide solidarity movement.

In this connection special mention should be made of the vast importance of the all-round assistance extended to Vietnam by the Soviet Union, which is consistently meeting its commitments under the Soviet-Vietnamese Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation.

The Mongolian people have always sided with the heroic Vietnamese people, fully supporting their just cause — defense of national independence and the sovereignty and territorial integrity of their motherland.

The Mongolian working people warmly hail the constructive efforts and initiatives of the Communist Party and government of the SRV in eliminating a seat of tension in Southeast Asia in the interests of strengthening peace and security in the region and throughout the world. The perfidious attack against Vietnam, like the unceasing saber-rattling at its borders, has fully dispelled the myth that China is a 'defender' of small and medium states. Moreover, its ruling circles are



now stepping up their intrigues against the Laotian People's Democratic Republic, Kampuchea, Afghanistan, India and other Asian states.

Peking's direct military preparations and provocations against the LPDR, its flagrant interference in the internal affairs of Kampuchea, subversion and incitement against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan are a clear manifestation and a component part of its strategy of establishing its hegemonism and supremacy in the world and, above all, in Southeast Asia.

The policy and actions of China's ruling circles show that there is no guarantee that they will not launch new military ventures designed to realize their expansionist aims. This signifies that every state bordering on China can become the victim of its leaders' aggressive actions, especially since China makes territorial claims on most of its neighbors. The Maoists are still holding the Indian territory they seized in 1962. They have not relinquished their attempts to annex a part of Burmese territory. Peking is supporting separatist movements in many countries in Southeast and South Asia. These facts speak for themselves. They attest to the serious threat the Chinese leadership's policy represents to the independence and territorial integrity of Asian states, to peace and international security.

Bourgeois ideologues allege that socialism can be a source of war, that Maoist China's armed aggression against Vietnam is nothing else but a 'war between two socialist countries.' Is there any truth in this?

Socialism and aggressive war are incompatible concepts.

The aggression against socialist Vietnam was committed by a state whose leaders have long since trampled on the principles of socialism and have joined hands with forces that are hostile to it.

The imperialists continue to stake on Peking's anti-Sovietism and anti-socialism in waging a struggle against existing socialism, in establishing close relations and entering into an alliance with the present Chinese leadership.

The Chinese leaders, for their part, have completely broken with Marxism-Leninism, with the ideas and principles of internationalism. Both their domestic and foreign policy has long since lost its class, socialist essence.

Guided by their narrow self-seeking, chauvinistic aims, the ruling circles of Peking are taking their country farther and farther away from socialism and aggravating their relations with the socialist states. China's ruling clique, making common cause with the most reactionary, man-hating forces of our time, has openly gone over to the camp of the enemies of peace and socialism. Hence, China now finds itself



— contrary to the will and interests of its people — in the role of the closest ally of international imperialism.

In the circumstances, can China be considered a socialist state? No, it cannot, if one is to judge by the policy and practice of the Peking leadership both in the international arena and within the country. The ideology of Maoism has never been a trend with which one may or may not agree. The policy and actions of the Chinese leadership have never been the consequence of error or misjudgment, but are conducted consciously and in a planned manner. The substance of the ideology, policy and activity of China's ruling circles is struggle against the Soviet Union, against existing socialism.

The biggest blasphemy of all is that they are covering up their hostile actions by revolutionary slogans, by the banner of socialism.

The Chinese leadership's latest anti-Soviet and anti-socialist act was its decision to terminate the Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance concluded between the USSR and the PRC in 1950. This action of Peking's pursues one and the same aim — to demonstrate its hostility toward the Soviet Union and its readiness to continue strengthening its alliance with imperialism on an anti-Soviet, anti-socialist basis.

By breaking off the treaty of alliance with the Soviet Union, the Chinese leadership has virtually formalized its total desertion of the great principles of socialism.

We are convinced that no attempts, no alliance of international reaction, imperialism and great-power hegemonism can stop the wheel of history, that the policy based on anti-Sovietism and anti-socialism is doomed to failure.

The Middle East remains an especially explosive region of the globe. The conclusion, under U.S. pressure, of the so-called peace treaty between Egypt and Israel signifies the actual formation of a triple military-political alliance in the Middle East, providing U.S. imperialism with broad opportunities for strengthening its military presence there.

This separate deal is patently anti-Arab in character. It runs counter to the interests of all the Arab countries and prejudices a just, comprehensive settlement of the Middle East problem. The separate deal was the result of the capitulatory policy of Egypt's ruling circles, who took the road of betraying the national sentiments and aspirations of the Arab peoples and, above all, the Arab people of Palestine, the road of serving the interests of imperialism.

The new dangerous plot of imperialism, Zionism and their Arab



accomplices creates a very real threat to peace in the Middle East and throughout the world.

Faced with the open collusion of the imperialist, reactionary and Zionist forces, the progressive forces and peoples of the Arab countries are endeavoring to consolidate their unity and solidarity and to take joint measures against the anti-Arab Egyptian regime. The decisions of the Baghdad conference of the Arab countries' ministers of foreign affairs and the economy will undoubtedly further these aims.

The government of the MPR reaffirms its principled stand on the Middle East problem. The Mongolian people consistently support the just struggle waged by the Arab peoples to establish a firm and durable peace in the Middle East.

The Western powers have lately been once again stepping up efforts to weaken and subvert the national-liberation struggle of the peoples of southern Africa. In an attempt to put off the final debacle of colonialism, the racists and their imperialist patrons are again seeking to impose puppet regimes on the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia through the so-called general elections, to perpetuate white minority rule and to bar from power the genuine representatives of the peoples of these countries.

Along with this, the South African and Rhodesian racists are stepping up acts of aggression and armed provocations against the front-line states, particularly against Angola, Zambia, Mozambique and Botswana, which are extending aid and support to their brothers in their just struggle for freedom and national independence.

The international conference held recently in Lusaka, the capital of Zambia, condemned the intrigues of the racists and their Western patrons, which are fraught with a threat to the peace and security of the continent. The conference expressed solidarity with the front-line states and adopted an action program for aiding the national-liberation movements of southern Africa.

True to its internationalist duty, the Mongolian People's Republic invariably supports the just cause of the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa. The Mongolian working people condemn the criminal actions by Rhodesia and South Africa against the patriotic forces and freedom-loving peoples of southern Africa. Not for a moment do we doubt the futility of the various plots of the imperialist and reactionary forces. The remnants of colonialism, and the system of racial discrimination will be wiped out. The peoples of southern Africa will achieve freedom and independence, for on their side are the socialist countries and all progressive humanity.



The peoples of Asia, just as those of the whole world, aspire to peace. In the light of recent manifestations of the policy of imperialist interference, expansionism and lining up military blocs, the Asian peoples are increasingly asking themselves: how can stable peace and reliable security be guaranteed on the continent? In the present complex international situation, special importance attaches to the joint efforts and active solidarity of all the Asian states and peoples for consolidating peace and stability on the continent, for defeating the aggressive annexationist plans of imperialism and Chinese hegemonism.

Our people consider it their duty to unremittingly strengthen friendship and solidarity with all the peace forces, with the peoples of the great Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries which counter the imperialist policy of increasing tensions and hostility with a policy of waging a struggle for peace, for détente and disarmament.

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## REVOLUTION AND DEMOCRACY

An international theoretical conference sponsored jointly by the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and *World Marxist Review* was held in Budapest last April. Scholars representing communist and workers' parties of 39 countries discussed the subject of 'Revolution and Democracy.'

The speakers noted that the all-out drive for democratic transformations and the growing socio-political activity of the masses drawn into this drive were creating the conditions for achieving the socialist aims of the working class.

They convincingly showed the democratic character of the Great October Revolution and of the victorious socialist revolutions in other countries. These revolutions enabled the people to embark upon socialist construction, fundamentally altered the balance of strength in the world, and helped to consolidate democracy's international position.

In the capitalist world the revolutionary forces now have greater possibilities for drawing upon the democratic gains of the working people and on the political experience they are acquiring in the struggle against the monopolies, reaction, and national and class oppression, and in the movement to strengthen world peace. When these possibilities were analyzed, attention was drawn to the fact that the irreconcilable conflict between the class interests of labor and



capital were setting a definite limit on how far bourgeois democratic institutions could be used in the revolutionary struggle.

A comparison of views on this question made it possible to show that there was a dialectical link between the democratic and socialist tasks of the revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism. Many of the speakers noted that this link, which forms the living tissue of the unbreakable unity of the struggle for democracy with the struggle for socialism, can be brought to light scientifically only with the use of clear-cut class criteria. Further, it was declared that from the scientific point of view it was untenable to assess democracy in accordance with abstract, formal indications, without taking into account its specific social content in one or another social system.

Considerable interest was aroused by the papers read by representatives of the communist parties of some developing countries. They declared that peoples who have opted for social development following the attainment of national independence do not accept 'Western democracy' as a political model precisely because it is a bourgeois model.

The correlation between the democratic and class content of the present-day revolutionary struggle was examined at the conference in the light of the specific features of the international situation and the world balance of power. The speakers probed the prospects that were opening under these conditions for the peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism.

Nations were urged to be vigilant relative to imperialism and reaction, which were prepared to trample any form of democracy and international law if that helped to preserve the exploiting system.

Attention was drawn to the fact that today the revolutionary-democratic movement has come face to face with yet another threat from the hegemonistic ambitions and great-power, expansionist policies of China's rulers. The Vietnamese representative pointed out that the recent aggression against Vietnam had eloquently proven that China's ruling élite was hostile to both democracy and socialism.

Views were exchanged on the need for every effort to strengthen the internationalist solidarity of democratic movements and their unity with the international working class and the socialist countries.

As many of the speakers noted, the conference bore out that principled and comradely scientific discussions served the common interests of the international communist movement and helped to promote its collective theoretical thinking and to develop and enrich the theory of Marxism-Leninism.



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## **DOCUMENTS**

### **TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION**

Dear Comrades,

It moved us greatly to learn that in response to the feelings of many sections of the population of the Soviet Union, the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Council of Ministers of the USSR decided to use 75 per cent of the money earned during the nationwide communist subbotnik dedicated to the 109th anniversary of the birth of Lenin to help the Vietnamese people eradicate the effects of the war of aggression unleashed by China's reactionary rulers.

As soon as the Chinese reactionary rulers started a large-scale war of aggression against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the Vietnamese people received resolute, powerful, and timely support from the CPSU, the Soviet government, and the Soviet people. Having crushed the initial aggressive designs of China's reactionary ruling circles, our people are now concentrating their effort on surmounting the effects of the aggression in order to stabilize production and the life of the people in the border regions. The 75 per cent that you have deducted from the money earned during this year's communist subbotnik to help the Vietnamese people comprise effective assistance that is of immense significance.

This is another clear manifestation of the unshakable friendship and close cooperation between the peoples of our two countries.

On behalf of the Communist Party of Vietnam, the government, and the people of Vietnam, allow us to extend our sincere gratitude to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the government of the USSR, and the fraternal Soviet people for this assistance, which is inspired by the lofty spirit of proletarian internationalism. Allow us to wish the fraternal people further noteworthy successes, under the wise leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union headed by the esteemed Comrade L.I. Brezhnev, in the building of communism and in making an active contribution to the cause of the revolution and the defense of peace throughout the world.



May every day see the strengthening and development of the militant solidarity and great friendship between the parties and peoples of our two countries.

With communist greetings,

Central Committee,  
Communist Party of Vietnam  
*Pravda*, May 1, 1979

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## EVERYTHING THE PARTY DOES IS IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE OF AFGHANISTAN

*Speech by Taraki,  
General Secretary, CC, PDPA*

The People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan is a powerful party of the Afghan people. It ignited the flame that eliminated feudalism and other forms of exploitation, said Noor Muhammad Taraki, General Secretary of the CC PDPA and Chairman of the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, at a meeting of party activists in Paktia province on April 20.

Party work has an important role to play in the development of society. Without the party it is impossible to chart a way of protecting the workers and other working people. They cannot eliminate exploitation by themselves, without the party. Our party stands at the head of Afghan society. Its goal is to transform the social and economic life of the people in their interests. These plans have not yet been fully realized; this requires time and persistent work.

On the basis of the first five-year plan we will introduce changes into the life of society that will eliminate feudal relations, which will be replaced by relations responding to the interests of the working people. The aid and support of all Afghan working people and the unity of party cadres and the people are essential to carry out this task. These cadres should win over the popular masses and jointly thwart reaction's plans.

Our young party cadres face another task, too. They must study



and at the same time bear arms. The youth should not think it solely the duty of the military to be able to handle arms. Taraki stated: we have no enemies inside the country, the enemies of our revolution are those who do not belong to our sacred land, the foreigners, the imperialist stooges. He recalled the recent attacks against the Afghan frontier posts in the Paktia province, stressing that formerly such attacks had been launched dozens of times but were always rebuffed by the armed forces and the Afghan people.

Referring to economic issues, Taraki said: Our goal is to improve the people's living standards through a political revolution, to provide them with bread, clothing and housing.

The free distribution of land was an important event and this process is not only unprecedented in the history of Afghanistan, but in the history of all countries in the region. Our government is continuing its aid to the peasants in their struggle against feudalism to enable them to defend themselves. They need seeds, agricultural machinery, chemical fertilizers. In this connection the government has drawn up a five-year plan, according to which the Afghan peasants will be supplied with the essentials. This aid will be provided through the cooperatives. The peasants should join in cooperatives and receive what they need from the state. Taraki urged the party cadres to exert every effort to set up new agricultural cooperatives.

Regarding the actions of the reactionaries "who threaten peace in the region," Taraki stressed the need to strengthen the Committees for the Defence of the Revolution that have been set up in the country so that 'no aggressor can encroach on our sacred land.' Some neighboring countries are encouraging the reactionary circles and are preparing them for aggression and attack. But they are playing with fire. I repeat: there are no enemies of the revolution or of our motherland in Afghanistan itself. Over the past year we have arrested our enemies and opponents who possessed dollars and pounds, which shows that they are not sons of their motherland, but foreigners sent here by other foreigners.

Touching on Afghanistan's relations with Iran, Taraki noted that the shah's regime had been allied with the imperialist circles. History will never forgive it for the incredible state to which it reduced the Iranian people. The Iranian people have liberated themselves from this oppression, but, as the saying goes, landed out of the frying pan into the fire. We have many interests in common with the working people of Iran.

Referring to the actions of the reactionary circles in Pakistan,



Taraki said: We are surprised at the statements made by these circles. They claim to be truer Muslims than the Afghan Muslims. This we cannot agree with. Our activity does not run counter to the canons of Islam, our society is based on the ideology of the working class, which is not opposed to Islam. We not only respect Islam, but support it. These reactionaries are unwarrantedly accusing us of destroying mosques and killing Muslims. I repeat my invitation to Muslims throughout the world to come and see for themselves what our attitude toward Islam is.

Taraki urged the young party cadres and the people not to be reconciled with the so-called 'brothers of the devil,' those stooges of imperialism who are now resorting to new tactics. They are being sent here from Pakistan. They gather around mosques to intimidate the people, for which purpose they are especially trained.

Taraki noted further that everyone in Afghanistan must work. There is no unemployment in the country, he said. Taraki refuted the allegations of the enemies of the April revolution that women are being forced to attend courses for the liquidation of illiteracy.

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## PEACE, SECURITY AND DISARMAMENT: THE VITAL QUESTION

From the Speech by Ezekias Papaioannou, General Secretary of the CC AKEL, at the Conference of the Inter-Parliamentary Union in Prague on April 18, 1979.

The question we are discussing is a life and death question for all humanity. The world is heading for disaster unless something is done to end the arms race and implement measures for restoring confidence and gradually but surely bring about complete disarmament. It is in this spirit that the 10th Special Session of the UN General Assembly devoted to disarmament debated and finally adopted the historic document with which to realize the hopes and aspirations of mankind on this paramount burning problem of our times.

Man has reached a stage of development in which he could unleash



immense possibilities for human progress on the one hand, but on the other he could also put an end to all civilized existence.

The scientific and technical revolution in the world, which is still gathering momentum and could lead to achievements beyond imagination for the benefit of man, could also spell the very end of all human accomplishments and drive humanity back to the age of savagery. We express the hope that the SALT agreement will be signed soon between the USA and the USSR, thus making a tremendous contribution toward ending the arms race.

Who benefits by the arms race and the destruction of détente? Only the arms profiteers and those who have never put up with the idea of détente and the prospect of a lasting peace. Only those who are out to dictate their will to other peoples in their effort to plunder and pillage, for the sake of profit, lands that don't belong to them.

But all sound thinking people will agree that the days when countries motivated by monopoly or imperialist interests could impose their will on other peoples are gone forever.

All peoples of the world want to live a free, peaceful and prosperous life. Imperialism and fascism which led to the first and second world wars are hated and detested by the peoples irrespective of ideological or other political differences.

Remnants of imperialism and neo-fascism exist in certain areas of the world. War nests also exist and every now and then local wars flare up in certain areas, which puts to the utmost test world peace and security. Most recently the Chinese leadership unleashed an unprovoked war on the war-ridden Socialist Republic of Vietnam. I feel you will agree that, if it had not been for the cool-headedness and responsible manner in which the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics had acted, a third world war might have developed.

The danger of local wars developing into major or world war is always present. Therefore, the attainment of the objective of security, which is an inseparable element of peace, is not only interwoven with disarmament but with the elimination of all war nests in a manner that would strengthen peace and security in all areas concerned.

It has been stressed time and again that peace is indivisible. No one can remain indifferent to any local war in whatever continent this may be, because sooner or later the flames of such a war may spread to world dimensions.

Outstanding unsolved problems like the Middle East, Cyprus, the Far East and problems of African states fighting racism, apartheid and others must be the concern of all peace-loving and freedom-loving



peoples of the world. The Camp David agreement has not solved and never could solve the Palestinian problem or the problem of the Middle East. Only by the complete evacuation of Israeli troops from all Arab lands, by respecting the right of Palestinian people to acquire their land and set up their own independent state, could the problem be solved.

Nor can anyone maintain that the presence of foreign occupation troops in Cyprus and British sovereign base areas used now also by their allies after their forced evacuation from Iran, is not inseparably connected with the vital question of peace and security and disarmament we are now discussing. Disarmament will never be effective unless war bases on foreign lands and areas of tension are abolished, unless all foreign troops are withdrawn from countries like Cyprus, and unless freedom and independence are safeguarded.

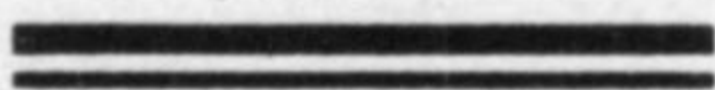
Addressing the special UN General Assembly session on disarmament, Spyros Kyprianou, President of the Republic of Cyprus, proposed 'total demilitarization and disarmament of the Republic of Cyprus, implementation of the resolutions of the United Nations, a mixed Greek Cypriot-Turkish Cypriot police force.... Cyprus is ready to make its contribution, a contribution to our people by solving our problem and, therefore, removing the causes of our drama, but at the same time removing the cause of wider friction and wider conflict in the interest of world peace and security.'

The people of Cyprus fight for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from their soil, the abolition of all foreign military bases and the complete demilitarization of their island.

We have nothing against the Turkish Cypriots and we only wish to live in full friendship and harmony with them. The common enemy of Greek and Turkish Cypriots is imperialism and foreign occupation.

Our contribution to peace, security and disarmament is a peaceful solution of the Cyprus problem by the implementation of the UN resolutions and the complete demilitarization of the island, which will put an end to a dangerous war bridgehead in the area that may well kindle the flames of a devastating war.

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## **FROM THE PRESS**

### **GREAT MOVEMENT OF OUR TIME**

Ours is a time of far-reaching social changes. The world is changing under our very eyes and it is a change for the better.

The working class, the most revolutionary of all classes, is the leader of the social revolution of the 20th century and the foremost motive force of the historic development of our time. In turn, it is led by its militant vanguard, the international communist movement, a major ideological and political force of today.

No political movement in history has gone through sharper class struggles than the communist movement. By leading the masses in these struggles, the communists have gained unparalleled experience. Life has shown that the communists' strength and advantage lies in their operating according to the objective laws governing the life of society and in their carrying out the historic mission of the working class. The scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism enables them to offer the correct solutions to challenging problems posed by history and to devise realistic ways and means of solving them with due regard to the given situation. Proper application of the theory of scientific communism on the basis of in-depth analysis and consideration of the conditions in their countries enables the communists to lead the working class and other working people to new victories as they defend their everyday interests and fight for peace and socialism. The international communist movement is the exponent of the ideals of real humanism, justice and well-being for millions. The fraternal parties — both those leading the construction and perfection of the new society and those fighting for the revolutionary transformation of the old society — are firmly in command of the historical initiative.

The current stage of the capitalist crisis brings it home to more and more people that capitalism cannot solve the problems facing mankind. However, the ideologists and politicians of imperialism understandably refuse to admit this. They are at pains to prove that mankind has no alternative to capitalism. Enormous sums are spent in an effort to discredit the communist movement, blacken it in public eyes and show that its aims are allegedly at variance with the peoples' aspirations and needs. Attempts to weaken the communist movement



include devious deliberations on differences between its component parties, said to indicate that the movement is no longer a force capable of operating in unity on a world scale. Anti-communist propaganda is so programed as to sow discord in the communist movement, disunite fraternal parties and undermine their ideological and political foundations. It makes ample use of that old provocative device: misrepresentation of the actual position of communist parties on fundamental issues of theory and practice, as well as of their attitude to one another and to the movement as a whole.

The CPSU is fighting against this anti-communist strategy resolutely and uncompromisingly. An inseparable, organic part of the world communist movement, it judges the movement as a whole in terms of its real role in world affairs and its approach to the solution of key problems of today bearing on the destiny of peace and progress.

Prominent among these problems is that of safeguarding the peoples against a nuclear world war. The communists were the first to begin the struggle against fascism by courageously assuming during World War II the leadership of the historic battle against Hitler Germany and of the Resistance. They were in the van of the international peace movement during the cold war. Now as in the past, they are in the van of the struggle against the forces of war and reaction encroaching on man's primordial right, the right to live. The communists make a tremendous contribution to the fight against the war menace. They regard the international détente won by the joint efforts of the socialist community, of all peace-loving countries, political parties and social movements, as a major achievement and a most important prerequisite of continued struggle for the peoples' fundamental, vital interests, for the great ideals of socialism.

In extending the scope of their war preparations, aggressive imperialist forces expect to take revenge for the setbacks inflicted on them in recent decades by the forces of revolution and liberation. The preparations for new wars and the arms race initiated by imperialism pose the greatest threat today. Unless a halt is called to this a new world war may break out whose fatal consequences in the nuclear age are evident to every sensible person. This is why the communists call on all progressive, peace-loving forces to campaign unrelentingly against the arms race and to work for lasting détente and the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems.

The fact that world war has been staved off for more than three decades although imperialism still dominates a considerable area of the planet is evidence that the socialist community, the working class



led by its communist vanguard, and other peace forces are equal to safeguarding peace and providing conditions for man's progress.

The communists of the fraternal socialist countries carry into practice the communist movement's fundamental historic goals. They guide the development of socialist society in the most diverse conditions. The Soviet people are building communism under the leadership of the CPSU. The alliance and friendship linking together the countries of the socialist community are an important source of their all-round progress and the key condition for the maintenance and consolidation of world peace. This community exerts a deep-going positive influence on the life of contemporary society.

Every unbiased person realizes that had it not been for socialism as a reality, colonial oppression would have lasted for an indefinite period and hence the peoples' liberation struggle would have been unable to achieve such outstanding victories. Nor can there be any doubt that if the working class and other working people of capitalist countries are able to fight from their present positions and in the forms they use today they owe this largely to the new balance of world forces and to the growing impact of existing socialism on world developments. To quote Leonid Brezhnev, 'the communist movement registers outstanding gains thanks to the strengthening world positions of socialism and the national-liberation forces. Naturally, we welcome this with all our heart.'

The capitalist world, where recent decades have seen the communists make notable headway, is an arena of stubborn class battles. Fraternal parties are active in 76 non-socialist countries and have nearly five million members. In the 70's alone, their total strength increased by more than one million. Tens of millions vote for them. Communists play an active part in numerous trade union, youth, women's and other national and international organizations. Some communist parties, such as those of France, Italy, Portugal, Spain, Japan, Finland, Greece and Cyprus, have become so big a political force in their countries that the ruling circles can adopt no measure of any importance without taking the attitude of these parties into account. The desperate resistance which home and foreign reaction puts up in a number of countries to communist participation in government shows that the communist parties have won an important place in these countries and enjoy high prestige among the people.

The German Communist Party is waging a courageous fight. The communists of Denmark, Austria, Belgium, Norway and some other



West European countries steadfastly build up their influence. In the main imperialist country, the United States, the Communist Party is fighting staunchly on. The Communist Party of India firmly defends the vital interests of its people and the independence of its country. The Arab communist parties champion the interests of the working people and the honour and legitimate national rights of their countries. The Communist Party of Israel is a persevering fighter for the people's real interests, against the ruling circles' chauvinist policy.

The communists of Latin America are put to hard tests. Fascist and dictatorial regimes tried, and in some countries they still try, to destroy the communist movement in the continent through terror and brutal repression so as to rob the peoples of the most advanced, selfless and ideologically efficient vanguard in the struggle for real national sovereignty, economic independence and social progress. But there as elsewhere, the communist movement is indestructible. It goes on accomplishing its lofty patriotic and class mission. The fraternal parties of Argentina, Panama, Venezuela, Costa Rica, Colombia and Mexico are strengthening their positions. The communists of Chile and Uruguay have re-established their organizations and mobilize the masses to resist dictatorial regimes. In Paraguay, Brazil, Guatemala, Haiti, El Salvador and other countries, the communists are continuing their struggle in the harsh conditions of illegality. South America's democratic anti-imperialist movement goes from strength to strength, overcoming enormous difficulties; it is as confident of the victory of its just cause as ever.

The communists not only call the attention of society to pressing social problems but advance specific programs to solve them. They are now in a position to influence the main aspects of public life most actively and to force the ruling classes into reckoning with the working people and to take the initiatives of communist parties into consideration. Now that capitalism is in a new phase of its general crisis, now that social antagonisms are sharpening and the resistance of the working class and other working people to the monopolies' anti-popular policies is growing, it is the communists who propose steps to curb inflation and put an end to unemployment and other disasters caused by the domination of big capital. It is the communists who take the initiative of putting forward programs that are a democratic alternative to state-monopoly policies. This role of the communist parties stands out against the background of the obvious crisis of the traditional bourgeois parties, which betray their inability to cope with acute social and economic problems.



Credit is due unquestionably to the communists for their sustained struggle for democracy, whether in the sense of winning greater opportunities to fight for socialism, foiling reactionary attempts to curtail the working people's rights and freedoms or to nullify them altogether, achieving national sovereignty or bringing about real emancipation for women.

The ideologists of capitalism, Lenin wrote, cynically 'claim that the bourgeoisie have granted the working people "pure democracy" . . . ' (V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 28, pp. 458-459). Ruses of this kind have been particularly widespread in the past few years, with bourgeois politicians using the false flag of 'defense of human rights' not only to launch a slander campaign against socialist countries but to step up their attack on the elementary democratic rights of their own peoples. But whatever the pseudo-democratic disguise used by imperialism — whether the campaign over 'human rights' or talk about 'human relations' and 'social partnership' — there is no concealing the truth: imperialist policy is hostile by nature to democracy and social progress.

Vast social forces interested in the progress of their countries and in liberation from imperialist domination rally behind the working class and its Marxist-Leninist parties in the struggle for democracy.

The irresistible expansion and deepening of national-liberation revolutions is characteristic of the world political situation today.

The people's revolution has triumphed in Afghanistan. Attempts to reverse the revolutionary process in Ethiopia from without have failed. Fast-developing revolutionary events are transforming Iran. The struggle against Nicaragua's tyrannical regime is expanding. The assault on the last strongholds of neo-colonialism and racism in southern Africa is gaining in intensity. All this confirms that the communists are right when they say that the people's advance to freedom — an advance turning increasingly against imperialism — is irresistible.

There were communists among those who began the national-liberation struggle. Awakened by the Great October Revolution, the peoples of colonies and semi-colonies rose with growing determination to fight. The young communist parties that have come into being there exert tremendous efforts in line with Lenin's teachings to get spontaneous popular actions organized, raise the political level of the movements and lend them a purposeful character. Communists have been working hard to enlighten the masses by drawing them into



active struggle for complete national liberation and social renewal. The countless sacrifices made by them in the national-liberation struggle were not in vain.

The communists were the first to propose the formation of national patriotic fronts, whose vitality has been demonstrated by the course of events, and they work in these alliances with devotion. The programs followed by broad-based liberation forces at present include many of the ideas and principles invariably upheld by the communists. The communists always show readiness to cooperate with all patriotic forces against imperialism and neo-colonialism. They respect people's religious sentiments.

The communists were the first to hail the emergence of revolutionary democratic parties in a number of newly-free countries. They do not regard these parties as rivals but as comrades and partners in the struggle for the highest interests of their peoples. The communists work hard to overcome difficulties and obstacles to cooperation with these parties, obstacles which are often due to the provocative activity of imperialist forces and their accomplices. Facts registered in some newly-free countries suggest that those who disrupt relations of cooperation between national democratic and communist parties, to say nothing of those who persecute the communists, weaken the positions of those countries and objectively help home reaction and colonialist forces.

The rise of socialist-oriented countries is an important political event of our time. Communists work hard to ensure that these countries' advance along their chosen path is ever more confident and successful.

Being consistent internationalists, the communists of Asian and African countries seek closer fraternal relations with the communist parties of other countries so that these relations would strengthen the internal and international positions of young national states. The vast and varied experience gained to date confirms the beneficial impact of friendship and cooperation with the socialist countries, which strengthens the positions of young states and promotes world peace. The Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community are natural allies and friends of the peoples that have become masters of their destinies.

The communist movement is attaining greater maturity as it fights against the strong and treacherous enemy.



In resisting the communist movement, imperialism resorts to outright violence, political provocation, ideological pressure, maneuvering in social policy and demagoguery in foreign policy. It is under the banner of anti-communism and anti-sovietism that the most sinister forces of reaction have united. The authors of the anti-communist strategy see their principal task in undermining the communist parties and isolating them from the masses. They assign a notable role in this strategy to fascists, Trotskyites, renegades and counter-revolutionary emigrés.

The fraternal parties of 26 countries in the non-socialist world are still outlawed. In many countries the communists are treated as state criminals; they are imprisoned or even executed. Nor are the parties operating legally safe from repression and hounding; they cannot feel secure in conditions of bourgeois legality. West Germany's communists and other progressives are persecuted according to *Berufsverbot*, or the ban on professions for political reasons. Judicial and other provocations are used time and again against members of the CPUSA and other communist parties.

The communist parties of capitalist countries are under the mounting pressure of hostile propaganda. The mass media, which are controlled by the ruling classes, do not scruple to use lies, falsification and slander in an effort to defame the socialist countries, misrepresent communist policy, discredit the very idea of reorganizing society on socialist lines, and smear communist ideals.

The Berlin Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe stressed the need to 'isolate and defeat anti-communism' in the interest of the popular forces seeking progress and democratic development. It is important, therefore, to counteract campaigns designed to denigrate existing socialism.

The Peking leadership has become a direct ally of imperialist reaction in the struggle against the communist movement. In building up its relations with the leading capitalist powers, Peking assiduously underlines its willingness to join in the implementation of imperialism's strategy directed against the Soviet Union and the socialist world as a whole, against the international communist movement and the revolutionary movement generally. This complicates the ideological and political situation in which the world's communists are carrying on their struggle at home and abroad, and confronts them with further difficulties.

The extent of the Peking leaders' moral and political degradation, and the utter cynicism of their traitorous policy directed against world



socialism and the international communist and national-liberation movements and aimed at undermining international détente found clear expression in China's aggression against socialist Vietnam. The overwhelming majority of communist parties promptly took an explicit stand by calling the aggression aggression and condemning it. Fully aware of their responsibility for the destinies of peace, for the destinies of mankind, they emphatically demanded unconditional and complete withdrawal of the invaders' troops from Vietnam.

The fact that the communist parties have acted with a keen sense of internationalist responsibility at so crucial and dangerous a juncture was of immense importance and attested to the strength of the foundations and depth of the sources of their fraternal solidarity.

The international communist movement is being increasingly convinced that Peking's aggression is not merely another development in its reckless foreign policy but a logical expression of the present Chinese leadership's great-power hegemonist strategy and chauvinist line. It is a line of betraying the socialist cause and flouting communist ideals and principles; it is a policy serving imperialism.

Evaluating the present state of the communist movement is very important if the fraternal parties are to appreciate the results achieved by them and to decide on the tasks ahead.

The communists take a realistic view of the period through which their worldwide movement is passing, of their work and struggle, without either underrating what they have done or shutting their eyes to difficulties and to complicated problems awaiting solution. The communist parties of different countries may and occasionally do differ over the approach to one or another problem. The important thing is, as the 25th Congress of the CPSU pointed out, that they should tackle problems from Marxist-Leninist, internationalist positions so as to strengthen the unity of the whole movement, that they should examine and discuss them according to such inviolable norms as equality and respect for the independence and sovereignty of each fraternal party and action in solidarity to attain common goals. Needless to say, there can be no question of any compromise on points of principle, of reconciling oneself to views and actions contrary to the communist ideology.

A party's bid for temporary, tactical gains at the price of renouncing principles inevitably turns out to be a strategic miscalculation. Concessions to right or 'left' opportunism prejudice the positions of the working class and other working people in the ideological and political struggle against the class enemy. They mislead the masses,



weaken internationalist cooperation and are exploited by imperialism for purposes hostile to the communist movement and to the struggle for peace and social progress throughout the world.

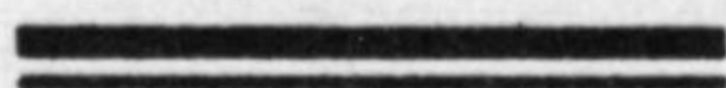
Many communist parties have become an influential and authoritative national force leading millions of working people; this is characteristic of the communist movement at its present stage. Communists prove by work and deed that they are staunch patriots and staunch internationalists.

The international theoretical conference which met in Sofia last December and was attended by 73 delegations revealed the increased desire of the fraternal parties for communication and mutual solidarity. This certainly enhances the role of the communist movement in world development, as Leonid Brezhnev has said.

Now that the capitalist world is in deep, protracted crisis, now that new opportunities emerge for the expansion of the world revolutionary process and the forces hostile to peace and socialism stick at nothing to poison and 'refreeze' the international climate, much depends on the communist parties' following a correct policy. This policy can only be based on Marxism-Leninism and its success is conditional on an international class approach to foreign and domestic policy.

The communists must be in the forefront of the main areas of historical progress and wherever the people are resisting imperialist and reactionary forces. They must be in the van of the struggle against war, of the struggle to stave off thermonuclear catastrophe. They must be in the van of the struggle to achieve the ideal of reorganizing society on socialist foundations. Committed to proletarian internationalism more than ever, the world communist movement is advancing confidently to new accomplishments.

*Pravda*, May 1, 1979





## MAOISM, BETRAYAL OF THE GREAT CHINESE REVOLUTION

The following is an extract from a speech by Gus Hall, General Secretary of the CPUSA, given March 30 at the People's School Forum which was held at Unity Center in New York.

China's military aggression has brought into sharper focus the more basic aims of the Maoist gang. The bourgeois nationalist aims of Maoism are not limited to or for the purpose of abstract 'lesson-teaching.' This is a cover for their real aims. In 1954, the Maoists published an official map that included as part of China large areas of Vietnam, Laos, Kampuchea, Malaysia, Mongolia and, of course, big parts of Siberia.

As idiotic as it may sound, the longer-range goal of Maoism is the attainment of a two-partner domination of the world. In their hypnotic, intoxicated nationalistic state they see a world dominated by U.S. imperialism and Maoist China, with some other capitalist countries such as Japan and West Germany as junior partners.

The fact is that Mao secretly made such proposals to President Roosevelt before the end of World War II. This has been the longer-range and the hidden, underlying meaning of the attempt to dominate the Third World countries. This was the meaning of the efforts to involve the Soviet Union in a war with the U.S. during U.S. imperialism's aggression against Vietnam. This has been the meaning behind the secret Chinese proposals for a U.S.-China military alliance, first suggested about 12-15 years ago. This is the meaning of Teng's provocative encouragement of a U.S. attack on Cuba. He said: 'You do in Cuba what we are doing in Vietnam.'

The Maoist gang wants to dominate Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea politically, and they have plans and cadre ready to force Pol Pot-like regimes on Burma, Malaysia and Thailand.

But more immediately, the Maoists want to annex the parts of Vietnam that contain the oil and rich mineral deposits in the mountain areas. The annexation of a few miles of the Vietnam shoreline would add a large 200-mile ocean area for oil drilling.

Both the Maoists and U.S. imperialists want to dominate the world. Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping came to the United States to get U.S. imperialism's blessing for the aggression against Vietnam — and he got it.



The aggression against Vietnam was also the Maoist way of furnishing proof that U.S. imperialism can rely on China.

And, the direction of the aggression should be obvious. The Maoist attacks are not directed against capitalist neighbors such as Hong Kong, Singapore or Taiwan. They are directed against socialist Vietnam, Laos, Cuba and the Soviet Union. The Maoists' charge that Vietnam crossed China's borders is so irresponsible, and such fakery, that it really should not need a response, except to repeat what the Vietnamese have said — that the Maoists have become the world's biggest pathological liars.

Their second charge is that Vietnam invaded Kampuchea. Let us examine what really happened in Kampuchea.

The problem in Kampuchea started right after the Vietnamese, Laotians and Kampucheans defeated the forces of U.S. imperialism.

Following that defeat and the U.S. forced-withdrawal, there was confusion, and for periods of time power vacuums existed. This was the case in Kampuchea.

The Maoists took advantage of this confusion and literally flew the Pol Pot gang from Peking into the capital of Kampuchea (Phnom Penh), and set them up as the new government.

The Pol Pot gang took over the name of the Communist Party of Kampuchea. No one had ever heard of them before they arrived. They proclaimed they were going to build socialism in Kampuchea, but instead they established their Maoist rule by mass murder of the people who had heroically fought against U.S. imperialism.

Who can now deny the insanity, the brutality of the Pol Pot clique? They were not working class or communist leaders. They became the petty, criminal puppets of Maoism. They set out to totally dismantle the nation and people of Kampuchea.

As the world now knows, they herded the people out of the cities and established agricultural prison camps; they separated families, closed down factories, all the schools, hospitals, libraries, theaters; they destroyed all printing presses, and stopped publication of newspapers and books. They did away with all money trade.

They committed mass murder of people who were for socialism and those who were communists, and the slaughtered Kampucheans were replaced by Chinese. Kampuchea was to be a part of the Chinese 'celestial empire' — a 'vassal' state.

Because of these brutal, criminal policies honest revolutionaries, working-class people, and intellectuals fled into exile, mainly into neighboring Vietnam, by the tens of thousands.



The Pol Pot army became the shock troops of the Maoist invasion of Vietnam. For years, they conducted military actions against Vietnam.

It is within this framework that one must consider the events in Kampuchea.

Did the Vietnamese help the Kampuchean revolutionary forces? Of course they did! They helped the people who became the main revolutionary force that overthrew the Pol Pot regime. They helped them economically and militarily.

Instead of attacking or criticizing, we should express our gratitude and admiration to the Vietnamese who assisted the people, the revolutionaries, the communists of Kampuchea, in overthrowing the bloody-insane dictatorship.

That the Pol Pot regime had no support, and the new revolutionary government had the full support of the people of Kampuchea is proven by the fact that the exodus of refugees that was expected across the borders to Thailand never took place. The largest group of refugees who fled Kampuchea were the Chinese who had been in Kampuchea and who helped to keep the Pol Pot gang in power.

Now the people of Kampuchea are finally free to begin the process of building a new socialist society.

I do not see the need for, nor the benefits from an abstract discussion on whether China now has socialism or not — whether it is now a socialist country or not. Many things in China are in flux. There are sharp internal struggles taking place over basic questions of direction; these struggles include the overall question: 'Which side are you on?'

A socialist revolution makes a very fundamental change in the basic structure of society. Once the private ownership of the means of production is eliminated it is not easy to revert back to the old system based on private ownership, private profits and exploitation. This requires a major counter-revolutionary upheaval.

Although it cannot be ruled out completely, experience indicates that wrong policies and errors on the part of leading personalities can go on for some time and not fundamentally affect the established socialist economic base. The wrong policies and errors retard the building of socialism, distort the structure, but it takes a basic upheaval to reverse the direction.

What is absolutely clear, however, is that the present Maoist leaders are not Marxist-Leninists. They are following a line that is anti-working class. And in the world arena their policies are anti-socialist, anti-national liberation and pro-imperialist. Of course one would have



to be naive to think these policies do not have some influence on internal policies, as the history of Maoism proves.

That such an anti-working class ideology can survive — and even take over — in a country that is building a socialist structure is a lesson the revolutionary movement can draw upon.

Among the lessons I am sure will be the need to re-establish a higher priority for the struggle in the field of ideology. Bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideas penetrate where there is an ideological vacuum.

In most mass movements, such as the movements for national liberation or, in our case, the anti-monopoly movements, different sections of the people become involved — which is positive. However, as they become involved they also bring with them their ideological baggage. Many are not clear about 'which side they are on.'

If, for the sake of expediency or for opportunistic reasons, there is not a resistance or a struggle against their ideological baggage, they move into the vacuum and take over. Without a struggle, their takeover becomes almost inevitable.

Another lesson of Maoism is that the communist movement of the world cannot rest on its ideological oars at any stage or under any circumstances. It cannot accept the idea that the experience of building socialism and the objective developments will take care of ideology. The ideological front will be a front-line of struggle throughout all the stages of building the new society.

*Daily World, April 10, 1979*

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## PEKING POLICY — LOGIC AND CONSISTENCY

The aggression by Chinese troops against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam was a vivid demonstration of the policy and intentions of the group of Mao's successors in Peking. Although the world press has for some time been featuring the various stages and leaps of Peking's policy, a comparison of this policy with the recent events along the Sino-Vietnamese border changes the quality of this interest. This is seen in the stream of commentaries that revolve around one and the same question: what was the true goal of China's attack on Vietnam and what is the Chinese ruling group really aiming at? These ques-



tions primarily concern this group's attitude to the key issue of the present day, the issue of war and peace.

### **INSTRUMENT, NOT A GOAL**

We should first ask: is it possible to speak of yet another turn in Chinese policy, or is this but the logical development of a line, long contemplated in Maoist conceptions. We must bear in mind that in the beginning this policy extolled Marxism-Leninism and proclaimed common goals with the entire socialist community. It was only at the end of the 50s and start of the 60s that Peking embarked on the path that brought it to aggression against India, provocations and border conflicts along the Ussuri River, aggression against Vietnam, not to mention the organization of Maoist guerrilla movements in Burma and other countries, or its earlier moves when Indonesia communists were forced into a situation that cost the lives of hundreds of thousands of comrades.

Notwithstanding its many zigzags a clear line is easily discerned whose elements were apparent in Mao's policy as early as in the days of 'the great march' and the struggle to place China on the rails of socialist transformations. There is ample proof of this, and the information gradually being leaked by the intelligence services of various countries provides new arguments to confirm such assertions. Socialism for Mao and his group was not a goal, it was but an instrument to reevaluate China's role in the world in a nationalistic, great-power spirit. One cannot speak of that country's socialist policy, particularly in foreign policy. First of all Peking's approach to the problem of war and peace, the key issue of the day, has nothing in common with socialism.

### **ATTITUDE TO WAR AND PEACE**

This was fully disclosed in Mao's speech at the 1957 Moscow Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties. At that time he said: 'Can we imagine the number of people that would perish in a future war? Possibly, it could be one third of the two billion 200 million of the earth's population, or only 900 million people. I do not think this is very much if atom bombs would really be used. Of course this is terrible. But, it wouldn't be too bad if even half the population were to perish. Why? Because we did not want a war, it was they who forced it upon us. If a war starts, atomic and hydrogen weapons would be used. It is my personal opinion that in that case half of humanity would perish, possibly even more than half. I argued this question



with Nehru who is more pessimistic than I am. I told him that if half of humanity were to perish the other half would remain, but that imperialism would be completely destroyed and socialism would dominate in the world and in half a century, or maybe even a century, the population would increase by more than that half.'

I remember the impressions of those who returned from that Moscow conference. To say they were shocked is putting it mildly. This was the first time we saw a person who called himself a communist, who quoted Marxism-Leninism, proclaiming the most inhuman of ideas radically contradicting the very meaning of socialism, its historical substance.

The essence of socialism is, after all, to free mankind from the exploitation and oppression found in all preceding social formations. War, the destruction of man — we all are unique — is one of mankind's greatest calamities, and, as we have said many times before, 'if socialism had given mankind nothing else but its liberation once and for all from the horrors of war, then thanks to this alone, it would have been the most splendid and noble of all formations that human society has ever known.'

The struggle for peace is the cornerstone of socialism and there can be no socialism without the struggle for peace. This struggle determines both the goal and means of attaining it.

Mao's reasoning, on the contrary, did not center on man and his well-being. For Mao mankind was the object and not, as with us, the subject and meaning of our actions.

It will be recalled that at the Moscow conference the discussions dealt with the international communist and workers' movement adopting the Leninist conception of coexistence and, therefore, outlining the forms of struggle for socialism. It is obvious that as long as nuclear weapons exist, war as a means of spreading socialist ideas — and this includes a war imposed by imperialism — means destruction on such a scale that the main task of the socialist community is to compel imperialism to accept peaceful coexistence with socialism.

The Chinese leader rejected peaceful coexistence as a means of strengthening socialism's positions in the world today.

Views differed on what moved him to take such a position. Some insist to this day that Mao counted on the highly developed industrial countries being hit the hardest in an atomic war and suffering the greatest human and economic losses, that even if the casualties were more or less evenly balanced, China, with its huge population, would be in a position to dictate the course of world events.



## ANTI-MARXIST THEORY

It can be said, however, that Mao's rejection of the Leninist concept of peaceful coexistence signified not only his readiness to move towards an atomic war, but also his intention of disrupting the international balance of forces that had become clearly defined on both sides of the class front.

Despite Chinese efforts, this balance has been and still is characterized by the world's division into two camps — those who visualize the future in socialism, and those who defend capitalism's 'right' to profits. In these conditions the Maoists could find no opportunity to play their hand so as to open the way to realizing China's great-power ambitions, primarily its hegemonistic appetites in Southeast Asia. That is why for many years their principle goal was to spread confusion in the class approach to foreign policy. One sign of this was an attempt to impose false ideological schemes on world public opinion, schemes that rejected Marxist-Leninist theory. Two such schemes found a wide response in the West. Initially, this was the idea that the world is divided into the 'world village' and the 'world town,' with China, naturally, heading the first group of countries. Under Maoist leadership the 'world village' was to defeat the 'world town,' i.e., the industrially developed countries, both socialist and capitalist.

The author of the next doctrine known as the 'theory of three worlds' is Teng Hsiao-ping. Even Albania, which has many times joined Maoist extreme leftist drives, saw in this 'theory' betrayal of the fundamental principles of the communist and workers' movement and China's open switch to the platform of cooperation with the imperialists.

Soon, however, this theory also underwent an evolution revealing the unsavory truth that Peking's policy is spearheaded primarily against the Soviet Union and its allies, in other words, against the socialist community. Teng, by the way, refuses to acknowledge the existence of this community, insisting that it ended soon after the Second World War.

This direction of China's policy seems logical if we examine its goals. The USSR and the socialist community of nations are a most serious obstacle to Peking on the road to these goals. By consistently implementing peaceful coexistence and strengthening its material base, the socialist camp is blocking Peking's subversive actions.

And what Peking is doing is subversion. An anthology of quotes



from the Chinese leaders' pronouncements proclaiming the inevitability of war would make up a good-sized volume. Chinese policy is aimed not at ensuring peace, but at starting a war.

Because the socialist camp is a factor stabilizing world peace — the Maoists believe that by openly disrupting this peace they could reduce highly developed civilizations to the level of China's outdated technology — Teng thinks the inevitability of war thesis should be turned primarily against the Soviet Union and the socialist system.

And so, Maoist China's foreign policy has arrived at its logical end of the road — betrayal of its earlier, nominally socialist positions; this policy's most prominent trait is its hostility toward the Soviet Union and the socialist community. Unwittingly, the Maoists have confirmed the Marxist-Leninist thesis on the class division of the world. Mao and his followers have brought people's China to the imperialist camp.

Some NATO experts believe they could include the Chinese factor in their strategic plans aimed against the Warsaw Treaty countries. The contacts, and more recently China's outright cooperation with the EEC and certain Atlantic pact countries, are becoming more active and concrete. At the center of commercial dealings (with practically no limitations on the sale of strategic materials), are NATO arms deliveries to China. China's aggression against Vietnam did not prevent the British from reaching a deal in Peking to sell China vertical take-off planes and the license for their manufacture. And West German concerns sold China licenses for the manufacture of certain types of weaponry including tanks and military helicopters. This is to say nothing of behind-the-scenes deals.

### **IMPERIALISM'S PARTNERS**

It is not the details that are important, however, but the fact that world imperialism, for which the Soviet Union has been enemy number one ever since the 1917 revolution, sees in the Peking leadership a partner worthy of its attention. And in its contacts with various Western political forces Peking bases its attitude and preferences on how reactionary and anti-communist they are. The winners so far have been Strauss, the CDU politicians, the British Conservative leader Thatcher and spokesmen of NATO circles — and it is precisely these reactionary anti-communist circles which call the tune in the West's dealing with China.

Peking's support for the revenge-seeking programs of the nationalistic centers in the FRG is a special subject. For the Hua and



Teng group (groups, to be more exact) it is no longer enough to just talk about the inevitability of war. They are openly working toward it, supporting all who refuse to recognize the inviolability of the borders in Europe, all who seek to undermine peace on the continent and restore the German empire leaving open the question of its eastern boundaries.

That is why the principles of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, and the entire process of détente, are being attacked so fiercely by Peking.

### **NO SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY**

In the past year China's policy has taken two, I believe, final steps in the general revaluation of relations between the Chinese People's Republic and the capitalist world. These are the treaty with Japan, and Teng Hsiao-ping's junket to the United States followed by the restoration of diplomatic relations with the USA. Neither of these steps was motivated by a desire to strengthen détente.

While in the United States the Chinese Vice-Premier found it appropriate to declare that Peking intended teaching Vietnam 'a lesson.' And this brings us to the essence of Maoist hegemonic foreign policy.

In looking back on the first thirty years following the Second World War, future historians will undoubtedly conclude that, notwithstanding all the complexities and zigzags in international developments, the dominating trend was the spreading conviction that all controversial issues should be solved without the use of force. There are three main reasons why events developed in this direction, reasons that the imperialists must also reckon with: the trauma experienced by most of mankind as a result of and during the Second World War; the nature of thermonuclear weapons capable of endangering the very existence of life on earth, and the military might of the USSR and Warsaw Treaty countries as a whole, compelling capitalism to coexist peacefully with socialism.

For this reason it is no accident that mankind's main achievement in these postwar years has been the fact that the issue of the non-use of force has been at the crux of almost all negotiations and resulting treaties defining the standards of international coexistence.

But now, a spokesman of a state claiming to be a key participant in the solution of world problems, openly and crudely announces that he has no intention of following the international standards that were drawn up with such difficulty and is prepared to commit aggression



against a neighbor many times smaller in size. And the word 'lesson' is bantered about not in any attempt to camouflage the truth, but to underscore complete disregard for the country which was to fall victim to this aggression.

Having done so the leaders of China rejected what is most important and precious at the present stage of international relations. And, judging by their past statements, they are fully aware of the danger to Asia, and possibly to the whole world, their aggression against Vietnam is fraught with.

### **UNANIMOUS AGAINST AGGRESSION**

It is only natural that at the outset of China's aggression against Vietnam, a good part of the world looked with hope toward Moscow. While coming to the aid of Vietnam and extending it complete material support, the first socialist state proved its responsible stand on world peace.

World public opinion unanimously disapproved of China's aggression against Vietnam. Even those who so eloquently advocated flirting with Mao's followers were speechless, for they were also shocked by the possibility that they could be sucked into the nuclear whirlpool. Some realized that hostility toward the Soviet Union shared with China was certainly a poor common denominator in relations with Peking if the ultimate goals were so different and the risk so great.

The impact of China's aggression was particularly strong in the 'third world' countries which, in Maoist plans, were to be Peking's main ally. The attack on Vietnam — a part of the 'third world' — exposed the true nature of the Chinese leaders' attitude toward the developing countries. They consider these countries to be but steps in China's advance toward hegemony and if they refuse to accept this role they can expect to be taught a 'Lesson.'

### **ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE BARRICADES**

It is particularly important to examine the model of the regime that Peking would like to impose on the 'third world.' The entire world has learned of the savagery of the brutal Pol Pot regime in Cambodia. It carried out to the letter the inhuman Maoist thesis of the inevitability of war between 'the village and the town' through wanton destruction of the urban population. According to even the most conservative Western estimates, 600,000 people were killed in Cambodia. Some sources raise this number to 2.5 million. Realization of this so-called



peasant pseudo-communism, in reality the quintessence of Maoism, was the logical consequence of the very same perverted doctrinaire and anti-scientific positions upon which Mao Tse-tung based his statements in Moscow in 1957 when he toyed with the possibility of hundreds of millions of people perishing.

Mao's position at the Moscow conference could not win for it was in sharp contradiction to what is most important in socialism, i.e., the attitude toward man. By offering such conclusions Mao proved only that he was no true communist, just as those who launched the aggression against Vietnam are no true communists.

It is quite possible that had Mao's theses been supported 22 years ago, the world today would be an atomic cemetery. However, they did not and could not win support. By fighting against the international communist and workers' movement, the Maoists have crossed over to the anti-socialist side of the barricades, thus betraying the interests of the Chinese people themselves with whom Poland, the USSR and the other socialist states wish to live in peace and develop beneficial cooperation.

And the last event in the chain of facts showing that Maoist policy is aimed against peace, was the decision not to prolong the treaty with the Soviet Union which expires in 1980. In 1973 China rejected a Soviet offer to conclude a non-aggression pact on the grounds that a treaty of friendship existed between the two countries. This explains the wording of the Soviet statement on China's unilateral action which said, in part, that this, together with other steps by the Chinese leadership, is convincing proof that it deliberately intends to continue complicating and undermining Soviet-Chinese relations.

The substance and profound meaning of Poland's foreign policy is the strengthening of peace and security by elaborating and asserting the principles of peaceful coexistence. The policy of today's Chinese rulers is the exact opposite of Poland's policy, it is spearheaded against our interests.

During his most recent visit to Moscow, Edward Gierek said: 'All the Polish people are greatly concerned over and indignant with the adventuristic and hegemonistic policy of the Chinese leaders and their cynical aggression against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. We voice our full solidarity with the courageous struggle of the Vietnamese people and support their just demands.'

*Ryszard Wojna*

*Abridged from Trybuna Ludu, April 9, 1979*



# SOCIALIST WAY OF LIFE

*Josef Kempny,  
Presidium member, Secretary, CC CPCz*

At the present stage of building a developed socialist society ever more attention is focused on the important question of the socialist way of life, i.e., on that area of human relations which will become increasingly significant and, just as the construction of the material and technical basis of communism, will be an indispensable condition for building a communist society. Being faithful to the principles of dialectical and historical materialism, we cannot skip any stages of development. Therefore we define a number of questions related to moulding the socialist man and shaping the socialist way of life as the tasks, as the qualities we strive for; and the groundwork for this is being laid already now.

## IN THE INTERESTS OF MAN'S ALL-ROUND DEVELOPMENT

Socialism makes all social processes work for man's advancement. This advancement, however, can be carried out only within the limits determined by the level of productive forces and relations of production. It is not possible fully to meet the material and cultural needs of the people, to eliminate the contradictions between manual and mental work, and make work a creative activity, unless a powerful and qualitatively new material and technical basis is built.

But even when all these conditions are at hand, the socialist way of life will not emerge by itself, but will be shaped as a result of the combined influence of many interrelated spheres of social being and social consciousness, in work, in social life and in the sphere of education.

In other words, this is a long and fairly complex process which will not bear fruit by itself as socialist development goes on. The steady advance of this process should be ensured already now. This requires a mature economic organization of society and a corresponding level of working and living conditions, of socialist relations, i.e., relations between people, their attitude to society, forms of democracy — everything that pertains to the way of life.

It is through this kind of development, which is inherent in it, that socialism begins to influence world politics by its genuine humanism and by ensuring the development of human values.



The working class's awareness of its new social role of owner of the means of production, its role in the sphere of management and in defending the interests of the entire society, is at the present stage the major condition for shaping the socialist way of life. The progress of science and technology inevitably leads to a broader socialization of labor and extends opportunities for creative endeavor by society as a whole. This is expressed in the transition from economic to social planning, to the development of every aspect of socialist society. Integration of economic and social planning is becoming a new stage in understanding and mastering the laws of social development.

Although the raising of the living standards remains the priority goal of social policy, this policy is also aimed at consolidating the unity of society, at bringing together classes and social groups, nations and ethnic groups, at the steady development of socialist democracy, involving ever broader sections of the people in solving the problems of society and the state, at the all-round advancement of science and culture, and at the full spiritual development of man.

Socialist society has proved in practice the correctness of Lenin's words, who said that socialism could not be viewed the way Plekhanov viewed it, as if it were a 'planned organization of the social process of production so as to satisfy the needs of society as a whole, as well as its individual members.' That is not enough, Lenin said. 'Organization of this kind will, perhaps, be provided even by the trusts. It would be more definite to say... not merely to satisfy the needs of its members, but with the object of ensuring *full* well-being and free, *all-round* development for *all* the members of society' (V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, p. 54).

### BALANCED GROWTH OF THE LIVING STANDARD

One of the chief objects of social planning under socialism is to counter the tendency to make socialism a consumer society. Planning should be used to ensure the balanced growth of the living standard, of its every aspect. Therefore the consumption problem is not merely a question of economics and management, but a pressing political, ideological and educational problem. A high material standard and a fully developed way of life will not come about of their own accord. This will require the solution of a number of problems, and satisfaction of some needs will give rise to new ones. Take, for instance, the acknowledged success we have attained in solving the housing problem. Nearly half of all our citizens live in new modern apartments, which enables them to adopt a new way of life and domestic manage-



ment, that are more rational and modern, and often richer. But the sooner modern housing construction solves the problem of a purely quantitative housing shortage, the more will priority be given to problems involving quality such as the size of an apartment, its layout, amenities, social functioning of housing estates and environmental protection.

We could cite more examples to show that a solution of a problem in terms of quantity in areas of consumption affecting the living standard calls for solving them also on a new, quality level. These problems include, for instance, organization of leisure and recreation, the health service and education. This means that the basic trend in solving the consumption problem will be shifting gradually from meeting the elementary needs to the fullest possible and most diverse satisfaction of the growing needs of the people. This confirms the necessity of solving theoretical problems and practical questions of establishing a socialist way of life, of properly determining the development of various sectors of society, and working out scientific criteria on what way of life we want and how we are to meet the various needs of the people. This has already become an important task of socio-economic planning.

### **ENCOURAGING CREATIVE ENDEAVOR**

Socialist collectivism, far from contradicting the development of the individual, creates preconditions for his advancement. Only in a collective can the individual fully develop his abilities and gifts, because conditions of life are created for everyone in a specific society with its policies, economy, culture and ideology. The life of the individual is meaningful only if it is linked with the life of society. The socialist way of life takes shape in the daily activities of man, in his social and private life. Thus, a man's personality in socialist society develops where he grows up, where he studies or works.

The working collective is an effective educating factor, a major influence in moulding the man of socialist society. It serves as the essential basis for encouraging the creative endeavor of the people; it is not only an economic, but also a social element. In such a collective, people, aware of their responsibility for the common cause, together solve the problems arising in the process of work. As members of a collective, they play their part in the administration of society and contribute to the reproduction of public wealth, that is, the material conditions needed to create a socialist way of life.

Now we have come to a most important question, namely, that the



correlation between working hours and leisure time depends on the principles of time saving, that is, on the social productivity of work and efficiency of production. Social tasks can be solved only if there is the required material potential. But accomplishment of economic tasks, specifically that of raising the efficiency of production and quality of any kind of work, depends on such social factors as the level of labor activity, the general educational level, the professional level of workers and a thrifty approach to public assets.

Therefore the words said by Gustav Husak in his New Year address concern everyone: 'Life insistently demands increased efforts at every work place to fulfill the plan, it demands better management, full responsibility for the assigned task, encouragement of good work and greater determination in fighting shortcomings. This year every section of our economy should contribute still more to the accomplishment of the tasks set, should seek and find new reserves, perfect the organization of production and introduce the achievements of science and technology more efficiently. Our society has everything it needs to cope with these impressive tasks, to ensure continued economic growth and a rise in the living standards. It is necessary, however, to make a fuller and more effective use of the opportunities offered by our advanced economy, by our socialist system.'

The socialist way of life, as any other important area in the life of society and as socialist construction in general, demands conscious effort on the part of all working people, above all the Communist Party, the leading force of society. In its political, ideological and organizational work the party awakens and mobilizes the creative energies and initiative of the working class and other working people, and combines their will and actions in a joint effort.

The more important and difficult the tasks confronting us, the higher the demands that are made, and will be made, on all party organs and organizations, on every communist. For this reason our Central Committee has always concentrated on comprehensive preparations for the fulfillment of current and future tasks related to the construction of a developed socialist society, on constantly improving the party's activities, strengthening its ideological unity and unity of action, and increasing the effectiveness of party work. All party organs should work to attain these goals during the exchange of party cards, considering that it is the branch organizations which will do most of the work to encourage activity among party members, enhance their sense of responsibility and strengthen discipline among



them. A higher level of intra-party life and greater activity of every communist should effectively contribute to mobilizing the efforts of all state and economic bodies, of all the units in the political system of our society.

It is from these positions that we should enter the decisive phase of the work to attain the five-year-plan targets and accomplish the tasks of economic and cultural development set by the 15th Congress of our party. This will give us new opportunities for a still better realization of the party's main goal in order, as was stressed by Leonid Brezhnev during the Lenin Centenary celebrations, 'to provide the working man with most favorable conditions for work, study, rest and recreation, so that he could develop his abilities and apply them the best way he can.'

Abridged from *Nova Svoboda*, March 1, 1979

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## **'IN REALITY PRESSURE IS EXERTED BY THE U.S. AMBASSADOR'**

*'Unita' on U.S. Interference in the Election Campaign*

We are witnessing the first attempts to deal with major international policy issues as well in the election campaign. The old provincial vice — failure to objectively analyze even crucial problems and to interpret them in a distorted manner so as to confuse some voters — is being revived. It was in evidence in connection with the foreign policy positions adopted by our recent party congress....

This was started by the U.S. Ambassador, Gardner, though he preferred to use unofficial data from anonymous sources for the purpose while ignoring official sources. He invented an 'involution' of the ICP in order to report that Washington is against communist participation in the Italian government. Press reports show that in the coming election campaign the Christian Democrats intend to exploit this outright interference in our country's internal affairs. They immediately forgot all the fine words about independence, dignity and national sovereignty, as if Italy in 1979 differed none from that of 1948.

On the other hand, as Bufalini noted, as little as possible is being



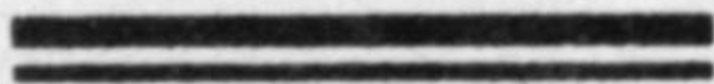
said about our real stand on foreign policy and its concrete content, because it would suffice to expound them to refute our alleged 'involvement,' and because our opponents clearly lack arguments to refute them. It is much easier to make a show of gauging how many centimetres we have come nearer to, or drawn away from, an abstract 'Leninism' (as it has never been concretely analyzed). Or fantasies are invented about our 'embarrassment' every time a Soviet newspaper prints an article on Italy, whether in praise or criticism of us.

But now we are again being assailed. Our stand is allegedly excessively diplomatic. But the question is: is it diplomacy or responsibility? Responsibility of a major Italian party capable of building relations with other world forces in a spirit of objectivity and independence, without betraying our genuine ideals, which in this case are internationalist.

It is alleged that we are forced to 'maneuver' because of pressure from our opponents, whereas in reality pressure is exerted by the U.S. Ambassador. If objective conditions are considered as 'pressure' then one cannot help seeing that at present this 'pressure' is a fact that must be reckoned with in Italy and throughout Europe and, consequently, by the ICP as well, since it is a national and a European party. The position adopted by our congress, far from being merely an appeal of a party of agitators, is a rational contribution to Italian and European foreign policy (a contribution which we have sought to make, and not without success, over the last few years). This applies also to what we have said about the USSR, China, the United States, Europe and Indochina, and to our statement on all other major international issues.

So let them say whether what we concretely state and propose for Italy and for Europe is positive, or, if it is not, let them prove this and make other proposals. We are ready to discuss them. Only then will the discussion be fruitful. Only then will the electoral confrontation of views serve to strengthen Italy's world standing and will promote the policy of peace we all need.

*Silvano Goruppi*  
*Unita, April 18, 1979*





## **'THEY'RE TRYING TO FOOL US AGAIN'**

On the cover of this week's *L'Express* we find a terrible bear with gaping mouth and a hammer and sickle on its hat. The caption says: 'The Super-Powerful Red Army.'

The issue carries two editorials, an extensive study which makes the reader wonder about its sources, for its tone is that of the cold war.

The authors of the articles seek to prove that in Europe the USSR has a preponderant and even menacing superiority.

'Disequilibrium of forces,' 'disquieting' military efforts, a military doctrine 'inspired by the blitzkrieg,' 'terrifying' advances in nuclear armaments, those are some of the choice expressions designed to spread alarm.

Since the readership is French, we find the inevitable mention of Germany's armament in the 30s, and the surrender to Hitler. Even the *force de frappe* would not help, the authors claim. Yesterday it was our shield, today it will be found useless in face of the 'offensive war' the Soviet Union is preparing.

While Raymond Aron attacks those in West Germany who advocate détente, J.-F. Revel asserts that the détente should be given 'substance' through an 'equilibrium of forces,' as otherwise the very notion of détente comes to mean a 'future Soviet protectorate over Western Europe.'

However, neither Revel nor Aron refer to the main question: Does the Soviet Union threaten us? Do we have any differences with it? Isn't the President of the Republic going to Moscow to discuss them? And what are the claims, what are the demands, what are the warnings we would have to face?

The answers to these questions are so obvious to one and all, that *L'Express* prefers to say nothing about them, as otherwise it would be hard put to back up its thesis. The Soviet Union has been pursuing a consistent and indubitable policy of peace, which is expressed in international agreements and confirmed by concrete facts. That some progress has been made in détente and cooperation should be largely credited to this leading socialist country.

Moreover, although it is true that the danger of war has not yet been completely overcome, although peaceful coexistence has yet finally to triumph, the world has been able to avoid a conflagration for



more than 30 years, and here the existence and activity of the socialist countries have had the crucial role to play.

What then is the true meaning of the campaign started by *L'Express*?

The weekly presents Europe with an encouraging, smiling face, the face of an ensemble of countries which have finally united for reform and for a better life.

Behind this smile lurks — and the current issue of *L'Express* confirms this — the project for a European army. Through it, the *force de frappe* will pass into the service of the FRG. By means of it a decisive blow will be dealt at France's independence.

The Europe that is being projected will be a Europe in military uniform.

*L'Express* wears a supranational uniform which Revel and Aron would like to make France also wear, a uniform with the stark colors of anti-Sovietism.

Thirty years ago, the cold war was being justified by claims like this caption in *France-Soir*: 'Soviet tanks 30 km from Tehran.' But it was U.S. imperialism that established itself in Tehran.

They're trying to fool us again. Behind the screen of a Soviet threat, they want to pave the way for a German-American protectorate. But the world has changed over the past 30 years. And so have the French.

Laurent Salini  
*L'Humanité*, April 25, 1979

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## UNIONS AND BOSSES THROUGH TIME

A big issue in the elections has been what the BBC primly calls industrial relations and what Tory spokesmen more crudely call the power of the unions.

It is alleged that the public (including presumably 13 million trade union members) think the unions have too much power and that they must be curbed.

Mrs. Thatcher has told us, more and more, that as soon as the Tories are in power they will make the necessary laws — something which her predecessor, Heath, tried and failed to do five years ago.



Union power is thus a political question. But few who study the matter can be unaware that the attack on union organization and rights comes at a time when the biggest employers are intending as rapidly as possible to bring in new technology to make more profits.

To do this they intend to sack yet more hundreds of thousands of workers. The unions are in the way, and sometimes, as in the case of *The Times*, the employers are unsubtle enough to make it clear that taming the unions and bringing in new technology are twin aims.

Any student of history must notice uncanny parallels between our present period and that of the 1780s to 1830s. Whether we are now in a new industrial revolution as some maintain is a matter for debate. But the industrial class realities have a familiar air and ring to them.

Is it relevant to today, though? At one level the Tories and employers try to pretend we are in a new situation. The unions today have too much power. Sir Robert Mark reckons a supine Labour government has heaped legal power upon them.

Unions were OK, we are told, in the old days, in some misty pre-Tolpuddle dawn when they were all idealists. If only they were like that today, then; ah, then, there would be no problems, no need to alter the law to their disadvantage.

So, a look at the old days, ideologically, can be very interesting.

The master mind of the Industrial Revolution, Josian Wedgwood laid down the rule for the introduction of new technology. First you must cut wages: 'The infallible consequence of lowering the price of workmanship will be a proportionate increase of quantity got up.'

Wedgwood, like fellow inventor James Watt, knew how to get lower prices — by curbing trade activity. Go to the law was Watt's advice to his partner Boulton. Decades later an unknown master printer put the issue more crudely.

When asked why he wanted trade society (union) powers curbed, he answered: 'To increase the quantity of work done and to get it done at the cheapest rate.'

The cylinder printing process, the wool-combing machine and other new processes were all, their inventors boasted, to be operated by children, supervised by foremen. A golden future of absolutely limitless profit was before them, if only the trade societies could be curbed, and the law's governing child labor employment revoked.

And who was to lead the propaganda battle? None other than John Walter, founder of *The Times*, and his son. Already in the 1790s they were encouraging the master millwrights to 'put a spoke in the wheel' of other workers — ancestors of today's engineers.



John Walter II, determined to have his new presses run by cheap 'boy' labor, had his competitors put in prison. Today's 'Duke' Hussey, *Times* chief, must pray each night for someone to give him the legal opportunity to do the same again.

Now we must remember that we are speaking of the dawn, the pre-history of the trade unions. The number of workers organized in the trade societies was a tiny fraction of the total labor force.

But here is a selection of statements made by employer and government spokesmen over the period of the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th, about his handful of organized workers.

'Intolerable insufferable usurpation,' 'they give laws to their masters,' 'we are in the hands of our united rulers,' masters are 'in a state of bondage' to their operatives, who have 'controlling powers over their masters.'

In the name of freedom, with side kicks at 'alien philosophies' (in that case revolutionary ideas from France) but with the serious intent of emasculating the workers' organizations and speeding the technological changes for greater profit, a series of laws were pressed through.

They destroyed minimal legal controls over employment in certain trades, made trade organizations hazardous and strikes illegal, restricted picketing (they were convinced pickets were unknown men 'summoned from a distance'), attacked the freedom of speech and banned radical groups.

For the early societies and the unions they formed among themselves, it was a tough time. But the net historical effect was that the unions emerged stronger.

The skilled workers were impelled toward some kind of solidarity with the unskilled and at the height of this period notions of control of industry took shape.

One can only guess at the total effect of those decades of struggle. The industrial, technological changes were made, the lives of millions were changed, often painfully.

Without union organization that change would have been even more devastating and demoralizing.

And of another thing we may be certain. When in a period of technological change we hear the 'public' demand for curbs on the 'power' of the unions, we know what the score is.

And when Tories insinuate that unions were OK 'once upon a time' but that something has 'gone wrong,' we know them for the liars they are.



The past decade has seen a continuous ideological assault on the unions. The unions have grown in bulk, drawing in the professions as well as manual workers.

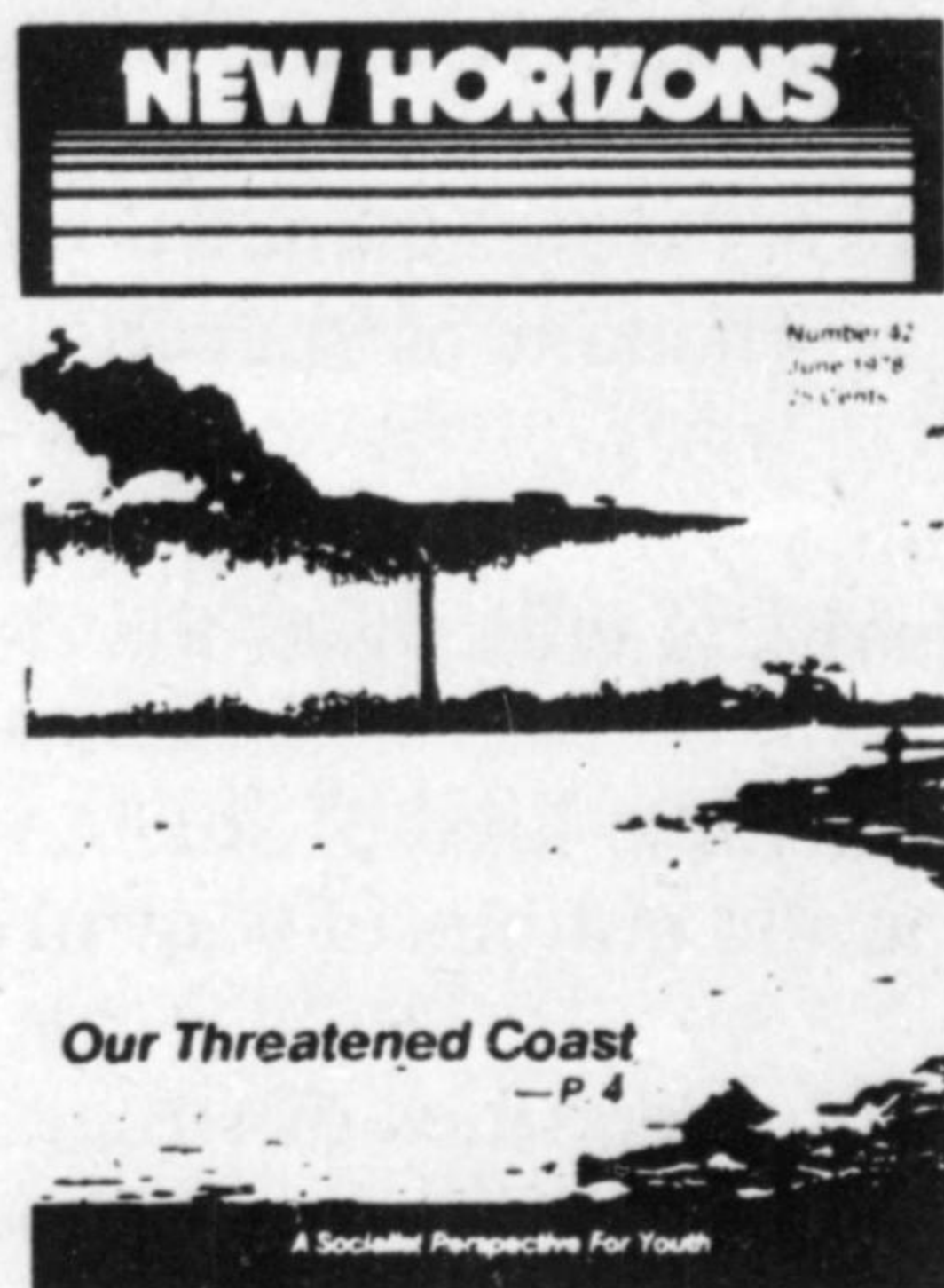
But if we consider the parallels of history we know that much more needs to be done. The answer to the posing of the 'public' against the unions is to draw into union membership that 48 per cent of the work force which is still outside, to strengthen the solidarity between skilled and unskilled (picketing has been an intense education for many novice union members in recent months).

And in the heightened political debate of these weeks, we can answer the argument about too much power with a clear statement of what is fundamentally wrong with industry in this country — that those who do the work do not control their own destinies.

More power, more ownership, more control for the people is the real answer.

*Bob Leeson*

Abridged from *Morning Star*, April 27, 1979



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