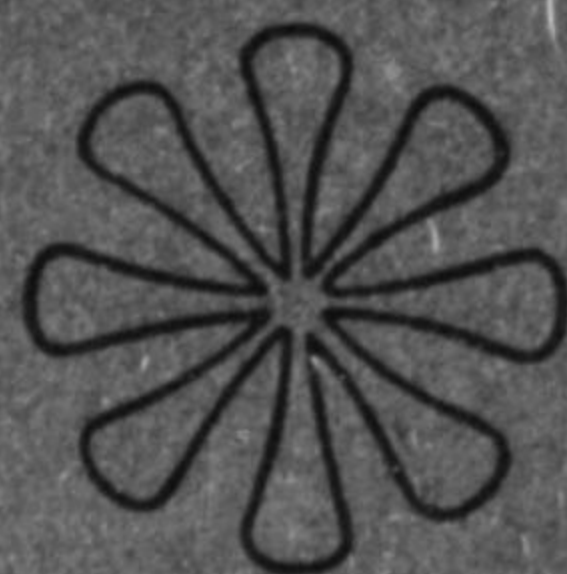


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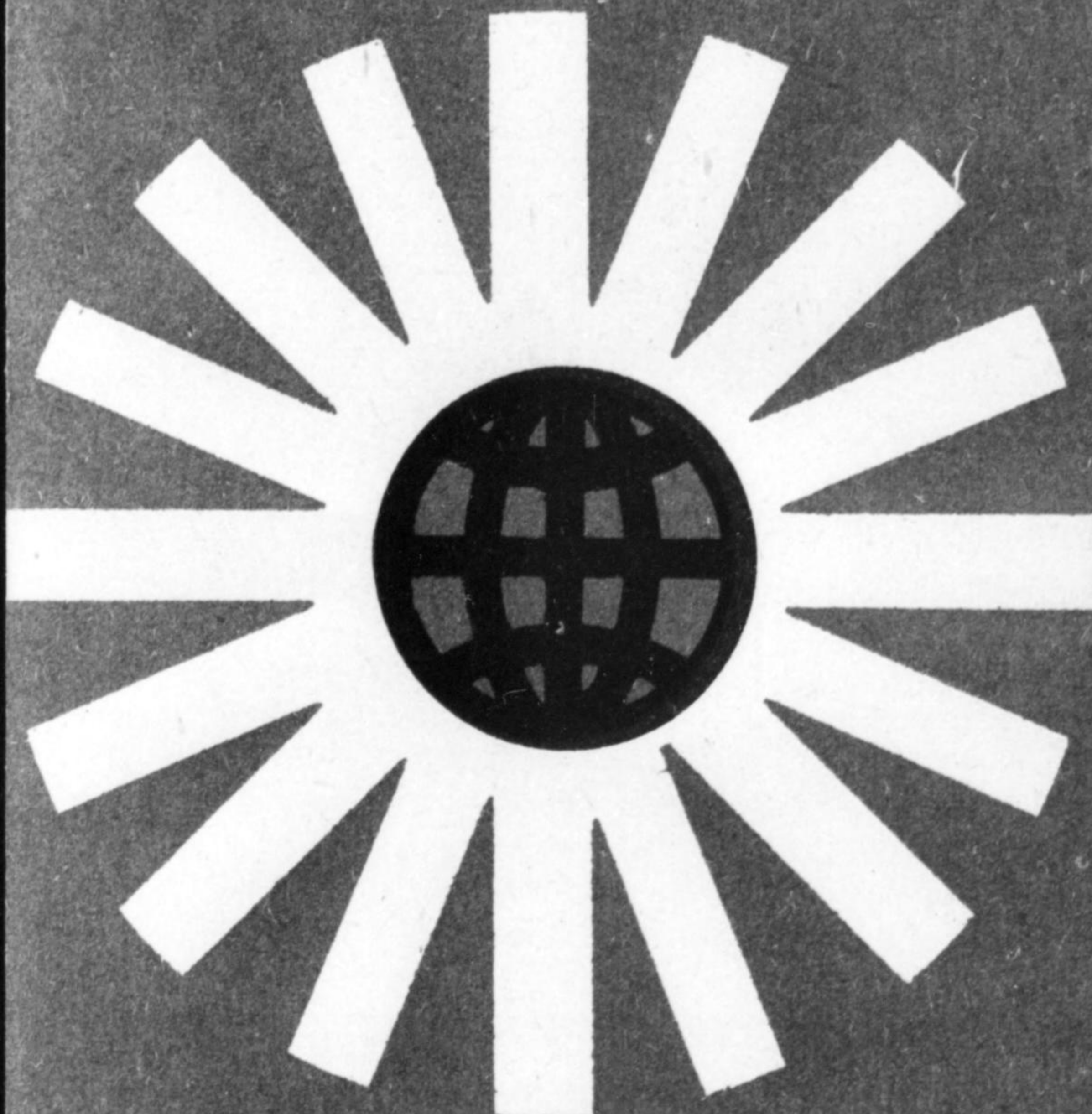
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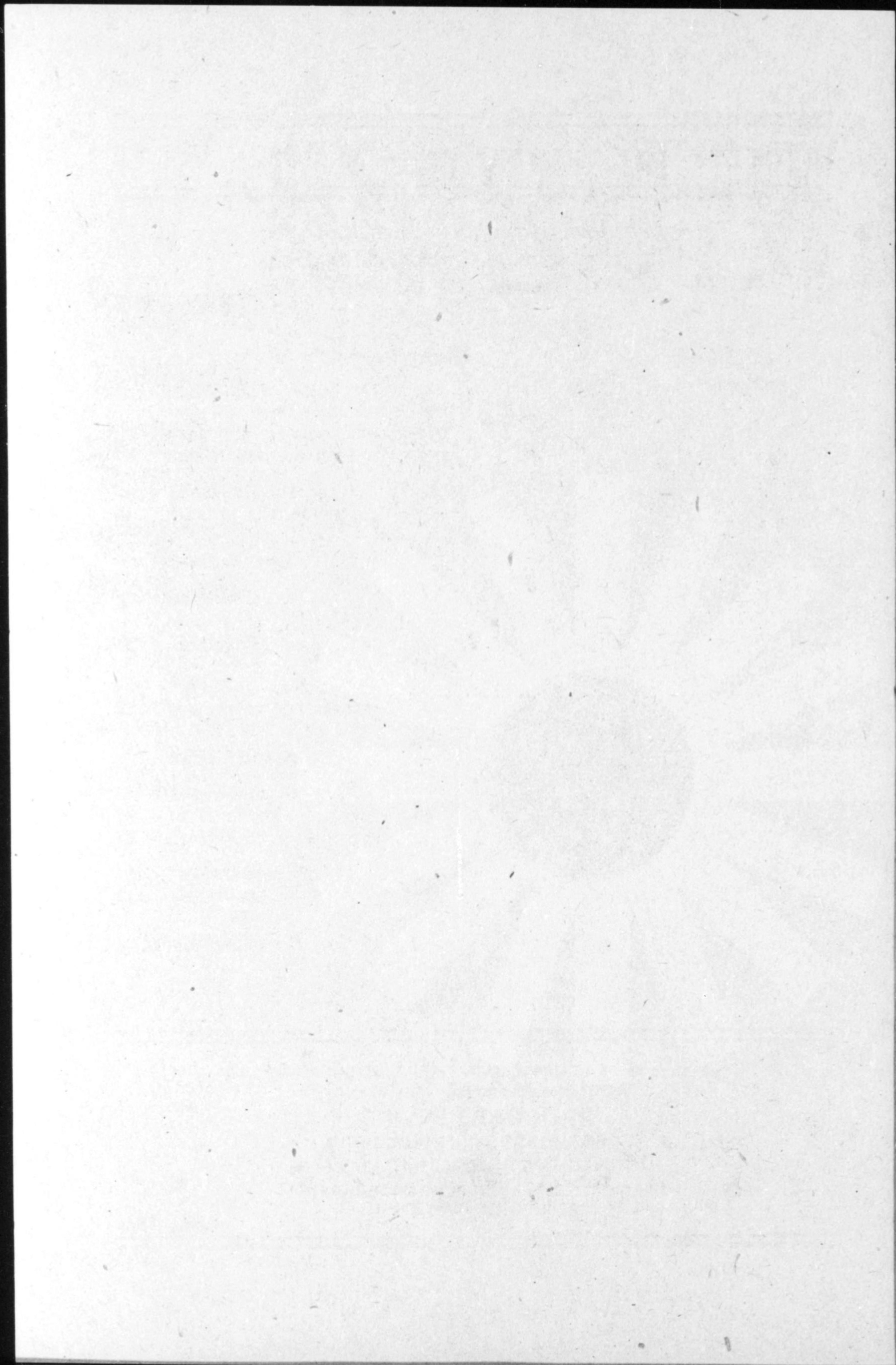
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REAL DISARMAMENT: AN URGENT TASK

Press Conference at USSR Foreign Ministry

A press conference was held on January 25 for Soviet and foreign correspondents in connection with the conclusion of a discussion on disarmament matters at the 33rd UN General Assembly session, and the beginning of the work of the Disarmament Committee in Geneva.

The press conference was addressed by Georgy Kornienko, First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR.

In 1978, he said, the Soviet Union continued to do everything in its power to ensure a decisive turning point in the matter of stopping the arms race and to go over to measures of real disarmament.

It is also exerting efforts toward this end within the framework of the United Nations. At the recent 33rd UN General Assembly session, the Soviet Union worked for further progress in implementing the suggestions which it advanced earlier, by developing and specifying them by a number of practical proposals.

Since the main danger to peace emanates from the mounting nuclear arms race, steps directed at ending the manufacture of nuclear weapons of all kinds and varieties, and at the gradual reduction of their stockpiles, down to their complete elimination, are central in our efforts.

In coming out for such a radical solution, namely to ban nuclear weapons for all time, to exclude them from the arsenals of states with the simultaneous prohibition of the use of force in general, we do not rule out, but, on the contrary, also propose certain partial measures in this direction.

One such measure, which the Soviet Union proposed at the United Nations, would be the conclusion of an international convention on the non-use of nuclear weapons against those states which abrogate the manufacture and acquisition of nuclear weapons and do not have them on their territory.

This proposal, which meets the desires of non-nuclear powers for

stronger guarantees of their security, received such broad approval at the 33rd General Assembly session that the delegations of only two states — China and Albania — brought themselves to vote against it, whereas 137 states voted for it. Now it is a matter for the Disarmament Committee, at whose disposal a Soviet draft of such a convention has already been put.

In view of the negative stand assumed by the NATO countries on this question, so far there is no opportunity to give the binding form of a treaty to the resolution adopted by the General Assembly stipulating that nuclear weapons should not be deployed in the territory of states where there are none at present.

The General Assembly adopted a new resolution urging the Disarmament Committee to perseveringly continue the talks to work out the text of an agreement on banning the development of new types and systems of mass destruction weapons. It is high time, among other things, to move ahead with the draft convention on banning the production, stockpiling, deployment and use of neutron weapons, which has long been in the portfolio of the Disarmament Committee.

In this connection, I would like to emphasize that the Soviet Union, while attaching paramount importance to questions of limiting and ultimately eliminating nuclear weapons, does not in the least underestimate the importance of limiting what are called conventional arms, that is, non-nuclear arms, particularly since today many of these types are of immense destructive force.

In his recent message to the Disarmament Committee, Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU and President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, stressed that the time has come for states and peoples, for statesmen bearing responsibility for the life and welfare of their countries, to fully realize the actual significance of the alternative facing mankind today: either the arms race will be stopped and reversed, in which case peaceable principles will be able, at long last, to be irreversibly established in inter-state relationships, or matters will move toward a new, extremely dangerous balancing on the brink of war, with all the accompanying negative consequences for détente, for the normalization of inter-state relations, and for the solution of world economic problems. There can be only one option here: the efforts aimed at achieving a decisive turning point in the struggle for halting the arms race should be doubled, tripled and quadrupled.

Georgy Kornienko next answered questions put by the correspondents.

Q. What is the state of things at the Vienna talks now and can progress be expected there?

A. The next round of the Vienna talks gets under way in a few days. But if the Western negotiators still insist on the unconstructive stand they upheld during the previous rounds, progress, to put it frankly, is not to be expected there.

Everything hinges on the stubborn unwillingness of the Western countries to observe the principle of mutual force reductions in Central Europe that was agreed upon at the outset of the Vienna talks in 1973, namely, the principle of undiminished security. In other words, any reductions in the troops and armaments of both sides, while lowering their levels, should not at the same time change the obtaining correlation of forces between the sides.

It is this principle that the socialist countries have unswervingly observed throughout the years of the Vienna talks. This position of theirs is all the more justified and correct because the balance of forces that had taken shape in Europe by the beginning of the talks were roughly equal. This fact was recognized by the leaders of the Western countries, including the United States.

For instance, U.S. Deputy Secretary of State Kenneth Rush said in the Senate on July 25, 1973, that NATO forces in Central Europe were approximately as strong as those of the Warsaw Treaty.

In 1974 and 1975 the then U.S. Secretary of Defense, James Schlesinger, also made repeated statements in the Congress about a "rough balance" and "relatively stable balance" between the armed forces of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty in Central Europe.

The statement made on this score by U.S. President Ford in his speech in Helsinki on August 1, 1975, was no less clear: "Military stability in Europe has kept the peace. While maintaining that stability, it is now time to reduce substantially the high levels of military forces of both sides."

Lastly, a research paper published in the U.S. in November 1976 by a group of American leaders, including Secretary of State, Cyrus Vance, also concluded that there was rough military parity in Central Europe at the time.

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

Yet, after all this there is talk in the West of "disproportions" in

favor of the Warsaw Treaty countries and, on this pretext, insistence on asymmetrical reductions in favor of the NATO countries. This is a strange and, frankly, hopeless line.

Q. Would you, please, say a few words about the prospects for the PRC's participation in the work of the Disarmament Committee?

A. The Soviet Union has always proceeded from the idea that the participation of the PRC, along with other states, in discussing and solving the problems of disarmament is desirable. Furthermore, the solution of some of these problems is impossible without the participation of all the nuclear powers. This concerns first of all the problems of nuclear disarmament, but not only them.

It is common knowledge, however, that the present Chinese leadership not only refused to participate in solving the problem of disarmament but has opposed it in every way. The Chinese seat in the Disarmament Committee remains empty even now. True, in the last few days the Chinese side has made statements to the effect that the PRC's participation in the work of the Committee in future is not excluded. But what is really important is not whether the Chinese representatives will take part in the work of the Committee or not. The point is, what role are they going to play; will it be constructive or obstructionist? Frankly speaking, there are no grounds for optimism in this matter.

Q. What are the specific causes for the delay in drafting an agreement on the general and complete prohibition of nuclear arms tests?

A. Not many questions remain to be resolved in this field, but they are very important. I shall now dwell on the most important of them.

The very notion of a *general* ban on nuclear arms tests presupposes that all the nuclear powers should be parties to such an agreement. Our Western partners — the U.S. and Britain — insisted, however, that the agreement should come into force even if China and France do not accede to it for a certain period of time. For the good of the cause we consented to this idea provided their abstention does not last more than three years. No, this is not enough, we were told, let us set a five-year deadline. Well, we agreed to this, too. But in a couple of weeks the U.S. changed its mind and began to insist that in any event the agreement should be in effect for no more than three years, regardless of the fact whether China and France joined it or not. After that, we were told, we will see what further action should be taken.

Furthermore. The very concept of a *complete* ban on nuclear

arms tests rules out the possibility of any relaxation of this principle. The U.S. position on this cardinal question, too, is not quite clear. On the one hand, after a long procrastination they agreed in principle to the formulation regarding the prohibition of any nuclear arms tests, whereas on the other, they immediately made the reservation that such a ban should not cover "low yield nuclear blast experiments."

The aim of all these zigzags is absolutely clear from the pronouncements by spokesmen for the Pentagon and some other U.S. agencies who openly come out against the termination by the United States of all nuclear weapons tests.

So, judge for yourselves who is dragging out the drafting of the agreement in this field.

Q. Is there any chance for progress at the negotiations to curb the sales and supplies of conventional arms?

A. These negotiations have just got off the ground. Their success will depend, above all, on whether the participants reach agreement on the political and legal criteria of admissibility or inadmissibility of arms sales and supplies. It is one thing to supply weapons to a victim of aggression and something else again to provide weapons for an aggressor, or, say, put weapons into the hands of those who openly say that war is a "normal" thing and even a kind of "state of the world." A great deal will depend also on whether the United States abandons its one-sided, selective approach to discussing problems related to regions of concern to them while dodging the discussion of other regions. Furthermore, in the long term the problem of conventional arms sales and supplies cannot be resolved through negotiations between only two countries, the USSR and the United States, since there are many other large suppliers of weapons.

Q. What is happening with the negotiations on scaling down military activity in the Indian Ocean? We have not heard anything about them for a long time.

A. For a year now the American side has been evading the resumption of these negotiations which it had unilaterally broken off. Various excuses have been made to justify the decision, but it appears that the actual reason is the Pentagon's unwillingness to undertake any commitment that would restrain its military activity in the Indian Ocean. It is not hard to see what the United States wants to use this freedom of action for. For this, one need only watch the movements of the American naval forces in the Indian

Ocean and the adjoining region in connection with the latest developments in Iran.

Q. At the initiative of the Polish People's Republic, the thirty-third session of the UN General Assembly adopted a declaration "On Educating Peoples in the Spirit of Peace." All countries except the United States and Israel voted for the declaration. What is the significance of this declaration for the cause of disarmament?

A. This declaration is undoubtedly of great political importance. It is part of the efforts aimed at halting the arms race, achieving disarmament and strengthening peace. Its significance is seen in the fact that almost all member-countries of the United Nations have supported it.

Q. According to press reports, the United States intends to airlift its electronic military facilities from Iran to other countries, specifically Turkey, Greece and Cyprus. How do you assess the United States' actions in the light of the struggle for disarmament and the strengthening of détente in the Mediterranean?

A. In the most negative way.

Pravda, January 16, 1979

B.N. Ponomarev on crucial questions facing the world working-class movement

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THE VICTORY OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTION IS THE TRIUMPH OF MARXISM-LENINISM, SOCIALISM AND PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM

Extracts from the speech by CC CPC First Secretary Fidel Castro at the National Assembly session devoted to the 20th anniversary of the victory of the Cuban revolution.

It so happened that the courageous struggle of the Cuban people culminated in the victorious revolution on the 1st of January. For Cuba, that first day of the new year meant that their last page of the old year marked an end to the old and the birth of a new world.

It was not merely a succession of years but of epochs, probably even milleniums. Not that our country's history can be compared with that of Greece or Rome. On that day the infamous doomed society of antagonistic classes and exploitation was more ancient than either Greece or Rome. How right Marx was in saying that the advent of socialism marks the end of the prehistory of humanity.

Probably we ourselves were not fully aware at the time of the tremendous significance of the January 1, 1959 revolution for our country and for the American continent as a whole. The event was also extremely important for the entire world revolutionary movement.

Forty-one years after the victory of the Great October Revolution there began the first socialist revolution in the Western Hemisphere.

It is impossible to forget the terrible time after the bloody coup of March 10, 1952. It was not easy to find a correct road in the jungle of political events, to decide on what road to take, on a revolutionary approach to the situation. The ideas of Marxism-Leninist penetrated only faintly through the heavy foliage of this jungle, as distinct from the present day, when, like an enormous sun, they illumine the life of the entire people. The 1952 events put the strength and soundness of the political theory to a severe test.

But we had to fight on. Without a struggle there can be no revolution. Without a persistent and sustained struggle of the peoples and their revolutionary vanguards, social change is impossible. Marx-

ism-Leninism provides us with the theory, and struggle brings victory.

At time the difficulties seen insurmountable. Setbacks occur. Not infrequently the forms of struggle change, too. But there is only one road: struggle, struggle and yet again struggle!

It is fair to assert that the conquest of revolutionary power in Cuba was exclusively the deed of our people. At the time there was no possibility of receiving any assistance from outside. The weapons we fought with were seized in the battles against the Batista army.

Till the 1st of January, our direct adversary was not imperialism, but Batista. After January 1, it was imperialism. Before January 1, we waged a struggle to become the masters of our destinies, after January 1 — to defend that right and to carry out a socialist revolution.

Till January 1, ours was a patriotic battle; after January 1, it became an internationalist one.

Till January 1, we were part of a national revolution; after January 1, we became part of the world revolution. Till January 1, our chief protagonist was the revolutionary vanguard; after January 1, the people became this protagonist.

As absolute and exclusive masters of our economic wealth and natural resources, today we can organize, plan and direct our socio-economic development in conditions of full freedom, something no other state in the Western Hemisphere can lay claim to.

But what a struggle we had to wage to win the right to work and creation, and to defend that right, for the triumph in our country of freedom, socialism, equality, progress and social justice.

Why are the United States so infuriated with us? Obviously, U.S. imperialism considered itself the absolute master in this hemisphere, denying every single Latin American and Caribbean country the right to choose its socio-economic and political system. The only prospect for the Latin Americans was the U.S.-imposed merciless, dependent, essentially neo-colonialist capitalism, the rotten, hypocritical pseudo-democracy or domination of the landowner oligarchy, the dictate of satraps like Somoza, Duvalier, Stroessner, or fascism, as in Chile, Uruguay and other unfortunate countries of the Western Hemisphere.

Has the USA achieved its objective? No. Neither economic blockade, including repressive measures against third countries which trade with Cuba or send their ships to our ports, nor the large quantities of weapons and explosives, nor the counter-revolutionary gangs, the piratical attacks and invasion by mercenaries, nor the

threat of direct aggression and plans of physical liquidation of revolutionary leaders could impede Cuba's becoming today an advanced country on this continent in terms of social development. Many countries and international organizations recognize the successes of our revolution, and express their admiration and respect.

What has characterized our hemisphere over these 20 years? Unemployment, illiteracy, high infantile mortality rates, insalubrious housing, poverty, prostitution, drug abuse, homeless children, crime, economic enslavement, plunder of natural resources and the "brain drain." This period saw the intensification of all these negative aspects of social life in the rest of Latin America.

The USA insists on maintaining the criminal blockade, using it as an instrument of bringing pressure to bear on Cuba. But Cuba cannot be pressured, intimidated, bribed or bought. Cuba is not China, nor is it Egypt.

Despite China's present policy and its treachery, the world — which has been undergoing profound changes for many decades now, — will go on changing. After each setback, retreat or treachery, the revolutionary victories won under the banner of progress and socialism will be multiplied. Imperialism is no longer able to halt the steady advance of the new stage of history initiated by the Great October Revolution.

Cuba is not opposed to the establishment of trade and normal diplomatic relations with the USA. We sincerely believe that the policy of peace and coexistence between countries with different social systems proclaimed by V.I. Lenin in the very first days of the October Revolution is now more vital and necessary than ever for humanity. It is the fundamental principle of socialism. But it does not imply, however, that the imperialists have the right to interfere in and to suppress revolutionary movements, wherever they may develop.

The USA must stop unconditionally the economic blockade of Cuba, which is incompatible with the principles of civilization and represents arbitrariness, discrimination, hostility and aggression.

The USA must renounce the strategy of using the blockade as an instrument of exerting pressure in negotiations with Cuba. This is something we will never yield to.

The fact that the USA has trade relations with the majority of the socialist countries, but maintains such a strategy toward Cuba is evidence of a profound political amorality, clear proof of boundless hypocrisy, of the emptiness of their rhetoric on human rights, their

disregard the right to self-determination of the peoples of the Western Hemisphere.

What right has the United States to declare that the peoples of Latin America cannot opt for the socialist road? Who has assigned them the role of gendarme and ruler of our destinies? Why should we choose capitalist society as our model, a society that exploits the labor of others, practises discrimination against the Blacks, exterminates Indians, despises the Chicanos, Puerto Ricans and other Latin Americans, exploits women and children, a society of violence, vice, alienation and crime? Can anyone compel us endlessly to put up with conditions of a ruthless and egoistic society, already condemned by history?

Yet the key strategists of U.S. imperialism are hoping to "tame" even a revolutionary government. They are inspired by the example of China; the China where only a few years ago the Young Pioneers were taught to bayonet the straw effigies of Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon.

The imperialists are staking on the still powerful force of chauvinism. They count on there being a place also under socialism for national egoism capable of nullifying internationalist sentiments, they believe that without their financial and technical aid progressive governments will be unable to resolve their economic problems.

In its struggle against the USSR the West is today pinning its hopes on China playing the role that Hitler Germany played in its time. Are they aware of the magnitude of the fire they are playing with now? We are convinced that the peoples, including the Chinese people, will not permit such an insanity.

Chauvinism, opportunism and imperialism are linking hands against Marxism-Leninism, socialism and internationalism. And not for the first time in the history of the revolutionary movement. Today the ruling clique in China has become an ardent supporter of the economic blockade against Cuba and maintenance of the U.S. naval base in Guantanamo. The paper tiger has finally swallowed the petty-bourgeois ideas of the Great Helmsman. Vietnam is now subjected to aggression not by the United States, but by China. But whereas the Chinese government has betrayed the revolution for Taiwan, Western technology and credits, Cuba will never renounce a single one of its principles either for the Guantanamo base or for all the gold of the imperialist states.

I do not know whether U.S. imperialism is a paper tiger or not; what I do know is that our ideas are not made of paper.

The Chinese, whose staunchness, revolutionary spirit, capacity for work and sacrifice I admire, are a great people. When its population amounted to 700 million, ours ran barely into seven million. But China is separated from the "tiger" by the immense Pacific Ocean, while we have only the narrow Florida Straits between us. Our power might have been destroyed in one night during the October crisis. We possess neither nuclear weapons, nor millions of square kilometres of territory, nor tens of millions of soldiers; but we held firm, we did not surrender, we did not sell out.

It is to the great homeland of Lenin, its revolution, its generous and courageous people, its internationalist policy, which it never altered through the 61 years of its glorious history, that we must today first of all express our profound gratitude. Twenty years of friendship and solidarity — such is the foundation of our relations with the Soviet Union. Others, accepting the disinterested aid, bit the hand that extended it. Cuba and its sons will be eternally grateful to the Soviet Union for what it has done for our people.

We experience similar sentiments of gratitude toward our brothers from the other socialist community countries, toward genuine communists throughout the world, toward the working class and progressive forces of Latin America, Asia, Africa and Europe.

Our future road is much longer than that we have already travelled. Our present joy and optimism does not signify that we underrate the difficulties of future battles. Though they may be even greater than heretofore, we will surmount them. A revolutionary can be compared to a marathoner in the Olympics of history, with one generation succeeding another. We revolutionaries, just like the Olympic athletes bearing the flaming torch, will exert every effort to attain victory, in order to honorably and hopefully pass it on to our splendid new generation.

The revolution will never die, because we have been steeled in the struggle, defending it with our lives, because we will in future too hold high our heroic slogan:

Patria o Muerta!

Venceremos!

Granma, January 2, 1979

STRENGTHEN THE PARTY, IMPLEMENT ITS PROGRAM

*Extracts from Speech by Edward Gierek, First Secretary
of the PUWP Central Committee, at the 13th CC Plenum*

All the Polish people's positive gains in the 20th century are directly linked with the aspirations and struggle of the Polish proletariat, with the impact of its ideas and policy on national affairs. Eloquent testimony of this are two historic events, whose anniversaries we will be marking shortly: the formation of the Communist Workers' Party of Poland on December 16, 1918 and the Unity Congress of the Polish working class held on December 15, 1948, at which the Polish Workers' Party (PWP) and the Polish Socialist Party (PSP) merged to form the Polish United Workers' Party.

The Communist Workers' Party of Poland was founded a few weeks after the restoration of the country's independence, in circumstances of a powerful revolutionary upsurge, the supreme manifestation of which was the victorious October Socialist Revolution. This party played an important role in strengthening the positions of the working class in the newly-formed state, in the struggle for the people's rights and for a policy of peace.

The Communist Party of Poland — the name adopted at its Third Congress in 1925 — acquainted the working-class movement with Leninism. In the course of a difficult process of ideological transformation abounding in internal conflicts and not entirely without errors, it educated an entire generation of working-class functionaries in the principles of Leninism, creating a sound basis for the further development of our movement.

The CPP staunchly upheld, both in theory and practice, unity with the Land of Soviets and solidarity with all the forces of democracy and socialism throughout the world.

Despite the party's dissolution in 1938, the Polish communists remained loyal to its ideals.

It is thanks to them that the Polish Workers' Party was founded, as well as the Gwardia Ludowa (People's Guards) and Armia Ludowa (People's Army), the Union of Polish Patriots and the Polish Army in the USSR. It is also thanks to them that the liberation program was worked out, inseparably linking the national and social questions, and the Polish-Soviet alliance was formed, opening the road for a People's Poland.

Let us give their due today to the Polish communists, the leaders of the CPP and the Communist Youth League, to those who gave their lives in the struggle and to those who together with us helped to build People's Poland. We warmly hail the veterans of the working-class movement, our comrades, some of whom despite their venerable age continue to support our efforts.

The unification of the working-class movement in 1948 was a historic victory of the Polish working class, of the two united parties: the Polish Workers' Party and the Polish Socialist Party. It ended the half-century long split of the Polish proletariat, crowning with success their persistent efforts for unity.

The political unity of the working-class movement enabled the realization of deep-going changes both in the working-class parties themselves and in the condition of our people.

The emergence of People's Poland, its participation in the historic victory over Hitler Germany, reunification of the Piast lands up to the Oder, Neisse and the Baltic Sea clearly proved the correctness of the Program of the Polish Workers' Party and the crucial importance of the Polish-Soviet alliance. The nationalization of industry and the agrarian reform created an objective social base for working-class unity.

The unification was the fruit of the efforts of both parties, and met with the approval of their more than one and a half million members and of the entire Polish working class. In preparing for and realizing it, a big role was played by outstanding leaders of the PWP and the PSP: Boleslaw Bierut, Wladyslaw Gomulka, Jozef Cyrankiewicz, Alexander Zawadzki, Hilary Minc, Franciszek Jozwiak-Witold, Henryk Swiatkowski, Oskar Lange, Adam Rapacki and many others.

The Unity Congress charted a program of laying the foundations of socialism in Poland, and the party of the Polish working-class, united on the basis of Marxism-Leninism became its main force, leading the people in its realization.

In the early 1970s we adopted a new program, no less important than that charted at the Unity Congress and in many respects much more difficult and far-reaching — a program of building a developed socialist society.

Our party and our people can take justified pride in the enormous progress made by our country thanks to the fulfillment of the Sixth and Seventh congresses' decisions.

The entire experience of the past 30 years confirms the correctness of the general line of our party — the line of building socialism in

accordance with the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism, on the basis of the experience and aspirations of the Polish working class and the whole people. The entire experience of the past 30 years confirms the creative force of proletarian internationalism, the historic significance of our alliance and fraternal cooperation with the Soviet Union. It is on these principles that the foreign policy of our state is based.

Our party's ties with the working class is the main source of its strength. Ours is a party of the Polish people that stands at the helm of state and guides its collective undertakings. In our time the interests of the working class are, in a broad sense, identical with the interests of the entire people. We are building the patriotic unity of the Polish people, embodied in the structure and policy of People's Poland, on the basis of this class orientation. Everyone who wants to has the opportunity to work honestly for the benefit of the country. With respect to human rights and freedom of conscience, Poland today ranks among the advanced countries of the world.

Independence, security and the peaceful life of our people are fundamental provisions of our party policy, the policy of the Polish People's Republic. We have built a solid foundation for them, multiplying the country's potentialities and enhancing the unity of the people. They are reliably guaranteed, above all, by our inseparable alliance with the great Soviet Union and our participation in the Warsaw Treaty political and defense coalition. We will invariably safeguard and strengthen the cohesion of our alliance.

The recent Moscow meeting of the Political Consultative Committee clearly showed that the key goal of the Warsaw Treaty states, of their coordinated policy is to strengthen European peace. In the declaration adopted at the meeting we once again forcefully expressed our resolve to promote détente and to work for the all-round realization of the Helsinki Final Act.

The basis for peaceful relations in Europe lies in the immutability of the territorial-political order formed as a result of the Second World War and postwar development, and the inviolability of the existing borders, as finalized by treaties concluded in accordance with international law and by the Final Act.

Poland will continue to do everything possible to implement the common line of the Warsaw Treaty states, which is aimed at promoting détente.

At the UN forum in 1974, I proposed on behalf of Poland that all

states commit themselves to the great cause of educating society in the spirit of peace. The General Assembly is now discussing a respective draft declaration submitted by us. We are gratified that so many countries supported it and that it has already been adopted by the UN Political Committee.

The Moscow declaration fully reaffirmed the Warsaw Treaty states' sincere striving to end the dangerous and costly arms race and to go over to genuine disarmament.

Poland, the first country to propose setting up nuclear-free zones, consistently opposes together with its allies the continuing nuclear arms race, which poses a growing danger for Europe and the entire world. We once again urge the United States and its Atlantic pact allies to call a halt to the preparation for the production of the neutron weapon and its deployment in Europe.

In the Moscow declaration the Warsaw Treaty states forcefully declared for the restriction of conventional arms. However — especially lately — the NATO states are headed in the opposite direction. They have adopted and are implementing a long-term program of a stepped-up arms buildup.

The Warsaw Treaty states cannot ignore this, for it signifies that NATO is intent on gaining military superiority. In the circumstances, the criterion of a sense of responsibility for European peace and security is ruling out the possibility of upsetting the balance of forces in Europe, maintaining the defense potential of our states. It is solely and exclusively from this viewpoint that our defense alliance is examining and resolving these questions.

Establishing stable guarantees for independence, security and peace for our people — that, essentially, is a supreme aim of our party. To maintain and continuously strengthen them is our sacred duty to the entire people.

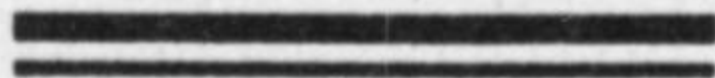
Despite the complexity of the problems facing us, we look to the future with confidence. Our achievements are substantial, but much still remains to be done. Our time, and the cause we have committed ourselves to, make great demands on all the working people, but we must make the biggest demands of all on ourselves, the three-million strong Polish United Workers' Party.

Ours is an enormous political force; it is an ideologically united, organizationally strong force that is closely linked with the Polish working class, peasantry and intelligentsia, with the Polish youth and the entire people. The good of Poland — that is our sole aim and our supreme duty.

The Eighth Congress of our party, scheduled for 1980, will discuss the program of Poland's development in the next decade. This program is determined by two factors: the material results achieved in the present decade, on which our future plans will be built, and the accumulated experience, the level of civic consciousness and the citizenry's participation in the common effort. Hence, much depends on the results of our next year's work.

Let us strengthen our party and tirelessly implement its program, let us always and everywhere be equal to the best traditions of the Polish working-class movement, to our supreme duty: to serve the Polish people, build up our strength and well-being, strengthen the international positions of our homeland, the Polish People's Republic!

Trybuna Ludu, December 14, 1978



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DOCUMENTS

DEFEND DEMOCRACY AGAINST REACTION'S ATTACKS

*Extracts from a Document Adopted by the Plenary Meeting
of the Central Committee of the Portuguese Communist Party,
January 15, 1979*

1. THE MOTA PINTO GOVERNMENT AND PLANS TO LIQUIDATE THE DEMOCRATIC REGIME

The Mota Pinto government, following the Nobre da Costa government, is creating a situation in which the constitutional framework of the country's democratic regime is being ignored.

This government, which claims to be "non-party," is backed by the Popular Democratic Party (PDP). It enjoys the support of the Social Democratic Center (SDC) and other reactionary organizations, and represents the anti-popular, reactionary forces which as a result of the recent elections to the Assembly of the Republic did not receive a parliamentary majority and hence do not express the will of the people.

The CC PCP warns against the dangers threatening democracy and national independence as a result of the policy of subordination and capitulation, which the successive governments follow in certain matters, submitting to pressure and outside interference.

The policy of restoration of capitalism, latifundism and imperialism is a policy of national catastrophe. To resolve the problems of the nations and defend the interests of the people and the homeland, this policy must be replaced by a democratic one.

The facts show that reaction's present plans envisage achieving the following goals:

1. To restore in a short period the brutal forms of capitalist exploitation, to sharply reduce real wages, guarantee growing profits, stimulate the dynamics of capitalist accumulation, restrict the rights and freedoms of the working people, create an atmosphere of repression and intimidation at work-places and pay the big capitalists and the latifundists thousands of millions of escudos in compensation.

2. To reverse immediately or to paralyze the process of nationalization and the agrarian reform and return the enterprises, lands, financial resources of the state and the entire national economy to big capital and the big latifundists as a step toward the restoration of state-monopoly capitalism that was eliminated by the revolution.

3. To re-establish as soon as possible anti-constitutional conditions under which the government could openly violate democratic principles and norms.

4. To step up the purge of democrats and patriots from the state apparatus and to hand over to the fascists and reactionaries key posts in the ministries, the economy and the information media.

5. To eliminate the gains of April 25 in the Armed Forces, in particular, to paralyze the activity of the Council of the Revolution and to speedily abrogate it, but not for the purpose of putting an end to the influence of the military on the country's political life, but to replace this supreme organ of power which is a guarantee of democracy, by a new reactionary hierarchy that would, contrary to the will of the people, guarantee restoration of the power of the monopolies and latifundists. . . .

6. To increase Portugal's diplomatic, economic, financial and military dependence on foreign imperialism so that the political situation would develop under pressure and interference from outside, and to hamper the Portuguese people's realization of the socialist option.

7. To create political conditions and the necessary instruments (for instance, through a fundamental amendment of the electoral law) to obstruct the holding of democratic elections and free expression of the people's will and facilitate the "victory" of reaction in the electoral farce along the lines of Marcelo Caetano.

8. To prepare through a real coup revision of the constitution, in violation of the constitutional framework and processes, and to impose on the country (through anti-democratic methods, such as falsified referendum or election results) a reactionary constitution that will liquidate the democratic regimes.

2. NEEDED: A POLICY FOR THE SOLUTION OF NATIONAL PROBLEMS AND DEFENSE OF DEMOCRACY

The PCP Central Committee considers it essential to emphasize two fundamental aspects of the reactionary plans that are designed to liquidate the democratic regime.

First, it is fair to say that if the present offensive against the gains of the revolution, freedom, the democratic regime and the Constitution is not stopped, a reactionary or even a fascist dictatorship might again be established in Portugal in the near future.

Second, the forces of reaction are actually much weaker than they would have us believe. The Portuguese people, the popular and democratic movement are quite capable of barring the way to reaction, defending revolutionary gains and the democratic regime.

The PCP Central Committee considers that for the defense of democracy and national independence it is essential to:

1. **Respect the Constitution, democratic institutions and legality**, which is, above all, the duty of the supreme bodies of power, particularly the government. Ensure effective guarantees for the exercise of civil rights and liberties on the entire territory of the country; freedom of information and opinion; pluralism and independence of the state-supervised media. Stop the persecutions, professional discrimination and purges on the basis of difference of opinion. Struggle against terrorism.

2. **Defend national unity and territorial integrity**. Struggle against avowed or concealed separatism. Guarantee of regional autonomy as stipulated in the Constitution.

3. **Defend and improve the living standards of the working people and the middle classes and strata**. Curb the growth of prices and maintain the population's purchasing power. Remove the obstructions to collective bargaining. Bring wages and salaries in line with prices. Provide unemployment payments, family allowances and pensions. Prohibit unjustified dismissals and create new jobs. Solve the urgent problems of the youth and women. Extend price compensation, credits and insurance in agriculture and animal husbandry, and technical aid to small and tenant farmers. Implement a corresponding policy in the field of health care, housing construction, education and culture in the interests of the people and in accordance with the Constitution. Solve the most pressing problems of the trained engineers and technical personnel, professionals, small and medium tradesmen and industrialists.

4. **Respect the big democratic and progressive changes implemented after April 25 and finalized in the Constitution**. Guarantee the irreversibility of nationalization and the agrarian reform. Put a stop to, prohibit and repeal the government's unconstitutional, illegal, arbitrary, forcible decisions and actions. Restore constitutionality and legality by returning the illegally seized lands,

cattle and machines to the collective production units (CPU) and cooperatives, and to the workers — the enterprises that have been illegally restituted to the saboteur-owners. Ensure control over administration; further implementation of the agrarian reform; immediate revision of the Barreto law* with a view to its consequent repeal.

5. Follow an economic and financial policy aimed at effective restoration of the economy and democratic development of the national economy for the good of the Portuguese people and as a guarantee of national independence. Mobilize internal resources and forces in order to increase production. Conduct a credit, investment and prices policy aimed at multiplying the country's wealth. Lower interest rates for loans. Halt the scandalous compensation payments to big capitalists and landowners. cut back the import of luxury goods. Support diverse economic spheres (the nationalized sector, the CPUs, cooperatives and the private sector, self-management enterprises, small commodity production) in accordance with the development needs of each of them.

6. Conduct a foreign policy of national independence and patriotic dignity. Rule out outside pressure and interference in the country's policy; renounce subordination to any country or military-political bloc. Develop foreign relations without impinging traditional ties. Agreements with the Common Market may be concluded only with account for the socio-economic and political situation in Portugal. In accordance with Article 7 of the Constitution, restrict NATO's participation in the military affairs of the country. Make use of the broad opportunities for cooperation with the socialist countries, the new states of Africa and other Third World countries.

7. Hold elections — to the local bodies, assemblies of the autonomous regions and the Assembly of the Republic and presidential elections — in accordance with the democratic principles finalized in the Constitution. Ensure freedoms; equality of parties in using the mass media; full respect for the principle of proportional representation; the right to a direct and free vote; control over the conduct of elections.

8. Ensure strict observance of constitutional order in introducing amendments to the Constitution. . . . A two-thirds majority is required to make changes in the structure of the future Assembly of the Republic. Determine the Armed Forces' place in the bodies of politi-

*A reactionary law aimed against the agrarian reform. — *Ed.*

cal power, at a time when the democratic regime has not yet strengthened its positions, in order to ensure its role in the further defense of democracy in the spirit of April 25.

These points fully correspond to the interests of the Portuguese people and nation, accord with the Constitution and the existing regime, and serve the creation of a platform to unite all the socio-political forces who do not want a return to a dictatorship and seek to consolidate and develop the Portugal of April 25.

The Communist Party will expose all anti-constitutional actions and positions and will fight against them even if they are imposed by the government itself. The PCP is not a party that can be threatened, blackmailed or intimidated. It respects democratic order and demands that others do the same, the government above all. The PCP demands observance of constitutional provisions and implementation of the law forbidding the activity and propaganda of fascist organizations.

The Central Committee reaffirms that the PCP will continue to act vigorously in the framework of democratic institutions. The party is not abusing the rights and freedoms provided by the Constitution to the parties and the citizenry, nor will it do so in the future. But neither will it renounce a single one of them.

3. THE PEOPLE WILL DEFEND THE PORTUGAL OF APRIL 25

The enormous organizing force, class consciousness and militant spirit of the united trade union movement, rallied round the GCTP-National Intersindical, are essential prerequisites for defending the rights of the working people and achieving — through struggle against the reactionary entrepreneurs and their government — satisfaction of the just demands of the working people and for upholding the democratic regime.

The year 1978 was a year of big victories for the united trade union movement. The big employers and reaction know well that the unity of the working people affiliated to the trade unions of Intersindical is a serious obstacle to their policy.

An alliance of the working class and the anti-monopoly classes and strata is an objective necessity because of the direct consequences of the policy of capitalist restoration and the plans to resurrect the power of the monopolies and latifundists.

The consolidation of this alliance is a key factor in the positive

development of the political situation and the final victory of the democratic revolution.

Mobilization of the masses to fight for concrete immediate objectives is an important front of struggle against reaction and in defense of democracy.

The PCP considers that the specific task of the local bodies is to resolve local problems and defend the interests of the local population. A key condition for resolving these problems is the broadest possible unity of the deputies and their inseparability from the population on the basis of a corresponding policy of informing the people and their participation in public affairs, particularly through the tenants' commissions.

The elections to the local organs of power, which are scheduled for December, have already set in motion all the political forces. Bearing in mind their importance and the significance of their results in correctly solving the problems of the local population, as well as for the political situation as a whole, it is essential already now to engage the entire party in this great battle for democracy.

The Portuguese men and women who side with the Portugal of April 25 constitute the overwhelming majority of the people, though they do not adhere to the same political views.

The PCP Central Committee considers it essential — simultaneously with continued efforts for drawing together and achieving agreement and unity of action of the democratic parties — to seek forms of unitary organization and actions of democrats and patriots of differing views. This, however, does not necessarily imply reaching agreement and coordination of actions between the respective parties.

In the fifth year of Portugal's liberation from fascism, faced with the growing threat to democracy, the PCP Central Committee urges all democrats and patriots, everyone who is prepared to fight to prevent Portugal's return to the terror and fascist dictatorship of the past, to draw closer together, to discuss in common existing problems, to reach agreement and to resolve, together with the communists, the question of the aims and forms of struggle and actions in defense of the Portugal of April 25.

While defending the need for agreement and united actions of the communists and socialists in the framework of unity of Portuguese democrats as an imperative condition of struggle against reaction and in defense of the working people's interests and the democratic regime, the PCP Central Committee expresses deep concern over the orientation and stand of the Socialist Party leadership. The SP line in

the Assembly of the Republic, which permitted the endorsement of the Mota Pinto government by Parliament and made possible its convergence with the PPD in the UGT* is an alarming sign.

The Socialist Party bears the responsibility for the policy of restoring capitalism, latifundism and imperialism. This party, which first allied itself with the rightists and later linked up with the Social Democratic Center, bears an enormous responsibility for going over to the "package" policy, for the offensive against the agrarian reform, nationalization and workers' control, for drafting and approving counter-revolutionary legislation, preparing the country's entry into the Common Market, the sharp increase of the foreign debt and submission to the conditions of the International Monetary Fund.

The SP has paid and continues to pay dearly for its policy: it was removed from power, lost many of its positions in the state apparatus, discredited itself in the country and abroad, along with disarray in its own ranks and many members leaving it, resulting in the reduction of its membership, narrowing of its social base and a corresponding loss of its electoral support.

The interests of Portuguese democracy require that the SP's fall should not be aggravated and not assume catastrophic dimensions. To avoid this, however, the SP must make a profound and realistic analysis of reality from self-critical positions, fully renounce its alliances with the reactionary forces, adopt militant anti-fascist positions and begin implementing a genuine democratic policy.

The Central Committee reaffirms the party's readiness to examine at any time together with the SP all national problems; it reaffirms the party's resolve to reach agreement on specific questions — in the Assembly of the Republic, local organs of power, diverse spheres of national life in order to rebuff the offensive and the plans of reaction.

The PCP Central Committee appeals to the members and supporters of the SP to step up everywhere, together with the communists and other democrats, the struggle in defense of the working classes, the democratic regime and Portugal's independence.

In the circumstances, a stronger Communist Party meets the interests not only of the communists but of all working people, all democrats and patriots.

The PCP Central Committee decides:

(a) to continue improving the composition and structure of the central leadership and all leading party bodies;

*General Union of Working People. — Ed.

(b) to accelerate the training of cadres, bearing in mind the recent experience and the specific ideological, political and technical requirements;

(c) to intensify efforts aimed at increasing the party's membership and improving its structure;

(d) to improve the information and agitation-propaganda and ideological work, to increase its promptness and efficacy in accordance with the situation that has emerged as a result of the frontal offensive of reaction.

In view of the qualitative changes in the political situation of the country over the past three years and the need for a profound analysis enabling to see more clearly the prospects and to better determine the orientation and objectives of the party, and guided by Article 19 of the Party Constitution, the Central Committee decides to hold the Ninth PCP Congress from May 31 to June 3, 1979 and to immediately begin preparations for it in party organizations at all levels.

Central Committee
Portuguese Communist Party

CYNICISM AND SHAMELESSNESS

Statement by the CP USA on Teng Hsiao-ping's Visit

The Communist Party of the USA issued a statement signed by National Chairman Henry Winston and General Secretary Gus Hall in connection with the visit to the United States by Teng Hsiao-ping, Deputy Premier of the PRC State Council.

The full text of the statement follows:

We, the American people, should think hard about the true meaning of the visit by China's Vice Premier Teng Hsiao-ping.

This visit is part of the process of building a military understanding between the United States and China — really, in fact, a military alliance of aggression, regardless of what it is called.

This alliance increases the danger of the outbreak of a thermo-nuclear war. It is a threat to the oppressed peoples of the world fighting for their national liberation. It is a further obstacle in the struggle of the people of the United States to reorder our country's priorities — to stop the arms race, slash the military budget, and

devote the money saved to solving our terrible economic and social problems.

The issue is not the restoration of normal relations between the U.S. and China. That should have been done long ago. The issue is also not one or two Chinas. That, also, should have been settled long ago, and on a principled basis, not the way it is being handled now. The issue is what kind of relations the U.S. and China should have, and for what purpose.

If anyone had any doubts about the dangers in the U.S.-China connection, Teng's visit should dispel them. The way Teng has been talking — his cynicism, his shamelessness — is almost unbelievable. Disregarding completely the way a guest in someone else's country should behave, he has been lecturing U.S. officials and the people of the U.S. on how to conduct our foreign policy — telling them that détente is wrong, that the agreements like SALT-II are meaningless, and that the United States should be acting more vigorously against the movement of the people for their liberation in Africa, Iran and elsewhere. Agreements and statements are not enough, says Teng. Actions are necessary.

In his attitude toward the national-liberation struggles in Africa and Iran you see Teng's true attitude toward the peoples of the under-developed countries — contempt for them, for their attempts to solve their own problems, for their cultures. This is simple, extreme great power chauvinism.

In polls, 75 per cent of the people of the United States have been shown to be for détente. But Teng speaks against it. After Vietnam, the people of the U.S. are firmly against sending U.S. troops to fight colonial wars. But Teng talks about the need for action to counter "defeats" like Iran. How is it a defeat for the people of the U.S. when the people of Iran get rid of a murderous bloody dictator?

You see here Teng's cynicism. He knows the extreme right, the fascist elements in U.S. society, are raising the phony question of: "Who lost Iran?" Teng gives them invaluable help. He intrudes into U.S. affairs by publicly stating his agreement with an open letter by 170 retired U.S. generals and admirals who want to heat up the arms race. He has dinners at the home of Zbigniew Brzezinski, who is working to promote an extremely aggressive policy, even though it means nuclear war. He meets with Nixon. A main purpose of Teng's visit was to strengthen the hand of the fascist, pro-war elements in U.S. life. The meetings with Brzezinski and Nixon are only the part

that shows — Teng has been holding secret meetings with the reactionary ultra-right.

The Chinese leadership and Brzezinski share the same philosophy about nuclear weapons. Some years ago Mao Tse-tung said a nuclear war would not be so bad; even if half of humanity were exterminated, the other half would survive. And, last year, in an interview, Brzezinski said that to think a nuclear war would destroy mankind was "inexact thinking." According to Brzezinski, even if the peoples of the United States and the Soviet Union were wiped out, the peoples of other countries would remain. According to this nuclear idiot, we must not be "egocentric," and exaggerate the importance of the extermination of the U.S. and Soviet peoples.

It is true that President Carter and others in the U.S. government have, to some extent, dissociated themselves from Teng's statements. But not even remotely enough.

For example, Teng had the gall to use the U.S. as a platform for saying the China would be teaching Vietnam "some necessary lessons." Could anything sound more like the imperialists? who set up this pupil-teacher relationship anyway? Who appointed China the teacher? Isn't this great-power hegemonism?

Teng says this at a time when China has amassed 100,000 troops on its border with Vietnam. This statement should have been sharply repudiated by Carter and other U.S. officials. This is not some little question of diplomatic manners like whether to serve Teng with chopsticks or knife and fork. It is a question of war or peace. Not repudiating Teng means encouraging him.

The whole drift of Teng's policy is dangerous for the people of the United States. The current Chinese leaders have added to Mao's policy of instigating war between the Soviet Union and the United States by advocating a war-alliance between the United States, the NATO countries, Japan and China. Teng wants the United States, NATO and Japan to build up their armaments even faster than they are doing. He wants them to give modern arms to China. What is the logical end of such a policy except wars, including a nuclear holocaust?

Teng's policy is not in the interest of the people of the United States. Teng won't be learning anything about the people of the U.S. on this visit. His trips have been carefully chosen. He will be visiting places like aircraft factories and space centers in a few of our more well-preserved cities.

As the leader of a socialist country, he should be seeing how our

people live; he should be seeing our working people, our Black, Hispanic and other minority peoples, our ghettos and decaying cities. Then he might begin to learn a little about the true problems of the people of the United States.

We, the people of the United States, have many problems — terrible problems — and they will not be made better, but worse, by the China connection. What we need is not the China alliance, the heating up the arms race, the increased risk of war — but the opposite. What we need is to slash the war budget and then use the money to create jobs for the unemployed, fight inflation, rebuild our decaying cities and give our people the education and health care they should be getting.

Daily World, February 3, 1979



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FROM THE PRESS

THE MYTH ABOUT WAGES AND INFLATION

*Gus Hall,
General Secretary, Communist Party USA*

One of the main myths propagated by the mouthpieces of the monopolies is that inflation is caused by excessive wage increases — by the so-called wage-price spiral. This myth is worth many billions of dollars to the monopolies. It helps them keep fattening their profits, while dumping the costs of controlling inflation on the working people.

There is absolutely no truth to this myth. Wage increases are not the cause of inflation, and restrictions on wages are not the key to controlling it.

To see this, let us begin by taking a quick look at U.S. history to find out when inflations have arisen. An interesting fact emerges: practically all the major inflations have arisen in times of war. Major inflations occurred at the time of the Civil War, World War I, World War II, the Korean War and the Vietnam War and its aftermath.

A closer look at the period from World War II to the present will further illustrate the connection between inflation, military expenditures and war.

For five years prior to World War II, prices were stable. Then the war set off a giant wave of inflation. By 1948, the Consumer Price Index was 72 per cent higher than in 1940. With greatly reduced military expenditures, prices were stable between 1948 and 1950. Then the Korean War set off another inflationary surge, with an 8 per cent leap in just the first year.

Between 1953 and 1965, the rise in prices was comparatively mild except when there were sharp increases in the military budget, as in 1957. After 1965, the escalation of the Vietnam War brought with it an escalation of the inflation.

Unlike what happened after World War II and the Korean War, the end of the fighting in Vietnam brought no relief. The inflation con-

tinues as strong as ever. Last year the rate of increase in the Consumer Price Index was over 9 per cent. After both World War II and the Korean War, military expenditures plummeted. But since the Vietnam War they have continued to be high.

These are the historical facts. They fit the basic explanation given for inflation by economic theory.

The key factor causing inflation is the pumping of too much money into the economy in relation to the supply of goods available. This is what military expenditures and wars do. The money to pay for them goes into the market, blowing up the money supply. But the military goods and services do not enter into the market to absorb there the money that was spent for them. Military goods and services are consumed on the military bases and battlefields.

One might argue, of course, that if the government were to pay for military expenditures with money withdrawn from circulation through taxes, or getting people to buy government bonds, inflation would not result. As a matter of hypothetical example, this is true. But hypothetical examples in economics are dangerous.

One has to see how things work, not hypothetically, but in fact. In fact, the United States has not — and as a practical matter could not have — fully financed its wars and arms buildups through withdrawal of money from circulation. It has financed them in good part by running budget deficits covered by what amounts, if one looks behind the technical banking folderol, to printed money. Consequently, wars and arms buildups have caused inflation.

How do wage increases fit into the picture? This can be answered in two parts. First, if one sticks to what happened in fact, not even a shadow of a case can be made that wage increases precipitated inflation. Second, wage increases are essential to keep workers from falling behind, to keep their incomes from being chewed away by the inflation.

The monopoly mouthpieces can't afford to tell honestly what happens in fact, so they construct artificial, hypothetical examples to show how wage increases are responsible for inflation: "Suppose wages increase by, say, 10 per cent. Prices will also have to go up. This, in turn, will make wages go up. And there you have the wage-price spiral." This kind of out-of-context hypothetical reasoning is a con job — a trap which honest people should avoid falling into like the plague.

The abstract example may sound plausible. But it just can't explain what really happens. If wage increases are responsible for inflation

how come the wage increases of the periods 1948-1950 and 1953-1965 — when there were no wars — did not produce inflation? How come the inflations arose only during periods of heavy war expenditures?

Take the period from 1965 to 1970. Wage increases can't explain why a wave of inflation suddenly got underway. But the Vietnam War can. For several years prior to that war military expenditures were steady. Then they shot upward by 55 per cent between 1965 and 1968. Lyndon Baines Johnson was afraid to ask for a tax increase to pay for the hated war. So the federal budget deficit began to soar. It was an enormous \$25 billion in 1968. The military expenditures, financed by printed money, are what caused the inflation to gather momentum.

The fact that workers, in such a situation, fight for wage increases does not make them responsible for inflation. They are simply defending themselves. Think where they would be if they didn't. However, even with struggle, wages have been falling behind prices. Workers may be getting higher money wages, but with prices going up even faster they are really getting less.

According to the government's own statistics, average real hourly earnings — that is, earnings adjusted to take into account the increase in prices — fell by almost 3 per cent from 1973 to 1975. And they have not caught up since. Over the last five years, average real hourly earnings have been lower than what they were in 1972 and 1973. And in 1978, with the umpteenth flare-up of inflation, they were again falling.

That workers are not responsible for inflation becomes even more apparent if one looks at profits. While real hourly earnings have been declining, profits have been soaring. In 1978, corporate profits ran at a record level, and well ahead of the inflation. A militarized economy and swollen corporate profits go together, of course. One of the biggest sources of profits are the juicy military contracts.

Some highly-paid bourgeois economists talk about "breaking the wage-price spiral by holding back wage increases" — as though they were involved in some sort of intellectual game, rather than dealing with real people. For those who like to play such games, it can be admitted that if the working class were to give up eating for 18 months the inflation would probably be stopped, although even this depends on not getting militarily involved in the Middle East, Africa or elsewhere.

But the real world is not a game. We are dealing with people — workers and others who depend on their wages and salaries to feed

their families, to pay the soaring costs of food, clothing, housing, utilities, gasoline and medical care.

Alfred Kahn, President Carter's so-called "chief inflation fighter," gets \$57,000 a year in salary, to say nothing about his income from investments, etc. Kahn has had the gall to state that in order to defend the Administration's 7 per cent wage guideline, "we may have to be willing to take strikes." He was asked why workers should accept a limitation of 7 per cent, when the increase in the price level in 1978 was more than 9 per cent. To break the "spiral," he asserted, workers have to suffer a loss of real income: "There is no allowance for catching up for past years."

It is just not true that it is necessary to control wages, to cut down the real income of the working class, in order to eliminate the inflation. In fact, as the experience with wage-price controls under Nixon in 1971 and 1972 showed, this method won't do the job.

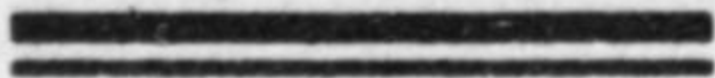
The way to eliminate the inflation is to slash the war budget; get rid of the tax loopholes which enable the rich and the corporations to get away with tens of billions in taxes; pass a law rolling back and freezing prices and rents and imposing a strict limitation on corporate profits.

The theory that workers and wage increases are responsible for inflation is not being put forth because it has a scientific basis. It is being put forth as a weapon of the monopolies and the monopoly-dominated government in their class struggle against the working people.

The government is trying to control the inflation at the expense of the workers and people while preserving monopoly interests. That's what Carter's anti-inflation program really means. It means cutting real wages, cutting both federal and local government services to the people, and deliberately producing a recession and higher unemployment. At the same time, the military budget is not only to be maintained, it is to be increased.

With such a program, Carter is really asking for it. We, the working people, should give him the response he deserves.

Daily World, January 11, 1979



CHILE: FIVE YEARS LATER

Renca is one of the oldest sections of the poor on the outskirts of Santiago with about 143,000 inhabitants. We are passing through a place called Puerto Bulnes, where for several months after the coup dead bodies were found in the mornings. Manuel lives close by. "At night we used to count the shots. Now," he added, "the repressions are more selective, more sophisticated, psychological." Sinister vehicles of the National Information Center (CNI) — the former political police DINA — stand at the street corner. The aim is to maintain an atmosphere of fear. It is a serious obstacle to the organization of resistance, my companions say. They speak in clipped sentences, often looking back.

On the wall of San Joaquin, a small white church resembling those in Andalusian villages, there is a banner in huge letters: "Chile 1978. Human Rights Year."

The cardinal, the Archbishop of Santiago, wanted to make 1978 human rights year. My escorts, activists of the left parties, said: "The church is a reliable place for meetings, discussion, expression of one's thoughts. . . ."

At their recent conference in Puerto Monte, Chilean bishops openly declared their opposition to the dictatorship. They demand a return to democracy. The "vicariate of solidarity," consisting of both believers and non-believers, conduct extensive and systematic work in organizing solidarity. In the Renca commune alone it is extending aid to seven popular canteens, thanks to which 500 children and dozens of adults can eat at least once a day.

In Huamachuco, the canteen is run by a group of women on a voluntary basis. It is situated in several wooden barracks belonging to the labor exchange. At noon, 45 children of unemployed parents were served one dish: soup with a few pieces of meat floating about. "Yesterday," Maria Perez explains, "we were given some tripe at the market." For these women it is a real headache to put together some kind of a meal. Never any fruit. Very rarely, a little meat. Some vegetables come from the commune gardens. In the afternoon a group of students of the medical faculty brought the children a little milk and put on a puppet show.

I asked Maria Perez, isn't it charity? "No. . . . Our aim is to make people tackle their own problems, to reflect on their situation. We are trying to restore hope and dignity to them, to restore the social tissue

destroyed by the junta. The popular canteens have an educational program as well."

Alberto, a journalist formerly on the staff of *Mercurio*, takes an active part in the work of the "labor exchange." He is unemployed "for political reasons." He has a wife and two children. "I specialize in shoemaking, I live in Batuco. Very far from here, but there we don't have to pay rent. No water or electricity, either." The "exchange" organizes the unemployed who have no connection with the trade union locals. The national organization of unemployed works in close unity with the national trade union organization.

There are hundreds of jobless young people, like Alberto; they aimlessly roam the streets and vacant lots, having left their homes because of the unbearable economic situation. Prostitution, drug abuse, alcoholism and school absenteeism are widespread, the rotten fruit of the dictatorship. A whole generation has been trampled on, sacrificed, I was told repeatedly. Student stipends have been cancelled and expenditure on education reduced. The military junta has abolished all subjects which it considers subversive: political science, sociology. . . . Hundreds of unemployed young doctors have been forced to emigrate.

Daily, information is transmitted through invisible channels. This can hardly be stopped. How to stop the masses from forming an alliance directed against the dictatorship? How to keep hidden all the unsavory dealings of the dictatorship? Cassettes with Victor Jara's songs and Pablo Neruda's last book *Confieso que he vivido* are being circulated clandestinely. The wives of political prisoners have set up a folklore group.

The disappeared. A national tragedy. A traumatic experience for the Chileans. In Renca, the mayor and his first deputy have "disappeared." It is in Renca that Ana Recabarren's family lived. Her husband, two sons and pregnant daughter-in-law have been arrested by DINA thugs. Since then, nothing is known about them. On September 8, Ana Recabarren wrote a letter to Christian Precht. A church dignitary began his speech at the International Symposium on Human Rights by reading this letter: "Some are pliant, others urge us to be patient or throw us a few coins; some accuse us of taking part in politics, others ask us to wait. . . . But wait for what, and how long. . . . Every human being has the right to a life befitting a human being. . . . A pretty phrase. Let us see to it that it will not be just another empty phrase."

Estela is the daughter of Fernando Ortiz, a university teacher and

member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Chile, who was arrested on December 15, 1976, and then disappeared. She tells us: "No one has the right to stop fighting until we have explicit information on every disappeared person. It would mean giving a free hand to Pinochet. He must answer for every one of his crimes. As long as even a single prisoner remains in the dungeons of the dictatorship and the secret CNI prisons we will go on fighting for his freedom."

The people are raising their voices. One young soldier, who for obvious reasons wished to remain anonymous, told us that in October 1975 he, together with the Second Tank Regiment (the first to attack the Popular Unity government) had taken part in maneuvers in Cerro Cheuque (the Peldehue military camp 35 kilometres from Santiago) where he had discovered two trenches filled with dead bodies. He even designated the exact spot: 500 metres from the NASA building in the direction of the hills.

Today people are no longer shot. The repressions take other forms, primarily economic and social. The decree of October 20, 1978 bans the activity of seven "Marxist-type" trade union federations and confederations on the pretext that they are not "juristic persons." This concerns the most representative and militant trade unions, as well as the recently founded National Coordination Committee of Trade Union Confederations, Federations and Organizations, linking the forces of Popular Unity and part of the Christian Democrats. . . .

The junta — persistently seeking to set up a vertical, pliant trade union movement that would give it free rein to implant the "economic model" — hurriedly (in three days) organized trade union elections under the surveillance of former DINA leaders. This plan fell through. The working people re-elected by a majority vote leaders who are not to the liking of the dictatorship.

Gradually, the working class is again coming out in the political arena. The struggle of the Chunquimata and Del Salvador copper miners, which at one time opposed Popular Unity, has shaken the country.

There is a wave of unrest in the Catholic university caused by the dismissal of two students. The so-called economic miracle mechanism is beginning to misfire and the notorious "Chicago boys" privately admit their disenchantment. Never yet has the finance oligarchy amassed such huge profits as now. The competing economic-financial groups are sharing the spoils. The U.S. Anaconda Copper Mining company intends to buy up the copper mines, which

are to be denationalized shortly. With IMF blessing signs have appeared in many shops in the center of town, announcing: "Imported from Taiwan, Japan, the FRG, USA, China. . . ."

There are plans to lay off 3,000 workers in the coal mining and saltpeter industry. Agricultural production has fallen below the 1970 level. The Federation of Peasants and Indians (Ranquil) estimates the real level of unemployment in the rural regions at 27 per cent. The draft reform law concerning Indians threatens the existence of the Mapuche. A total of four million Chileans are deprived of elementary means of existence. The planned amendment of the Constitution and setting up of new institutions is polarizing the political debate. There are rumors of hurried preparations for a plebiscite. The official draft constitution envisages legalization of fascism, that is, closing the door to the future. This is Pinochet's "protected democracy." It is yet another instance of black humor, of Chile's sovereignty and destiny being trampled by the army and the police. The people are consigned to a secondary role in the constitution. A former minister in the Salvador Allende government called this Pinochet plan a "veritable code of negation of human rights." The oligarchy and its army are intent on eliminating the concept of democracy for all time.

A commission of lawyers and democratic personalities of different political tendencies are working on a counter draft constitution "to create a broad democratic alternative . . ."

The central political problem remains the lack of a concrete political alternative and of unity among the opposition, which must rid itself of the old distrust, sectarianism and anti-communist prejudices. Pinochet's power lies partly in the disarray of the opposition. Many left groups, I was told, have been virtually liquidated.

"An accord or pooling of efforts by the Popular Unity and the Christian Democrats is a decisive factor for a democratic alternative," a leader of the Communist Party of Chile working in illegality, told me. The Communist Party is conducting important work in organizing and mobilizing the working-class and poor sections of the capital. "There are signs of advance in relations with the Christian Democrats on such issues as the trade unions, the youth, and the universities. Consensus is being forged on the basis of initiatives aimed at a common goal."

Jorge Donoso, a lawyer and former leader of the Christian Democratic Party, admits that "despite five years of suffering, difficulties persist, hampering the unity of all strata of the people, thanks to which the coup became possible . . . A progressive tendency is de-

veloping in the CDP but the leadership, while criticizing the junta, remains anti-communist and rejects a program of accord with the Communist Party. It would like to see the communists consigned to the sidelines for a long period." Donoso however considers that "there can be no transitional period without an accord with the Communist Party." As an activist belonging to a primary organization put it, "in every unity there exists the risk of the communists being excluded." Various maneuvers are in train in an attempt to find a way out of the situation with the assistance of the working people, but without communist participation. "And fascism," he went on to say, "causes so much frustration and a desire to find liberation at any cost that such an alternative may meet with mass support."

Unity is growing stronger at primary organization level. The press reports the founding of a united Chilean human rights committee. The prospect of a social-democratic type regime? There is much talk along these lines, beginning with CDP leader Eduardo Frei, who adroitly remains in the shadow, up to members of the Socialist Party and Socialist Action Movement, consisting primarily of lawyers and doctors. Even General Gustavo Leigh, a former Air Force commander and one of the organizers of the coup who was recently dismissed by Pinochet, speaks of this.

There is also mention of General Hernan Brady, defense advisor to the junta chief with the rank of minister, whom some consider "a United States man." Bridges are being built. Outlines are beginning to emerge. It is asserted in Santiago, with uneasiness, that the Social-Democratic Party of Germany led by Willy Brandt and Helmut Schmidt is allegedly also exerting pressure with the aim of splitting the Popular Unity and rallying around the CDP all those who reject the "Marxist model."

I asked a member of the Socialist Party about the machinations against Popular Unity. He answered: a month and a half ago the Popular Unity held a meeting at which it reaffirmed its unity and loyalty to its commitments.

The army. It is armed to the teeth. Its suppliers: Israel, Brazil and South Africa. The conflict with Argentina over the Beagle Channel — an important strategic zone rich in oil and mineral resources — enables Pinochet to maintain a spirit of nationalism and unity in the Armed Forces. "There is a real danger of war," diplomatic circles in Santiago are saying.

A document recently adopted by the Communist Party of Chile proposes starting a dialogue with the officers and soldiers. The CPC

suggests that they participate in a non-fascist provisional government. "To achieve these goals," the CPC document says, "it is essential that a movement should emerge in the Armed Forces that would make its contribution to overthrowing Pinochet ..." It speaks of a possibility and the need for a minimum of accord between all anti-fascist forces, providing a genuine way out of the situation.

Jean Ortiz

Abridged from *Voix Ouvrière*,
December 22 and 27, 1978

PEKING'S ACTUAL AIMS IN EUROPE

China's present European policy is a new development in the history of the People's Republic of China. It is its first-ever attempt to influence the balance of strength in Europe.

In the context of the global anti-Soviet strategy now underlying Chinese foreign policy, European contradictions are seen by Peking as a potential lever for prodding the world into war.

This is a grave accusation. However, it is borne out by the policy pursued by the Hua Kuo-feng and Teng Hsiao-ping group.

The basic element of Chinese policy is the public assertion that war is inevitable and, hence, the stake on war. If we assume that logic guides human actions — the Peking leadership certainly does not consist of lunatics — and if we go by the pronouncements of the Chinese leaders themselves, it must be acknowledged that this policy pursues two objectives: first, to direct the war they regard as inevitable against the USSR; second, to use the bugbear of war (without excluding the possibility of dragging the rest of the world into it) to surmount China's technological lag behind the industrialized states of the East and West.

This has been the general line of Chinese policy for at least the past ten years. The difference between Mao's tactics and those of his successors is that the latter are not confined to repetition of anti-Soviet slogans and assertions that nuclear war would have more fearful consequences for other countries than for China. For nearly a year they have been complementing these theses with practical actions in an effort to join the system of recorded and unrecorded treaties spearheaded at the Soviet Union and other countries of the

socialist community. . . . While Mao sought to gain his ends, particularly in the 1960s, with attempts to split the international working-class movement by setting up small, vocal groups (that today have sunk into oblivion), Peking's present ruling clique has openly gone over the the realization of their aims in inter-state policy, dropping even the external trappings of a state born of a socialist revolution.

On these grounds one cannot agree with those who are inclined to underrate the threat that this policy poses to world peace and believe that the Chinese leadership's insistence that war is inevitable serves mainly internal objectives, namely, the consolidation of society and the strengthening of the central power. *First*, military hostility toward a neighbor cannot be proclaimed with impunity to the public mentality; *second*, the coordination of the efforts of the NATO powers and Japan to meet China's armament requirements give grounds for considering that this is being done not only to help prop up the Hua — Teng regime in China but also as part of their global anti-socialist strategy.

From our, Polish, point of view the orientation of Peking's policy in Europe eloquently shows what the Chinese actually mean to achieve. An expression of this policy is the declaration of solidarity with all who are undermining the foundation of the 34-year peace in Europe, peace that resulted from the victory over fascism and the decisive contribution made to that victory by the Soviet Union. This policy is directed against the existing territorial and political status quo and, thereby, against peace in Europe as a whole.

The Peking leaders call for Germany's reunification on the basis of the Bonn program and declare their understanding and support for the revisionist and nationalistic forces in the FRG in the hope of fanning the ambitions of the opponents of the status quo in Europe who have been attacking détente and cooperation with the East ever since the capitulation of the Third Reich. . . .

Franz-Josef Strauss is among the people openly staking on the Chinese card. The journal *Spiegel* wrote recently with an air of bluster that Teng Hsiao-ping described his meeting with the Bavarian leader with the words: "Some people believe that ours was a meeting of the worst people in the world. Regrettably, the number of such bad people is still small." The readiness of some Bonn circles to welcome Chinese great-power policy is shown by the recent publicized fact that the West German intelligence (BND) had mediated in the sending of enriched uranium to China that could be used as primary material for the production of nuclear weapons.

Relative to playing the Chinese card in the political game the appetites of some West German centers are growing so fast that FRG Chancellor Schmidt had on a number of occasions felt that in view of the détente and the FRG's need to reckon with the interests of the Soviet Union and all the other Warsaw Treaty states it was expedient to warn against actions of this kind.

However, the Chinese leaders are bent on inflaming not only the German problem. In urging the destabilization of the peace in Europe they are out, among other things, to revive the concept of a "Balkan cauldron" on our continent.

Peking publicly proclaims its support for West European integration, always underscoring the anti-socialist motivation of that process. At the same time, they proclaim their backing for NATO and their approval of the spiralling arms race. During the past few months a growing number of ranking Chinese military has visited the arsenals of West European states. The purpose of these visits is to establish cooperation directed against the socialist community.

In concentrated form this policy is expressed in the attitude to the European Conference on Security and Cooperation, in which Peking fancies "Soviet diktat." Many of the Chinese assessments on this plane coincide in principle with the stance of the CDU/CSU. Peking is particularly vehement in its attacks on the Final Act's provision that the inviolability of existing frontiers is a condition of peace in Europe.

The point that Mao's successors, like Mao before them, reject the fundamental Leninist thesis of peaceful coexistence. More, they seek to turn this negation into a weapon against the socialist countries.

To sum up, the conclusion may be drawn that Peking's present leaders seek to accomplish in Europe an intricate maneuver aimed in different directions and having as its common denominator the striving to change existing frontiers. If this policy of changing existing frontiers were to be recognized as justified it would signify support for preparations for another war. This is precisely what they want in China.

Fortunately, the common sense and realistic thinking of European states and also, willy-nilly, the might of the Warsaw Treaty countries are to a large extent placing China's European policy in the realm of impracticable dreams. However, one should not underrate the fact that in Europe, too, there are forces that would like to see Chinese policy as a strong trump in the political game against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

Ryszard Wojna

Trybuna Ludu, January 22, 1979

number 6, 1979 43

HOW THE NATIONAL QUESTION IS "RESOLVED" IN CHINA

The Peking leadership's Maoist course in relation to the national minorities is a clear manifestation of great-power chauvinism in domestic policy.

At the present time more than half the country's territory is populated by 50 nationalities which in official Chinese materials are designated as "national minorities." If account is taken of the ethnic groups within them, their number runs to over a hundred, with an overall population of approximately 45 million. It should be noted that the official data on the number of non-Chinese peoples has been substantially understated, in line with the general nationalities policy of the present Peking leadership, which is aimed at forcible assimilation.

The biggest national group, the Han (Chinese), accounts for more than 94 per cent of the PRC population. The non-Chinese peoples differ greatly from them by their history, culture, religion and by their ethnic character. The non-Han peoples have waged a persistent struggle over the centuries against the great-power assimilation policy and national oppression. They have frequently staged uprisings against the colonization of their native lands and for national liberation. But despite their successes in this struggle, the final solution of the national problem hinged on China's political development.

The Communist Party of China, founded in 1921, worked out, on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist teaching on the national question, a program for its solution as an important part of the overall objectives of the Chinese revolution. A basic provision of this program was recognition of the right to self-determination and complete — juridical and actual — equality of all nationalities living on the territory of China. It should be stressed that at the time this provision concerned not only the national minorities, but the Chinese people themselves, for the revolutionary struggle waged by the CPC took place in a country that was under the semi-colonial domination of the imperialist states.

The national question was first discussed at the Second CPC Congress (1922) which set the objective of forming a Chinese democratic federal republic and of ensuring equality for all nationalities inhabiting the country. It stated: "Unite China proper, Internal Mongolia, Tibet

and Chinese Turkestan to form a Chinese federal republic on the basis of a free federation."

The national question occupied an important place at the Third CPC Congress (1923). The Congress recognized the right to self-determination of the peoples inhabiting the vast territory of China. In the political report of the Central Committee to the Seventh CPC Congress (April 1945), Mao Tse-tung reaffirmed the readiness to implement the national policy elaborated by Sun Yat-sen in the 1920s and to extend all-round aid to the broad masses of China's national minorities in their struggle for self-determination. However, consequent events showed that all these promises were merely a concession won by the internationalists and the national-liberation movement of the non-Han peoples.

By the time the People's Republic of China was founded, the national policy had been fundamentally revised. The "General Program of the People's Consultative Conference of China," adopted on September 29, 1949 (which played the role of a constitution till 1954) no longer mentioned either the principle of self-determination of the nationalities, or a federal state. It only spoke of local national autonomy. The Han nation alone was endowed with the right to statehood.

Yet in the first years after the formation of the PRC, when the positions of those adhering to internationalism were still strong in the CPC leadership, some work was carried out to improve the welfare and develop the culture of the non-Chinese peoples. Industrial enterprises were built, an agrarian reform was implemented and educational, cultural and medical institutions were opened in the national regions. "All the nationalities are equal," Article 3 of the PRC Constitution proclaims (1954). "Discrimination against or oppression of any nationality and acts which undermine the unity of the nationalities are forbidden."

Consequently, however, as a result of the nationalist policy of Mao Tse-tung and his associates, these provisions of the PRC Constitution and decisions of the Seventh CPC Congress (1956) were not fulfilled.

The principle of national autonomy was only implemented at the region, district, and county level.

Compared to old China, of course, where the national minorities were denied any rights whatsoever, regional autonomy provided certain conditions for self-government and facilitated the development of the economy and culture in the national regions. But this was possible only if the Leninist principles of taking careful account of the interests

of the non-Chinese peoples were strictly adhered to. The Maoists chose a different road.

The territorial boundaries of the peoples (Tibetans, Uighurs, Mongolians and Chuangs) who formally had the right to "regional autonomy," were determined in a very peculiar way. For instance, the Chuang people were included in two "autonomous" administrative units bordering on each other, the Tibetans were included in several national areas plus one region. The systematic resettlement of Chinese in regions thickly populated by the non-Han peoples is a special aspect of the policy of oppressing the national minorities, as a result of which the Han share in the population of Sinkiang, for instance, increased from 3 per cent in 1949 to 50-60 per cent in 1969; in Tibet, where formerly there had been no Chinese, by 1969 they comprised half of the population. A manifestation of the Maoists' chauvinistic line is elimination of the use of the mother tongue among the national minorities. Its study is considered as "revisionism," "bourgeois nationalism" and "an attack against the ideas of Mao Tse-tung." An important aspect of the discrimination against national minorities is infringement of their religious beliefs and customs. For instance, most of the temples have been closed down in Tibet, and the monks are forced to wear secular dress.

A nihilistic approach to the culture and historical heritage of the peoples of China, the chauvinistic assimilation of the non-Chinese peoples reflect the Maoists' voluntarist approach to social development laws. In their view, unification of the peoples of China should take the form of fusion with the Hans. They proclaim: "The national features of the Han nation will be transformed into general features which will also characterize the national minorities."

In the late 1950s Peking's national policy began increasingly to acquire a clearly defined great-power character. It was then that the Maoists began to openly conduct their "special course" in the country. The "three red banners" economic policy conducted since 1958 involved every aspect of the country's socio-economic life, including relations between the nationalities. The notorious "big leap" and "people's communes" had a more detrimental effect on the national regions than on the rest of China. Output was sharply reduced in the few industrial enterprises that had been built there and agricultural production declined, with entire regions suffering from hunger.

During the "cultural revolution" the Peking nationalists no longer tried to disguise their chauvinistic policy toward the non-Chinese peoples. During this anti-socialist upheaval, which gave vent to un-

bridled great-Han chauvinism, the national rights of the minorities were infringed upon and the self-government bodies of the autonomous regions were replaced by military-bureaucratic dictatorship — the notorious “revolutionary committees” headed by Chinese.

All that was left of national autonomy was the name. This is evidenced particularly by the Maoists’ arbitrary actions toward the Mongolian people living in the territory of the PRC. Despite the legitimate dissatisfaction of the local population, the Maoists reduced substantially the territory of Inner Mongolia. The Chinese settlers, running into the millions, began to transform the vast pasture lands of the region into cultivated fields, disregarding the requirements of cattle breeding.

The Maoists are even attempting to give a “theoretical substantiation” of their great-power policy. Back in 1960 the journal *Sinkiang Hungchi* wrote: “The Chinese comprise 94 per cent of the entire population of China, and politically, economically and culturally they are the most advanced compared with the other, small peoples. Therefore the Chinese should form the backbone in the fusion of the nationalities.” The Chinese leaders have no intention of postponing the “fusion” till the distant future. “Assimilation in the shortest possible period, using every means, including force — that is how they see the ‘big leap’ in the national question,” that is the Maoists’ chauvinistic approach to the question. They are urging the speedy absorption of all the other peoples of China by the Chinese.

The Maoists’ openly great-power policy comes up against vigorous resistance by the indigenous population of the autonomous regions, not infrequently taking the form of armed actions. During the “cultural revolution” the anti-Maoist movement became widespread in Sinkiang, Tibet, Inner Mongolia and the Kwangsi Chiang Autonomous Region.

The Chinese leadership persistently rejects serious discussion of the national question. This problem was not taken up at either the Ninth CPC Congress in 1969 or at the congresses of the five autonomous regions in 1971. Nor did the Tenth CPC Congress introduce any fundamental changes in Peking’s political line on the national question. Later, however, the Chinese press began to stress the importance of military measures in the national regions and above all in Inner Mongolia and Sinkiang, which have common frontiers with the Mongolian People’s Republic and the Soviet Union. Tibet occupies a “special place” in Peking’s policy, primarily because of common borders with a number of Asian states. Hua Kuo-feng declared in

1975 that Tibet is an "exceptionally important strategic outpost on the south-western border and it is essential to intensify defense and war preparations there." Hence the wide-scale military construction in Tibet: rocket-launching sites, strategic roads, airports, underground installations, warehouses and other military facilities, along with the stationing of large troop contingents. It should be emphasized that the militarization of the national regions and expansion of the army's control over all spheres of their life is used by the Chinese leadership to increase the Han domination.

The campaign of "criticism of the gang of four" extended to national policy as well. The entire responsibility for the discriminatory practices over the years is now laid at the door of "the four," particularly Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-Chiao. Mao's heirs have now begun to dissociate themselves from the most odious manifestations of great-Han chauvinism in the national question. The 1978 PRC Constitution re-instituted a number of formulations and provisions of the 1954 Constitution concerning this question which had been omitted from the text of the 1975 Constitution. Undoubtedly such a turn is determined not only by the struggle against "the four," but primarily by the widespread dissatisfaction of the non-Han peoples with the policy of discrimination.

But these concessions do not by far meet the genuine interests of the national minorities. The Chinese leadership is persisting in a policy that arouses justified doubts as to whether the rights of the non-Han peoples will be observed.

D. Solongo

Novosti Mongolii, January 9, 1979

THE IRISH COMMUNISTS DEMAND CIVIL RIGHTS

The GDR weekly *Horizont* printed an interview with Michael O'Riordan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Ireland, which we reproduce below in a slightly abridged form.

When some five thousand people took part in a protest demonstration recently in Derry, a town in Northern Ireland to which the British rulers had once attached the prefix "London," they honored

the memory of the participants of a civil rights campaign, who in October 1968 organized a peaceful demonstration under their own slogans. As a result of brutal repressions by the police and troops, hundreds of participants in the march were wounded. Ever since, there has been no peace in Northern Ireland. Over the past ten years, 1,850 people have been killed and about 20,000 wounded as a consequence of the British invaders' terror.

The British troops are waging a war against our people in Northern Ireland. This war is gaining in intensity as the number of victims increases. Historically, Northern Ireland was the first English colony, and will apparently be the last. Seven hundred years of colonization, first carried out by the feudal aristocracy of England, then by monopoly capital, has hampered our development. That is how CPI General Secretary Michael O'Riordan assesses the political and economic situation in his country. He explains the position of his party, which upholds the interests of the working people in both parts of the country and represents an "Irish party for the whole of Ireland."

The reason why the Communist Party of Ireland does not advance the demand for the immediate withdrawal of the British invaders is above all the following: the British ruling circles have created a critical situation in our country. They are conducting an imperialist policy, following the principle of "divide and rule," and support the rightist organizations. The problem is to disarm these extremist forces before the British leave our country. First it is essential to ensure civil rights. It is also a question of economic and financial support on the part of Great Britain. Our party is opposed to the ultra-left forces' contention that the British must go immediately, and that the Irish should resolve all the problems between themselves.

As a result of London's policy of occupation the most elementary human rights are being continuously violated: the right to life, the right to personal immunity, the right to human dignity, a just trial, etc. If we look closely at the position of the British government on the question of human rights and its statements on this issue, we will clearly see that it represents the acme of hypocrisy. When the British, whom the European tribunal on human rights in Strasbourg virtually condemned for violation of human rights, try to prove that all that is long past, they are lying blatantly. As for the violation of human rights in Northern Ireland, nothing has changed so far. On the contrary, such instances have increased.

Especially distinguished for their brutality are the special troop

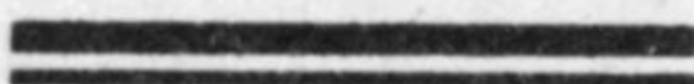
contingents that have been trained in so-called guerrilla warfare and have "proved themselves" in actions against the freedom fighters in Malaysia, Borneo, Aden and Oman. These SAS (Special Air Service) troops are disguised as civilians and carry out terrorist acts.

There is ample proof that the consequences of the capitalist crisis are reflected more acutely in both parts of the "Emerald Island" than in other capitalist countries. As the CPI General Secretary noted, unemployment in Ireland is the highest not only in the Common Market countries, but in the whole of capitalist Europe. And with the miserly unemployment aid it is extremely difficult for the jobless to support their families. Moreover, as a result of the growing inflation the purchasing power of the masses is fast declining. Since Britain's and Ireland's entry into the EEC in 1973, unemployment has doubled and the food prices have risen substantially.

Over the past 20 years the number of foreign firms in Ireland has grown continuously; these are primarily: firms from Japan, the FRG, the Netherlands and France. They remorselessly exploit the opportunities provided them. The plots on which they built their enterprises were given them free of charge. For the first ten years they have a tax exemption. As a rule, that is how long they stay in the country. There is a contradiction here: on the one hand, there is the impression that the country is poor, while on the other, very rich raw materials sources, including lead, copper and zinc have been discovered in recent years.

The Communist Party of Ireland demands that these resources should be exploited by the state. It urges the state to set up a corresponding processing industry, enabling the Irish to exploit their natural resources in their own interests. However, the government is providing this right to the multinationals. It is permitting Canadian companies, for instance, to immediately ship the iron ore out of the country, and these companies are pocketing all the profits. All that is left for us are holes in the ground. This is a clear case of the government's untenability, its inability to resolve this question.

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(Translated from the German)



IN BRIEF

ECUADOR

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ecuador held a plenary meeting in Guayaquil late in January. The participants discussed the communists' positions at the April 8 parliamentary elections.

The plenum unanimously advanced its candidates for deputies, including Pedro Saad, CPE General Secretary, who are to be included in the general list of the broad front of the left — the basic group of the progressive forces of Ecuador.

FRANCE

On January 26, Erich Honecker, CC SUPG General Secretary and Chairman of the GDR State Council received in Berlin Boris Ponomaryov, alternate member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the CC CPSU who was on a friendly visit to the GDR at the invitation of the SUPG Central Committee.

The participants in the talk informed each other about the successful implementation of the decisions of the Ninth SUPG Congress and the 25th CPSU Congress, exchanged views on some topical questions of the struggle of the peoples for peace, and of the international working-class, communist and national-liberation movement. It was noted with satisfaction that the fraternal alliance of the two parties and states had been further deepened.

Erich Honecker and Boris Ponomaryov emphasized the enormous significance and practical effectiveness of the declaration adopted by the Moscow meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty states. They reaffirmed that both parties are fully resolved to multiply their efforts to promote détente and to stop the arms race that is fraught with danger to the entire world. They called for stronger unity of the communist and workers' parties and all anti-imperialist forces.

Erich Honecker met with Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile, in Berlin on January 30.

The participants in the meeting highly assessed the Moscow declaration of the Warsaw Treaty states, characterizing it as an important contribution to détente, to ending the arms race and for disarmament.

The leaders of both parties expressed solidarity with the peoples of

Vietnam and Kampuchea and vigorously condemned the intrigues of the Peking leadership, which are harming the cause of peace. During the talk they noted that Peking's close cooperation with the regime in Chile is clear evidence of the Chinese leaders' betrayal of the revolutionary democratic and progressive movement of the world.

The resolve of both parties to do everything for stronger unity of the world communist movement was reaffirmed.

GREECE

The Greek and French communists are fully resolved to continue waging a struggle in support of peaceful coexistence and disarmament. This was noted in a joint statement of the FCP and the CPG adopted during FCP General Secretary Georges Marchais' visit to Greece. The communists of both countries oppose the policy of subordination to the North Atlantic bloc followed by the ruling circles of Athens and Paris.

Speaking of the broad anti-communist campaign being conducted in Greece and France, as well as on the international arena, the two parties pointed to the need to vigorously rebuff this campaign which is directed against the interests of the working class and the peoples fighting for their social and national liberation. They emphasized, that struggle for social progress, democracy and national sovereignty is inseparably linked with the struggle for peace.

JAPAN

Speaking in the House of Councillors of the Japanese Parliament on February 2, Kenji Miyamoto, Chairman of the CC CPJ Presidium, sharply condemned the aggressive actions against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, declared full support for the measures adopted by Vietnam in defense of its borders and hailed the victory of the Kampuchean United Front of National Salvation. Kenji Miyamoto criticized the plans of drawing Japan into Peking's anti-Soviet and anti-Vietnamese strategy and demanded that the Japanese government follow an independent foreign policy corresponding to national interests.

To understand the present situation in Indochina, he said, two circumstances must be borne in mind: first, a border war was going on between Kampuchea and Vietnam. The results of an on-the-spot investigation by the Communist Party of Japan incontestably show that over a period of two and a half years the Pol Pot troops per-

petrated 6,400 aggressive acts against the SRV and killed and wounded 8,300 Vietnamese citizens.

Second, the Kampuchean people were simultaneously carrying on a civil war against the sinister Pol Pot regime, which had nothing in common with socialism. The establishment of control over the entire country by the Kampuchean United Front of National Salvation in a short period was determined precisely by the fact that the Pol Pot regime enjoyed no support whatsoever of the Kampuchean people.

Now that the Kampuchean people have overthrown the hated regime, Kenji Miyamoto went on to say, the Peking leaders are persistently urging Japan to come out with a joint statement and to undertake joint actions in Indochina in accordance with the Japano-Chinese "treaty of peace and friendship." During the discussion of the Japano-Chinese treaty in Parliament the Communist Party of Japan repeatedly called the government's attention to the possible dangerous consequences of such an alliance, warning that China will impose on Japan its specific interpretation of the content of the "hegemony" article in the treaty. The government spokesmen, however, asserted that the treaty with China would not affect Japan's relations with third countries. The time has come to prove that these were not just empty words. Otherwise the fear that the Japano-Chinese treaty is actually a kind of military alliance will be confirmed, Kenji Miyamoto emphasized.

SOVIET UNION

On January 22, Mikhail Suslov, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Boris Ponomaryov, alternate member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the CC CPSU, Yakov Ryabov, secretary of the CC CPSU and Vadim Zagladin, alternate member of the CC CPSU and first deputy head of the CC CPSU International Department met with a delegation of the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus (AKEL) led by AKEL General Secretary Ezekias Papaioannou.

The participants expressed the conviction that the internal aspects of the Cyprus problem can be resolved at intercommunal talks envisaged by UN resolutions and that an early convening of a representative international conference on Cyprus within the UN framework could become an important factor in the just settlement of the Cyprus problem and in consolidating peace in the eastern Mediterranean.

The representatives of the CPSU and AKEL are convinced that the strengthening of peace and deepening of détente, an end to the arms

race and implementation of concrete disarmament measures meet the interests of the Mediterranean peoples as well as of all mankind. In this connection concern was expressed over the increasingly evident convergence and activization of the forces of imperialism and Chinese hegemonism, which represent a threat to peace and social progress.

Both parties urged that, as an inalienable part of the policy of détente, the Mediterranean should be turned into a sea of peace and freindship between the peoples. They support the relevant proposals of the 1976 Berlin Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties and urge active cooperation of all communist, socialist and other democratic parties and organizations in the struggle to implement them.

The meeting proceeded in an atmosphere of fraternal friendship and complete mutual understanding.

On January 31 a meeting was held at the CC CPSU between a delegation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union including Mikhail Suslov, Arvid Pelse, Boris Ponomaryov, Vitaly Shaposhnikov and a delegation of the Communist Party of Finland led by Party Chairman Aarne Saarinen.

During the meeting, which passed in an atmosphere of fraternal friendship, the delegations informed each other of the activity of their parties, exchanged views on topical questions of the present international situation, the communist and working-class movement, as well as promotion of friendly Soviet-Finnish relations.

The delegations noted with deep satisfaction that Soviet-Finnish relations are developing successfully in all spheres on the sound basis of the 1948 Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance and respond to the fundamental interests of the Soviet and Finnish peoples. Contacts between the CPSU and the CPF, the principled line and initiatives of both parties in strengthening genuine friendship, good-neighborliness and cooperation between Finland and the Soviet Union have an important role to play in promoting such relations. Both delegations consider that favorable opportunities exist for promoting all-round cooperation between the Soviet Union and Finland.

The representative of the CPF noted, in particular, the importance of economic cooperation and trade between the two countries in developing the economy of Finland and ensuring employment for the Finnish working people. The CPF delegation expressed the hope that the Soviet side would examine the possibility of taking some new

steps in this sphere on the basis of the long-term program of developing and deepening trade and economic, industrial and scientific and technical cooperation between the USSR and Finland.

The CPSU delegation declared on its part that the wishes and proposals of the Finnish comrades would be carefully studied by corresponding Soviet organs. The representatives of the CPSU and the CPF reaffirmed that both parties would continue to facilitate in every way expansion and deepening of Soviet-Finnish relations and cooperation.

At the same time it was noted that recently rightist circles have stepped up their activity in Finland and abroad with the aim of hampering the friendly Soviet-Finnish relations. The delegations agreed that the interests of the two peoples require that the intrigues of the rightist forces should be vigorously rebuffed.

During the exchange of views on international questions the participants emphasized the importance of internationalist cooperation of fraternal parties, their mutual solidarity in the struggle for the common goals of the communists, and noted in particular the need for interaction between the communist parties of the socialist countries and the communist parties of the non-socialist part of the world.

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