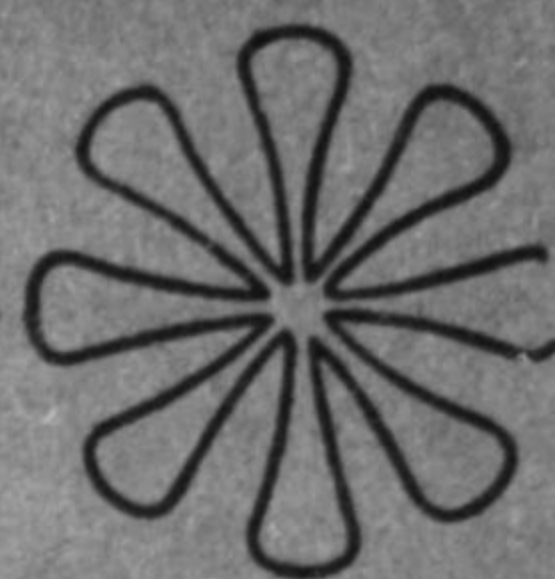


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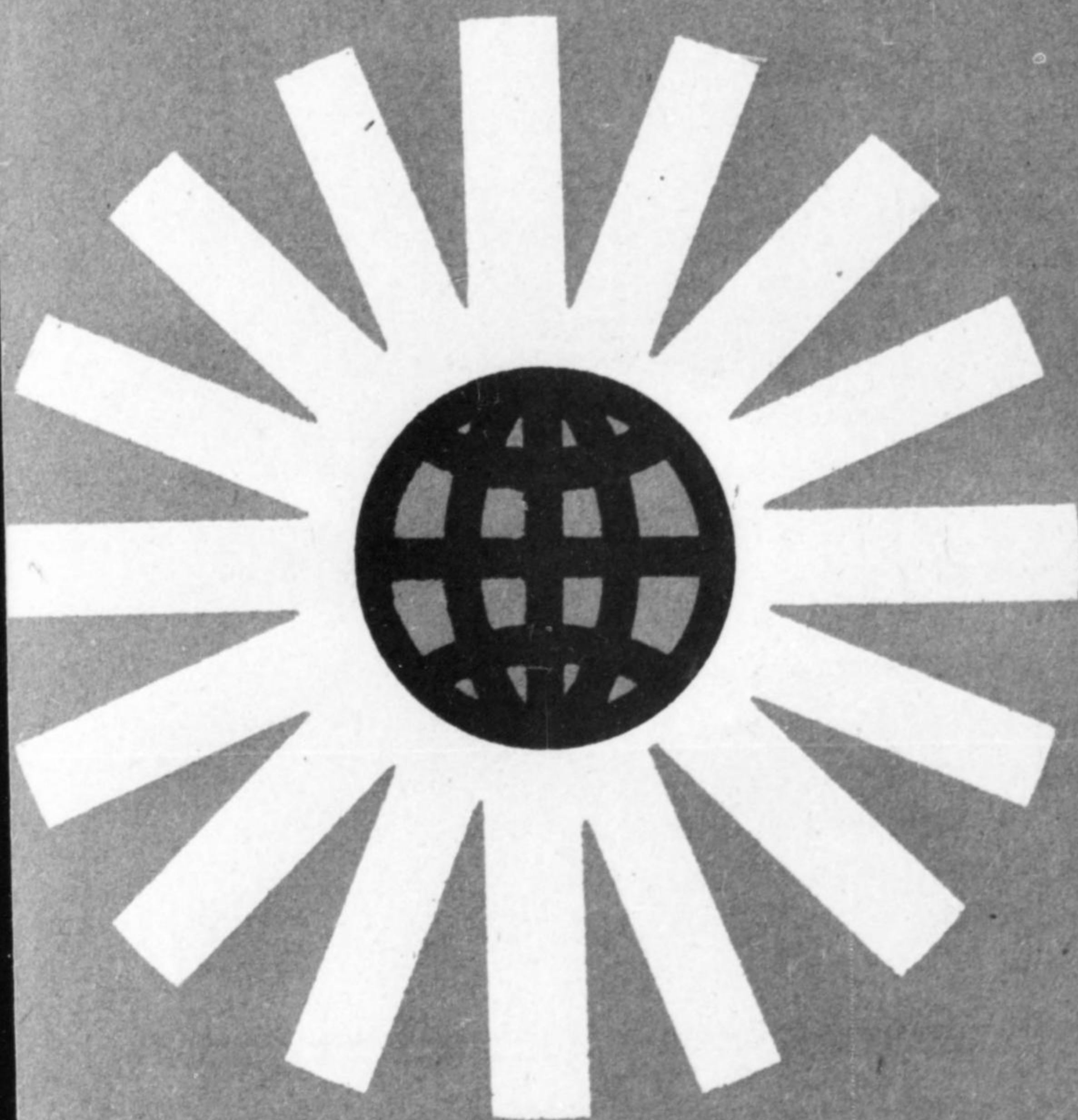
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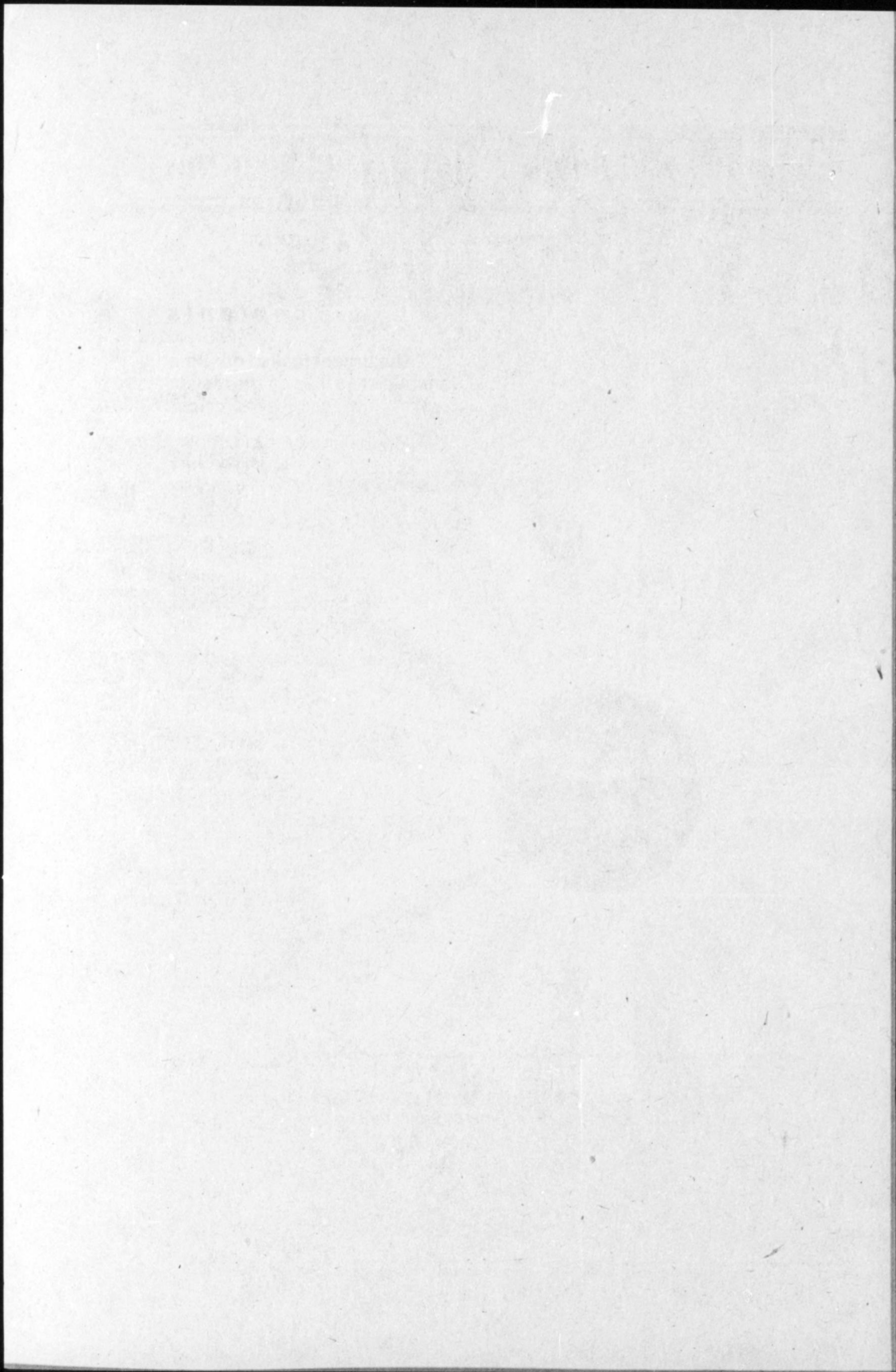
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THE URGENT TASK OF OUR TIME

Communist Parties on the results of the Vienna Summit

ON THE PRINCIPLE OF EQUALITY AND EQUAL SECURITY

A press conference on the meeting in Vienna between L.I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and J. Carter, President of the USA, and its results, was held in Moscow on June 25. Speaking at the press conference was A.A. Gromyko, Member of the Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR.

Printed below is A.A. Gromyko's statement and his answers to some of the questions asked at the press conference.

STATEMENT BY A.A. GROMYKO

The resolution of the Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the USSR Council of Ministers, which speaks highly of the Soviet-American summit meeting and its results, was recently published. But, it seems there is need to dwell in greater detail on several questions and express certain additional views from our side and to give assessments on one or another aspect.

First of all, one wishes to stress the tremendous importance of the meeting. When mentioning this I think we are not contradicting the general evaluation, which the world as a whole, including the Soviet Union and the United States of America, gave to the meeting between L.I. Brezhnev and President J. Carter, even though, as we know, the situation in the USA is more complicated.

In general, summit meetings between the representatives of the Soviet Union and the United States of America are not frequent. This circumstance alone gives special significance to the meeting just held. It was full of great political content, content of exceptional importance, perhaps even more important than any other similar kind of international meeting.

Of course the question of the Treaty Between the Soviet Union and the United States of America on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms occupied the principal place at this meeting. It was the main item. We all know very well that the Treaty was a long time in preparation — approximately seven years. As you can see, it was quite a long time.

Major difficulties arose in the course of the talks. They were not a simple affair. First, because the subject is not only important but complex as well; second, each of the sides had to carefully weigh its own positions and the positions of its partners in the talks to determine what is suitable and unsuitable, acceptable or unacceptable. Therefore, the talks were very difficult. But despite this, the talks were completed because both sides were determined and had the will to carry on the talks to the end, and the Treaty was tabled at the Vienna meeting ready for signing.

As for the material aspect of the Treaty, then it must be said that it is much richer than the Interim Agreement on Certain Measures with Respect to the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms which the Soviet Union and the United States of America signed earlier. By the way, it is still in force. The two sides have agreed that the Agreement will operate until the time the present Treaty goes into force.

The Interim Agreement embraced two components: intercontinental ballistic missiles and submarine-launched ballistic missiles.

The Treaty signed in Vienna embraces three components: the two I just mentioned plus strategic aviation. Besides, it deals with more varied parameters connected with strategic weapons. If we put the previously signed Interim Agreement and the present Treaty on the scales, it is easy to see that this Treaty is richer in content and is of greater importance than the Interim Agreement I have mentioned.

The characterization of the Treaty would be incomplete were I not to mention a substantial aspect which was present throughout the talks, namely: the Treaty was signed in its present state because both sides began from the premise of abiding by the principle of equality and equal security. One might think: who would ever oppose this principle? But it is quite different when talks are going on, and on an exceptionally important question — that is when difficulties, and even major difficulties, arise. One side thinks that it is abiding by the principle of equality and equal security; the other thinks that it itself is the one which is doing so, and not the first side. But truth is indivisible. A decision must be found that conforms to the demand of abiding by equality and equal security. And this specific process of finding the

relevant compromise, the balance of interests, was truly very hard. But in the long run the two sides arrived at what can be called an acceptable balance of interests. Perhaps this is not a very clear formula at first glance, but it reflects the situation clearly and accurately.

One would not want to go back into the past and cite certain facts concerning this or the other proposal which the American side suggested be discussed. But in the long run the American side — the further on the more so — began taking an increasingly sober and more objective position. We expressed our satisfaction with this.

One often hears voices in the USA claiming that the Treaty signed in Vienna is more in accord with the interests of the Soviet Union than of the USA. This, to put it mildly, is not true. It conforms equally to the interests of both the Soviet Union and the United States. Seven years' time was adequate enough to consider and reconsider, again and again, the individual and even comparatively small conclusions relating to one or another element of strategic weapons so as not to miscalculate. The result was a Treaty acceptable to both sides.

Those politicians who wish to describe the situation in a way that says that the Treaty supposedly conforms more to the Soviet Union's interests than to the USA's, would be correct if they stopped making statements that the Soviet Union had won more than the USA and took an objective position. That would be an honest decision, and we expect it to be made.

A time for responsibility is now beginning in the USA as certain circles are thinking, now that the Treaty has been signed, about what position to take on it. One would like to express hope that it will be a correct and an objective position. The Treaty is in accord, in equal measure, with the interests of the USA and the Soviet Union. It also conforms to the interests of the nations of the entire world because they want a relaxation of tension, they want good and improving inter-state relations. They want a lasting peace, they want the threat of war to be averted.

I have already said that the talks were difficult. I can say for the Soviet Union — or, as is customarily said in the course of talks — for the Soviet side, taking this opportunity, that the Soviet leadership, the Central Committee of our party, the Soviet government, the Politbureau and Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev personally dealt actively with this question all the time, paying attention to it from the beginning to the end of the talks. L.I. Brezhnev himself, who knows this problem well

— I wish to especially stress this point — constantly followed the principal, the fundamental questions and lines at the talks.

By this I do not want to say that the affair was not conducted seriously enough in the United States. The American side can much better qualify the way it was done. But as far as the Soviet side is concerned, I can say with full grounds that we gave due importance to this problem, and approached it seriously from the beginning and to the end, throughout the talks.

People abroad say correctly, and we confirm it — and this essentially stems from the Treaty and from the documents which were simultaneously agreed and are attached to it — that the Treaty to a certain extent laid the foundation for moving forward, for the elaboration and preparation of a new agreement on the further limitation of strategic arms. And therein lies its tremendous value. The press published the Joint Statement which deals with future talks on the possible signing of a new treaty on the limitation of strategic arms. Therefore, the present Treaty builds bridges to the next treaty. Therein also lies the value of the Treaty signed in Vienna.

The main lines along which the subsequent talks on the limitation of strategic arms should be held have also been determined. The two sides reached agreement that the new treaty could bring about, if the affair is carried on to successful conclusion, the further limitation and reduction of strategic offensive arms. The relevant nuclear weapon carriers and launchers should be dealt with first of all.

I should be clear to any person who thinks about the future what the further reduction of strategic nuclear weapons really means when compared to the provisions of the present Treaty, which is now usually called the SALT-2 Treaty. Because, in the long run, we must aspire that a second reduction will follow the first reduction, a third will follow the second reduction, etc. This is the beginning of the process which is simply difficult to compare in terms of importance with any other process. This is the process of the struggle for peace, against war. Even those who are now trying to figure out what the Vienna Treaty is, whether it is good or not, should not fail to realize this either. We have none of these vacillations — neither our people, nor our party, which is the leading force of the Soviet state, nor our leadership: the Central Committee, or the Politbureau. None of us are for stopping at what has been achieved. We all are for marching forward, sparing no effort in order to achieve a further reduction in missile-nuclear weapons.

I also would like to draw attention to one more aspect which

thoughtful people are bound to notice. True, there are people who, carried away by the declarations as to who benefits more from the Treaty, lose sight of exactly this aspect of the matter. What I refer to is the qualitative aspect. The Treaty not only imposes clearly-defined obligations on the sides in limitations of a quantitative nature, but also provides for certain commitments that limit the qualitative aspect, the qualitative improvement of strategic weapons, if the word "improvement" is applicable at all in this case. We usually speak about improvements in something positive, but conditionally we can also use the word in this case. These limitations deal with the capacity of the missiles, the number of warheads and other specifications. I will not expand on this subject and would like to stress once again that the Treaty imposes obligations of not only quantitative, but of qualitative dimensions as well. Speaking plainly, the idea is to limit the destructive force of missile-nuclear weapons.

The sides have arrived at the positive completion of talks on the Treaty signed in Vienna, being guided by the principle of equality and equal security. The sides can achieve success in conducting talks on the future treaty only if they are guided by the same principle.

A question may be asked: who will be involved in the future talks — the Soviet Union and the United States alone, or perhaps other powers also? Because besides the USSR and the USA, there are other nuclear powers which we know very well. We would answer this question in this way: the USA and the USSR cannot conduct talks on a bilateral basis endlessly. That is impossible. They can conduct such talks up to a certain time limit, but only up to a certain limit. The other nuclear powers must also join the talks. Which of them and how many of them — this question has not yet been discussed in detail, either in Vienna or elsewhere. But I would like to add that L.I. Brezhnev and J. Carter agreed in Vienna that the question of participants in the talks on the signing of a future treaty on the limitation of strategic arms was a topical question.

People may ask: all right, the SALT-2 Treaty is signed, there is an agreement on talks on the possibility of signing a new treaty, but what is the situation with the arms race? Does the Treaty that has just been signed eliminate the arms race? I must state this with absolute definiteness: no, it does not put an end to the arms race. First, only because the Treaty deals just with strategic weapons. But we are very well aware that other types of weapons — non-strategic arms — also exist. But these weapons cannot be compared in their destructive force with the weapons used in World War II.

Moreover, any reasonable person who follows world developments can easily see one indicator of the arms race — military budgets. Perhaps they are being cut? Unfortunately not. Not a single year, half a year, month or, if you want, a week, goes by during which the Soviet Union is not busily proving to its partners in the talks and its partners in relevant international forums the need for military budget reductions. The answer we receive is that control is needed first. It is well known that military budgets are adopted and approved, in the long run, by parliaments. And all that takes place under the eyes of the entire people.

Therefore, the discourses on some kind of control in this case cannot be regarded as anything but camouflage to cover up the real position and the reluctance to reduce military budgets, military allocations and to conceal the desire to carry on the arms race. So now we are all — the Soviet Union, the USA and the world as a whole — in a situation when treaties are being made which are an obvious obstacle to the arms race. They are treaties like the one signed in Vienna. But if we take all the components of the arms race, it is absolutely clear that the arms race is still going on.

Sooner or later mankind must find a solution to the problem of nuclear weapons, to exclude them from the arsenals of states and to begin using nuclear energy for peaceful purposes only. But why do we not have this today? Why? Only because people in some countries do not want it, above all, the people who govern the foreign policy of those countries.

You know, and there is hardly any need for us to remind you, about the interest certain circles in some countries have in the production of greater and greater quantities of arms, in giving a further impetus to this race. These circles hold, as they always have done, their own narrow interests higher than the interests of their own people, the interests of all the world's nations.

We will also continue the struggle against the arms race in the future. We will conduct the struggle, if you please, from even better positions than yesterday. We will draw support from the Treaty signed in Vienna and from other agreements which either directly or indirectly curb the arms race. Our people, our country and our party will conduct the policy which the Soviet Union has conducted from Lenin's time. And we, just like our friends and allies, do not intend to limit this struggle. Quite to the contrary, we will step it up. We will continue to firmly grasp in our hands the banner of struggle for the ending of the arms race, for disarmament.

We will conduct talks with our partners, with the NATO countries, we will conduct talks with the United States, but we do not think that the struggle to end the arms race can be channelled in one direction alone, even granted that it is an important and decisive direction. Because types and systems of weapons not previously produced can be developed. Can mankind be reconciled to the thought that a threat of a destructive war from one or the other type of weapon will always hang over people's heads? No! All types of weapons, especially weapons of mass destruction, must be banned and their production ended. We will be persuading politicians, be appealing to the people, and will be proving that the tremendous material resources now being spent on armaments production have to be shifted to the satisfaction of the people's material and cultural requirements. There is hardly any need to give special proof of why this is necessary. It is enough to glance, perfunctory though it may be, at the reports which the United Nations is circulating. Think of how many people in the world are going hungry, are undernourished, do not have any medical aid at all, or nearly none at all! And as for the satisfaction of cultural requirements, there are no limits in this case. Or take science, space research, studying the ocean and its resources, etc.

The Soviet Union has enough patience, energy and determination to hold talks on those questions on which our partners agree to have talks; to deal with the problems on which, unfortunately, we still have not persuaded our partners to start negotiations; and to seek the necessary decisions to end the arms race, and to use nuclear energy for peaceful purposes only and to benefit all mankind only.

There are other international issues now being discussed. Some are more important, others less so. But as a sum total they are of paramount importance. There are quite a few of these issues. I will not speak about them in detail, but will say that the situation in discussions on them is not satisfactory, save for some insignificant exceptions. There is either negligible progress being made, or no progress at all. And sometimes instances arise when the partner sits down at the negotiation table but fails to show up on the next day and cannot explain why he was told not to go on with the talks.

In Vienna Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev and J. Carter both expressed the one point of view that the signing of the SALT-2 Treaty should also positively influence talks on other issues, issues like the ending of nuclear weapons tests, the banning of chemical weapons, the prohibition of radiological weapons, the limitation of military ac-

tivities in the Indian Ocean area, the possibility of signing an international agreement on the non-use of force, etc. One would want to believe that all these talks will receive a necessary and useful impetus from the signing of the SALT-2 Treaty in Vienna.

Even though the Treaty itself contains nothing on this point, the Communiqué signed at the Vienna summit says that neither the USA nor the Soviet Union will aspire for military superiority. This is a very strong provision. You are well aware that this idea is always present in our foreign policy. Nobody should aspire for military superiority over anybody else. And when the world's two greatest powers are involved, the meaning of this provision becomes even more obvious. Because, what does it mean if one side aspires for superiority and the other tries not to lag behind it? And the other way around. It means an additional catalyst for the arms race.

One would like to hope that this good provision accepted by the American side and contained in the documents on which the summit signatures appear will be carried out without fail. That would be a very good thing and would ease the solution of several problems, it would particularly help the forthcoming talks on the limitation of strategic arms, as well as all other talks now going on which have if not a direct then an indirect relation to ending the arms race and to the international situation in general.

Besides the Treaty and the other international issues that I have already mentioned, The Middle East situation was also discussed. Had I not mentioned this now, you would probably be surprised. I will say briefly: the positions of the Soviet Union and the USA on this issue are different. The American side tried to prove that it would be better for the Soviet Union to support the separate treaty between Egypt and Israel, and that it should help bring it about that the United Nations in one way or another, in one form or another associate itself with the treaty and with the mechanism established to service this treaty in the Middle East.

Naturally, the Soviet Union could not agree with point of view. L.I. Brezhnev expressed the Soviet Union's principled position. He stated clearly that there is no question of the Soviet Union supporting the anti-Arab treaty or any mechanism being created for its servicing. We got the impression that President Carter did not expect any other answer or any other reaction from the USSR to the question. Therefore, as you know, it is stated in the appropriate publications, tersely but unequivocally, that the positions of the sides on this question are still different, as they were previously.

The Soviet Union's principled stand on the Middle East affairs is the same as it was many years ago when it was formulated. Namely, it is: all the lands which Israel seized from Arabs should be returned; the Arab people of Palestine must be given the opportunity to establish their own, even though small, independent state. This is not difficult to do. History is aware that even more difficult questions of much the same kind have been solved.

All the countries in this region, including Israel as well — and nobody should have any doubts about this — must have the opportunity to exist and develop in the Middle East as independent sovereign states. It is not for the Soviet Union to object to the existence of Israel. We ourselves made the proposal at the UN on the establishment of the State of Israel when the British mandate in Palestine expired. Israel should appreciate the Soviet Union's position. But apparently, other ideas and other interests predominate in the minds of Israeli leaders. Apparently the thirst for acquisition of foreign territories is placed highest. This point of view is not a farsighted one.

A few words about Africa. The sides exchanged opinions and evaluated the situation in Africa, especially southern Africa. I must say that for obvious reasons the assessments given were different. To formulate our stand briefly, it is as follows: the people in those regions of Africa where they have not yet received freedom, where they are still under control and racist domination, must acquire power, and determine their own future and their own social system themselves. They must themselves make the decisions on all the internal problems which come under their own competence, and nobody from outside should dictate to them or interfere in their affairs.

The American side subscribes to a different point of view. Without speaking directly in favor of interference, applying pressure, etc., the United States advocates a policy which the racists need, a policy geared to denying the indigenous population the opportunity of establishing its own power. Figures have been given on the population of Rhodesia: one out of 25 people is white, 24 are black. This is the correlation of the native population and the newly-arrived population. So who should be in power, and who should decide on who must form the government and determine the country's social system? Any objectively-thinking person has to realize that the indigenous population, the people of the country, should determine all that and should decide all the internal questions. There were so-called elections held in Rhodesia and a puppet government installed. Any other interpretation of what is going on there will not sound convincing to anyone.

Everybody knows very well under what circumstances and how it was all accomplished, and what devices the enemies of popular freedom resorted to.

I do not think the world was surprised that we did not find a common language on this question at the Vienna meeting. One would like to believe that the Western countries and the United States would come to the conclusion that a truly just solution to this problem has to be sought, to eradicate racism, colonialism and neo-colonialism in both Rhodesia and Namibia. The situation in Namibia is about the same, the only difference being that South Africa has resorted more openly and brazenly to its armed forces there and is, we can say, trying to drown the national-liberation movement in the region in blood. But history cannot be slowed down. It has its own inexorable laws: sooner or later they will take the upper hand. Of this we are convinced.

Finally, on Soviet-American bilateral relations. They were discussed by L.I. Brezhnev and President Carter in Vienna. I would say that they were discussed more profoundly than ever before. This is true of political, and economic and trade relations. The picture in this case is not equal in all its aspects. This was stressed by our side. L.I. Brezhnev spoke frankly about areas where the situation is not all that bad and about the areas where the situation is bad and no progress is being made. and on some issues the movement has obviously been a retrogressive one over the past few years. The conversation was frank. We believe that everything the Soviet side said did not come as a surprise to either the United States or to President Carter personally. The end of the exchange of opinion on these questions was that the sides should exert efforts to rectify the situation in those areas which are obviously unsatisfactory. This involves, above all, the area of economic relations between the Soviet Union and the United States. As was said, the American side will think over what could be done and will consider different opportunities. It was immediately evident to us that the American side does not yet have any definite precise plan on this score. But then, perhaps there is one, but nothing was said about it.

In other words, much effort is still needed to put bilateral relations right. We are prepared to cover our part of the road on these questions as well. We are convinced that the improvement of bilateral relations, particularly in the economic and trade fields, would greatly help strengthen our overall relations, including political relations. They would provide a more solid foundation for these relations. To

say nothing of the fact that it is impossible to separate bilateral relations by some kind of iron barrier from international problems.

I suppose that were I not to allude in my statement about how the Chinese leadership regards the SALT-2 Treaty, I would be asked the question. It must be said that the leadership of China evaluates the Treaty negatively, as it has always done. We explain this very simply: this is not the operation of the logic of international life, it is the operation of the narrow-minded stand of the Chinese leadership, according to which things are all the better if tensions exist, and even better still if tensions in relations between the United States and the Soviet Union are aggravated. They realize that this Treaty injects much that is positive, and exceptionally important into our bilateral relations with the USA. It introduces a strong positive influence on the international situation as a whole. No wonder that right now, practically the whole world is applauding the Treaty, applauding L.I. Brezhnev and J. Carter who signed it. Peking does not like this. It does not like it because of narrow-minded ideas. We do not think anyone would argue against such an explanation of the reasons for this kind of approach by Peking.

We think that it will be correct for both countries — the USSR and the USA — to follow the road which has already been paved and which has led to the signing of the Vienna Treaty. This Treaty is a treaty in favor of peace, in favor of détente. It is directed against the threat of the war. Those who vote for the Treaty will be voting for peace. If we simplify the situation and take, so to speak, the essence of what the Treaty provides for, of what it leads to, we can characterize the situation exactly as follows — those who support the Treaty support peace, détente and good relations between people, and that expresses the most cherished thoughts and aspirations of not only the Soviet and the American people, but of all the world's nations. We think that the Chinese people are no exception, and that they do not need war. There is no nation anywhere in the world who wants to perish in the flames of a new war.

This is the statement I wished to make.

A.A. Gromyko then answered questions from the press.

Question: Comrade L.I. Brezhnev said in Vienna that the signing of the SALT-2 Treaty must influence the talks on armed forces and armaments cuts in Central Europe. What is your evaluation of the prospects of these talks, considering that the proposals put forward

by the socialist countries a year ago have not been properly answered?

Answer: This is a very important question. I want to say frankly that there has been no noticeable progress at these talks. The main difficulty is that the Western powers want to get from us — the Soviet Union, Poland, the GDR and Czechoslovakia — consent to admission that the numerical strength of the troops of our countries in Central Europe is allegedly 180 thousand greater than it in fact is, including 150 thousand more ground forces, but the whole thing is that we do not have these 180 thousand troops. We are asking our partners in the talks, where did you take these figures from? Their answer is silence, they don't want to say anything about the source of information.

Neither the Soviet Union, nor Poland, nor the GDR and Czechoslovakia conceal anything as regards the numerical strength of their armed forces in that area, and it is impossible to conceal it today. Therefore, this question is an obstacle to an agreement. We are told by the partners — as long as there is no agreement on the question of numerical strength, the obstacles will not be overcome. Then we offered the Americans:

Let us for the time being agree to some curtailment of troops and armaments of the USSR and the USA alone. Even this would be a great achievement. But we were told in reply — no, this is not suitable for the same reason that they, that is, the Western countries, do not consent to make accords at the Vienna negotiations.

In short, the Western participants in the negotiations do not apparently, for the time being, want the accords. We deplore this. I would like to express the hope that in the long run they will take a more sober, more objective position.

Question: What in your view are the chances of ratifying the SALT-2 Treaty in the light of those contradictory sentiments now existing in the American Senate?

Answer: It would not be very modest on our part to give some figures expressing the chances of the treaty being ratified by the American Senate, that is, to say: such a percentage is for the treaty being ratified, and such a percentage for not ratifying it.

I would somewhat modify the question asked, and would offer the following reply.

Those persons in the United States, who so far object to the treaty or waver must be guided by their conscience, their political awareness and show objectivity. Fairness and objectivity — this is what they must be guided by. They must proceed, and we hope that they will proceed from the premises that the treaty is equally necessary to

the Soviet Union and the United States. The Soviet Union, as I have already said here, does not get unilateral advantages from this treaty and the United States does not get them either.

I would also like to touch upon the talk that it is allegedly very hard to rely on the Soviet Union without verification and control. In the first place, if somebody can be relied upon, this is precisely the Soviet Union. It has not violated any international treaty or agreement. It is not our habit to violate international treaties and agreements.

Secondly, as far as verification is concerned, the sides agreed even earlier, when starting talks on the first SALT agreements signed here in Moscow at the time of Nixon's Presidency, that verification shall be done by national means. Each of the sides has sufficient national means. And the American side knows well about it. But if some of the American figures think that this is insufficient we can advise them to turn to their official bodies with the question of whether the national means of verification are sufficient or not. We hope that they will get quite a definite answer. It must be said, for that matter, that President Carter and the whole American delegation in Vienna were unanimous that the national means are sufficient for the verification of the observance of the treaty. This principle is already in effect in conformity with SALT-1. It is necessary to be further guided by it. We express the sincere hope that American figures, in the first place those concerned with the question of ratification of the treaty, will take a fair, honest and objective stand.

Question: What if the American Senate fails to ratify the treaty, do you believe the resumption of negotiations possible for a new examination of the treaty? What can happen if the treaty is not ratified?

Answer: The possibility of resuming the negotiations is excluded. In the case that the treaty is not ratified, the situation will be a difficult one. There will be no containment and limitation on the strategic arms race as stipulated by the treaty, and the bridges that lead from the second treaty signed in Vienna to a third treaty will be destroyed.

Those who have not yet decided their stand, or decided it, but on the wrong side rather than on the proper one, ought to think this over.

Question: If the Senate makes some amendments to this treaty after all, will you agree to discuss them? What amendments could you agree with?

Answer: I tell you frankly it would be impossible to reopen negotiations. It would be the end of negotiations. It would be impossible to resume them whatever amendments might be added. It would be a fantastic situation.

Question: The Foreign Ministers of the Warsaw Treaty Member-Countries proposed at their meeting in Budapest that the measures for building up confidence be spread to the areas of the Mediterranean. Was this problem touched upon at the meeting in Vienna?

Answer: It was touched upon in a general form. L.I. Brezhnev said that it would be good if the steps on which countries might reach agreement in terms of détente in Europe, particularly of military détente should also apply to the area of the Mediterranean.

The proposals that we once made as regards to the Mediterranean Sea, including as regards the withdrawal from there of certain categories of warships, are known. Our stand is constructive, we think that there is a necessity to take certain steps, and are ready to examine this issue.

Question: How does the Soviet Union view the next stage in the SALT talks, considering, in particular, that France announced that it will not participate in the SALT-3 talks?

Answer: As the question of the participants in the possible SALT-3 talks was not specifically discussed, I would not like to dwell upon this subject now. Perhaps the time is not far off when this question will be discussed more specifically.

We have expressed in a general form our principled viewpoint, precisely that the Soviet Union and the United States have approached such a line, when it is insufficient to hold talks on the limitation of strategic arms only between our two countries. The participation of other powers is necessary. But who precisely is going to participate and when they will participate — this aspect of the matter has not been discussed.

Question: Was the question of granting the Soviet Union the most favored nation treatment in trade raised in Vienna, and was this question resolved?

Answer: This question was touched upon in general form. Although specifically these words did not figure, but the sides realized what the point was. In short, this question was not deliberated in Vienna. It is common knowledge that there are obstacles in the way of the normal development of economic and trade relations. As I have already said, the question of what decisions shall be made on their side to find a satisfactory solution to this problem is being considered in the United States. We more than once emphasized while talking with the Americans at the summit level also that the Soviet Union does not seek handouts in matters of trade. We live, develop and do it quite well, even without this status in trade with the USA. But we believe that a

positive resolution of this question would furnish a better foundation for our political relations and meet the interests of both countries.

Question: You said that the Soviet Union is against stopping at what has been achieved in the limitation of the arms race, but for advancing further. Was the question discussed in Vienna on reaching understanding in principle as regards setting certain limitations to halt the uncontrolled competition in the production of arms and their accumulation?

Answer: It is precisely the treaty signed in Vienna that sets the most effective limits of those that have ever been set. I have already noted that these limits concern very many parameters — both quantitative and qualitative aspects of strategic arms. There have been no and there are no other treaties and agreements as regards missile nuclear weapons that would be more important or would go further than the present SALT-2 Treaty. The second document in significance in this respect is the interim agreement, which has been prolonged by the sides.

There are also some periphery treaties and agreements like, for example, the treaty on ending nuclear weapons tests in three media. This is known. Talks are being held, for example, as regards a possible agreement on the limitation of supplies of conventional weapons to third countries. But first, this concerns conventional weapons. Second, these talks are still being held. For that matter, there has already been a break in the talks, which is not our fault, and is difficult to explain.

This is how matters stand in this respect.

Question: It is alleged that the arms race in the United States and the other NATO member countries is necessitated by the so-called "Soviet military threat", and that tensions in some or other part of the world, judging by statements of some politicians in the United States, are generated by the presence of Cuban troops there. Is that so?

Answer: These are two different questions. First, I shall answer your question about the so-called "threat" from the Soviet Union. This myth was not invented today and not even yesterday. It has long been used by definite circles in the West. What for? It can be unmistakably said that this is done in order to use references to the "Soviet military threat" as a cover for their own arms race policy.

What threat can stem from a country, which, as can be said, daily proposes arms and force cuts, a ban on nuclear weapons tests and switching over the use of nuclear energy to peaceful aims, concluding

an international agreement on non-use of force, and is tabling proposals that the participants in the all-European meeting reach agreement on not being the first to use nuclear and conventional weapons against one another.

Whom may threaten a country making proposals, and repeating them, on a cut in military budgets, on ending the production of nuclear weapons with a gradual reduction of their reserves, up to their full liquidation, on banning chemical and radiological weapons. Whom may threaten a country proposing to reach agreement banning the production of new types and new systems of mass destruction weapons.

And finally, whom may threaten a country tabling at all international forums proposals directing at ending the arms race, at disarmament, up to general and complete disarmament. Does this country constitute a threat to anybody? No, it cannot be a threat.

We think that the time will come when this myth about the Soviet threat will evaporate. This smokescreen, behind which they want to conceal their own arms race, will fall and all people will see the real state of things.

Now about Cuba. Western figures from time to time raise the question of Cuba's aid to some African countries. Our answer to this question is as follows. In the first place, they are turning to the wrong quarters, we are not Cuba.

Second, and this is the main thing, Cuba renders aid at the request of the official governments of countries concerned — victims of aggression. It gives assistance and aid and does not deny it, nor do we deny it. No one can deny the right to render assistance and aid in accordance with international law and in accordance with the UN Charter. And the UN Charter, which is one of the basic documents of international law, clearly states that if some country falls victim to aggression, it is entitled to ask another state for aid. In other words, it has the right to individual and collective self-defense.

Collective, this means together with another state or other states. We ask: did we, together with the United States, Britain and other countries, sign the UN Charter in 1945 in order to implement it, or to let it get covered with dust?

All the so-called arguments against Cuba in connection with the aid rendered to some countries — victims of aggression, fall apart as soon as one takes a look at the UN Charter, turns its pages and reads article 51. Cuba is doing nothing illegal. And every one of us may probably recall how many times other countries resorted to the dis-

patch of troops. But they did so not when and not where it was necessary. Cuba, on the other hand, is acting in fairness and with justification.

Question: In your statement you spoke of China's reaction to the signing of the SALT-2 Treaty. Was the matter of China taken up during the Vienna summit? If so, in what manner?

Answer: It would be inaccurate to say its was not. This question was taken up. Leonid Brezhnev outlined our position clearly and in appropriate depth, and assessed China's policy, and dwelt on the matter of possible negotiations between China and the Soviet Union. For the time being, as is known, the sides are still exchanging relevant documents, but there are no practical results, the talks have not yet started.

An appraisal of China's position was given in the light of the decisions of our Party Congresses, Central Committee Plenary Meetings and policy statements regarding China made earlier.

The American side also made a statement on the Chinese question in the spirit of remarks made earlier by the American President and other officials.

What was the dominant idea in the Soviet side's statements and what was specially stressed by L.I. Brezhnev? The dominant idea was that it was inadmissible for any state, in this case the reference was to the United States, to use its relations with China to the detriment of the Soviet Union, to the detriment of its security interests. This would have a very negative effect on Soviet-American relations and the international situation as a whole.

President J. Carter replied in the sense that he agreed it was inadmissible that the relations of any power, to be more precise, any of the powers represented at Vienna, with China, could damage the other power too. That is, he agreed in essence with the thesis voiced by L.I. Brezhnev.

We would like to express the hope that the USA will conduct matters in the way described by the American President in Vienna, and that American foreign policy and U.S. practical steps will be shaped precisely in this way.

Question: Could you touch in somewhat greater detail upon basic trends in the SALT-3 talks?

Answer: I must say that there has been no more or less detailed discussion of the question of SALT-3. If I went into detail, it would be a summary of the Soviet stand, or of something close to the Soviet

stand. Only the basic trends, the outlines of the future talks were discussed. But I want to draw your attention to some aspects.

Successful progress of the forthcoming talks on concluding a third treaty on the limitation of strategic weapons is possible only with due regard for all the factors influencing the strategic situation in the world, including in Europe. If it is deciphered, and a simple language is used instead of the algebraic language, it can be said as follows: success is possible only when the talks cover the question of the American forward-based facilities, i.e., the U.S. military bases, of which there are enough both in Europe and outside Europe, and which are known to be trained in the military-strategic respect at the Soviet Union. The American side knows it well.

Question: What could you say about the state of things at various other disarmament talks in the light of the discussion of these issues at the Vienna meeting?

Answer: I have already mentioned most of the issues on which talks are being held. I spoke, and in comparative detail, on the subject of the possibility of an agreement on the reduction of armed forces and arms in Central Europe. This question remains open so far. I also spoke of a complete and general ban on nuclear weapons tests. There are delays here, although the main difficulties have been overcome. If our partners had a little more common sense, the agreement would be ready for signing.

I also spoke of a ban on radiological weapons. This agreement is under discussion, and it is being drafted. I must say that this question is the most promising one. It will apparently be brought to a conclusion, and the distance between this moment and the signing of an appropriate agreement is shrinking.

The talks on a ban on chemical weapons are progressing with difficulty. We are doing on our part everything possible. We shall see what the future will show.

Now about the question of anti-satellite systems. It is a difficult question, because we do not agree with the Americans on some of its component parts, and on others the Americans do not agree with us. In the final analysis, it can be said that the American side is not free from the striving to gain unilateral advantages. As soon as this is eliminated the road to an agreement will be cleared.

A limitation of the sale and supplies of conventional weapons has already been spoken of. These talks have been suspended by the American side without any convincing reasons.

Now the question of the limitation of military activity in the Indian

Ocean area. We are for an agreement. It is necessary not only to India, but to other littoral states also. It is necessary to the Soviet Union and the United States. It is necessary to the world. To say nothing of the direct results, an agreement on this issue would bring a warm stream into the international atmosphere. This would be a good thing.

Meanwhile, the Americans have created a big military base on Diego Garcia Island, and over the year's break at the talks they have done everything to strengthen this base. This is happening in full view of everybody, and the Americans know that we know about it. We know they know that we know.

Question: How, in your view, will the Vienna summit influence the general process of detente?

Answer: The Vienna meeting is a big and serious step promoting the deepening of detente. I don't know whether all the major international measures of recent years even taken together can compare with the impact of this meeting on the world situation. First of all because here was a meeting by the leaders of the most powerful states, most powerful also militarily. So, however strong the words one would use speaking of the meeting's impact on detente, on the international situation, there is hardly any danger of an overstatement. And it is the duty of politicians and states to take advantage of the more favorable conditions that have now evolved for resolving the questions that are still outstanding.

In conclusion A.A. Gromyko thanked the press representatives attending for their interest and expressed the wish for objective coverage of the press conference.

Pravda, June 26, 1979

AGAINST DOUBLE-FACED PROPAGANDA

C. Rajeswara Rao

General Secretary, Communist Party of India

The Communist Party of India welcomes the SALT-II agreement signed by presidents Leonid Brezhnev and Jimmy Carter as a major step in curbing the arms race and lessening the danger of a nuclear war. It is a significant contribution in the struggle to preserve and carry forward the process of détente in the world.

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It is true that it has not put an end to the arms race altogether but it has certainly put a brake on it when compared to the SALT-I agreement. This agreement will reduce the number of missiles and nuclear warheads, though there is room for improvement in their quality.

Another important aspect of the Vienna agreements is that a protocol for the proposed talks on SALT-III for putting an end to the nuclear arms race altogether, paving the way for further limitations and reduction of nuclear weapons and saving humanity from the holocaust of a thermonuclear war is also signed.

The Communist Party of India is glad that our prime minister Morarji Desai has warmly supported the SALT-II agreement which is in tune with the peace-loving policy of our country and our people.

Naturally the bellicose sections in the imperialist countries are unhappy with this agreement. They will try to confuse the public opinion in their countries with all sorts of spurious arguments.

They say that the agreement gives an edge to the Soviet Union and increases the danger of the so-called aggression from the side of the Soviet Union. They would not only want the rejection of the SALT-II agreement, but also further acceleration of the arms race.

In the same breath, they argue that the SALT-II agreement is nothing; they talk of a ban on the arms race in an attempt to fool the peace-loving people and leftist forces.

It is necessary that we do not fall a prey to the double-faced propaganda of the war-mongers and their press.

Comrade Brezhnev, president of the USSR, has effectively countered this mischievous propaganda in his speeches on the occasion of the signing of SALT-II agreement. He has stated in clear-cut terms that this agreement does not give an edge to anybody, that it will help to defend the most sacred right of everyone in the world, the right to live, and that it will help to prevent the outbreak of thermonuclear war.

We also take this opportunity to welcome the positive results of the visit of our prime minister Morarji Desai and the joint statements signed by him with the leaders of the Soviet Union, Poland and Czechoslovakia.

The Communist Party of India is happy to note that his visit to the socialist countries has further strengthened the close relations with the socialist countries as has been stated by him.

They have also reaffirmed the similarity of views of India and the Soviet Union and other socialist countries on international problems.

The present visit of our prime minister will make a significant contribution to the cause of peace in the world.

June 19, 1979

New Age, June 24, 1979

RESULT OF EFFORTS OF THE PEACE FORCES OF THE GLOBE

Statement by the GCP Board Presidium

The Presidium of the GCP Board welcomes the successful conclusion of the summit meeting in Vienna between Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and President Jimmy Carter of the United States, and the signing of the Soviet-American SALT-2. We regard this Treaty as a great step in the further improvement of relations between the Soviet Union and the United States, as a contribution to averting a nuclear war. SALT-2 makes it possible to get down to a broad reduction of strategic potentials within the framework of the forthcoming SALT-3 negotiations.

The Vienna summit and its results help to create an international climate which is favorable for continued détente. The favorable impulses which SALT-2 has given the cause of political détente and disarmament must be fully used.

We welcome the Soviet Union's constructive peace policy, which was decisive in bringing about the signing of SALT-2. The Treaty is also the result of the persevering efforts of the socialist-community countries and all the other peace forces of the globe. . . . The results of the Vienna summit and the signing of SALT-2 meet the interests of all states and peoples, including the people of the FRG . . . The peace forces of the world must raise their voice for the earliest ratification of this document. We communists, like all other peace-loving people in our country, welcome the fact that the FRG government has come out in support of SALT-2 and its earliest ratification. It is all the more vigorously, therefore, that we urge the Federal government to say "no" in all clarity to the deployment of new U.S. medium-range missiles on the territory of the FRG and the further stockpiling of nuclear weapons in our country, because this clashes with its national interests.

Unzere Zeit, June 20, 1979

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FUNDAMENTAL, ESSENTIAL STEP TOWARD PEACE

Gus Hall

General Secretary, Communist Party USA

The signing of the SALT-II treaty by President Carter and President Brezhnev is an act of sanity.

It is an absolutely necessary step to back away from the brink of nuclear no-return. It is the checkpoint before the nuclear meltdown. It is the only possible beginning for the process of nuclear arms reduction.

SALT-II sets the outer limits from which point the process of reducing nuclear arms and nuclear arms stockpiles can begin.

SALT-II does not, by itself, put an end to the danger of a nuclear disaster. But it is that indispensable first step along the path that will lead the world away from catastrophe.

APPEASE WAR MERCHANTS

The war hawks in the U.S. Senate and Pentagon, led by Senator Henry Jackson, screech about "appeasement." Yes, there is appeasement. In fact, there is surrender. It is the appeasement of Senator Jackson and his cronies — the Pentagon nuclear maniacs. There is surrender to the corporate wealthy who make millions out of the escalating war budget. There is appeasement of the war merchants who reap billions from the sale of war goods the world over.

The Senate-Pentagon war hawks live in a world of dangerous illusions, illusions that rest on the myth that U.S. imperialism can dominate the world by establishing a nuclear superiority. They refuse to accept the concept of a military balance.

ILLUSIONS SHATTERED

In their fantasy-world, they think it is possible to stop the real world — to stop the process of national liberation and for the U.S. corporations to once again dominate the liberated countries of the world. They persist in the dangerous illusion that it is possible to roll back the boundaries of world socialism. SALT-II shatters the bubble of their illusions.

Senator Jackson has become the insane saboteur, the Dr. Strangelove of this moment in history. He works to sabotage trade with the socialist countries which would mean jobs for U.S. workers.

He conspires to sabotage SALT-II, the first historic step toward nuclear sanity.

SALT-II sets the stage for a military balance. SALT-II is an essential step in the struggle for world peace. The peoples of the United States, the Soviet Union and the world are for SALT-II.

PEOPLE MUST SPEAK NOW

The only obstacle to this act of peace and sanity is the war hawk, insane, reactionary conspiracy in the U.S. Senate. To uphold this agreement of sanity, this treaty of peace, the people of the U.S. must speak out now. This is a time when the people can vote for SALT-II by sending a vote for peace to their senators.

All talk about amendments to the treaty is a coverup to defeat the agreement. All talk about the treaty not going far enough is, in fact, a coverup to defeat this fundamental, essential step toward peace.

Those who think SALT-II does not go far enough should work for — should vote for SALT-III and SALT-IV. This is a moment in the history of our country when all the forces of peace and social progress must raise their voices to defeat the forces of war and destruction — SALT-II must become a people's victory.

Daily World, June 19, 1979

FAVORABLE PREREQUISITES

Statement by the Political Bureau, CP Austria

The Austrian communists welcome the signing of SALT-2 as an important step on the way to averting nuclear war and improving relations between the Soviet Union and the United States.

It is being emphasized in the East and the West that the successful talks between Leonid Brezhnev and Jimmy Carter will have a positive effect on the whole international situation. The Treaty . . . serves to limit strategic armaments. Both great powers have agreed to refrain from attaining superiority in strategic weapons. In addition, SALT-2 makes it possible to negotiate on SALT-3 which will reflect further efforts to achieve disarmament.

Both parties came out in favor of carrying on a constant dialogue. At the same time, the meeting between Leonid Brezhnev and Jimmy Carter creates favorable prerequisites for advancing the Vienna talks on mutual arms and troop cuts in Central Europe.

The forces which wanted to pressure the Soviet Union and obtain

unilateral concessions from it have suffered a defeat. The people's struggle for independence and social progress, as Leonid Brezhnev declared, is not intrigues of the Soviet Union. The USSR has no intention of making concessions to the detriment of the national and social liberation movements, or at the expense of the sovereignty of independent states.

SALT-2, which will have a positive effect on many spheres of international life, is above all a success for the peace policy of the CPSU and its General Secretary Comrade Leonid Brezhnev. These efforts on the part of the CPSU and the Soviet government are fully supported by the socialist-community countries.

There is no doubt that the document signed in Vienna will be ratified by the USSR Supreme Soviet. By contrast, the forces connected with the U.S. military-industrial complex are trying to mount resistance to SALT-2 and to torpedo its ratification in the Senate... In this way, they increase the risk of a continued and unchecked arms race and a sharpening of the international climate.

The Communist Party of Austria resolutely condemns the stand of the Peking leadership, which has objectively abetted these attempts. The fact that SALT-2 has been signed in Vienna is not only a distinction for our country, but also a commitment for all of us to fight even more actively for the cause of peace throughout the world.

Volksstimme, June 19, 1979

POSITIVE CONTRIBUTION TO A HEALTHY CLIMATE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Resolution of CPI Plenum

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel highly evaluates SALT-2, signed on June 18, 1979, by Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, President of the Presidium, Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and Jimmy Carter, President of the United States of America. The CC considers that this treaty limiting strategic offensive arms is an advance of tremendous importance in the struggle for durable peace and international détente.

SALT-2 reduces the threat of nuclear world war. By limiting the extremely dangerous arms race, it creates a more favorable international situation for the solution of other problems, such as a general

and complete ban on nuclear tests and a reduction of armed forces and armaments in Europe. Now that SALT-2 has been signed, the Soviet Union and the United States will proceed to talks on SALT-3, which could result in a serious arms reduction.

SALT-2 is a fresh proof that countries with different social systems and different views on important international problems can act together in furthering détente and peaceful coexistence.

Thus, the peace policy evolved by the Soviet Union jointly with other socialist countries has made a decisive contribution to SALT-2.

U.S. extremists, above all the bosses of the military-industrial complex, who make billions of dollars by selling arms and deploying weapons systems, are trying to torpedo the treaty signed with the Soviet Union, and to prevent its ratification by the U.S. Senate. However, the majority of the American people support the Soviet-U.S. accords.

At the Vienna meeting the Soviet and U.S. leaders reached no agreement on the Middle East. Each side stated its position on the issue. The Soviet side stressed that, as the Soviet Union sees it, the Israeli-Arab conflict and the Palestinian problem — the core of the conflict — can only be settled through a general agreement involving all sides concerned. The U.S. side, however, clung on to its separatist view of the issue which prevents a peaceful, just, lasting and general settlement. Even so, SALT-2 will have a beneficial impact on developments in the Middle East. As regards the policy of aggression and occupation being pursued by the Israeli government, the latter banks on increasing tensions and a confrontation between the U.S. and Soviet Union. The more durable the détente and peaceful coexistence between the Soviet Union and the USA the more the contradiction between Israel's policy and global development trends will stand out in international relations.

At the Vienna summit the Soviet Union and the United States called on all countries which have not yet signed the international treaty banning nuclear arms proliferation to sign it. This applies most directly to Israel as it is one of the few states which has not signed the treaty. Israel's failure to sign it poses a serious threat to its people and the region as a whole, especially in view of the exceedingly tense situation that has shaped there of late.

The CC CPI calls on all peace forces that are aware of their patriotic responsibility to insist that Israel respond favorably to the appeal of the Soviet Union and United States.

Al Ittihad, July 6, 1979

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MEETING OF CC SECRETARIES OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES OF SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

Communiqué of the meeting

A meeting of CC secretaries of Communist and Workers' parties of socialist countries on international and ideological questions was held in Berlin from July 3 to 5, 1979. It was attended by: from the Bulgarian Communist Party — *Alexander Lilov*, Political Bureau member, CC Secretary; *Dimiter Stanishev*, CC Secretary; *Stoyan Mikhailov*, CC Secretary; from the Communist Party of Cuba — *Antonio Perez Herrero*, CC Secretariat member on ideology and propaganda; from the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia — *Vasil Bilak*, Presidium member, CC Secretary; *Jan Fojtik*, CC Secretary; *Josef Havlin*, CC Secretary; from the Socialist Unity Party of Germany — *Kurt Hager*, Political Bureau member, CC Secretary; *Hermann Axen*, Political Bureau member, CC Secretary; *Joachim Herrmann*, Political Bureau member, CC Secretary; from the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party — *Miklos Ovari*, Political Bureau member, CC Secretary; *Andras Gyenes*, CC Secretary; *Imre Györi*, CC Secretary; from the People's Revolutionary Party of Laos — *Sisana Sisane*, CC alternate member, deputy chairman, CC Commission on Propaganda and Education, Minister of Propaganda, Information, Culture and Tourism; from the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party — *G. Adya*, CC Secretary; from the Polish United Workers' Party — *Jerzy Lukaszewicz*, Political Bureau alternate member, CC Secretary; *Andrzej Werblan*, CC Secretary; from the Rumanian Communist Party — *Virgil Cazacu*, member, Political Executive Committee, CC Secretary; from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union — *Boris Ponomaryov*, Political Bureau alternate member, CC Secretary; *Konstantin Rusakov*, CC Secretary; *Mikhail Zimyanin*, CC Secretary; *Leonid Zamyatin*, CC member; from the Communist Party of Vietnam — *To Huu*, Political Bureau alternate member, CC Secretary, head, CC Propaganda and Agitation Department of Science and Educational Institutions; *Nguyen Thanh Le*, CC member, deputy head, CC External Ties Department; *Dao Duy Tung*, CC alternate member, deputy head, CC Propaganda and Agitation Department, Editor-in-Chief, CPV CC's theoretical organ, *Cong San*.

The meeting was also attended by department heads, deputy department heads and other functionaries of the fraternal parties' Central Committees.

The participants had a circumstantial exchange of information and views on meaningful problems in the fraternal parties' cooperation in the international-policy and ideological sphere, and on agitation and propaganda. They expressed satisfaction over the course and results of bilateral and multilateral cooperation in various spheres of socialist construction, including ideology, science and culture, and the urge to develop such cooperation in the future as well.

The participants stated that the socialist-community countries' perseverance and consistent approach, and their principled foreign-policy line had an outstanding role to play in averting another war, strengthening international security and further advancing détente.

It was unanimously noted that the Soviet-U.S. summit in Vienna and the Treaty between the USSR and the United States on limiting strategic offensive weapons were an important step in consolidating the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems and the cause of détente. The importance of the contribution of the CPSU, the Soviet state and of Comrade Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev to the preparation and successful conclusion of the Treaty was emphasized.

It was noted at the meeting that full translation of the Vienna Treaty into life will open up new prospects for solving the primary task of our day, namely, that of bridling the arms race and then achieving disarmament, which would safeguard mankind from the threat of another war.

The meeting emphasized the importance of the socialist countries' concrete and consistent acts in strengthening peace and security in Europe in the spirit of the Helsinki Final Act. It noted the constructive nature of the proposals and initiatives put forward by the Bucharest and Moscow meetings of the Warsaw Treaty's Political Consultative Committee, and also the Budapest meeting of the Committee of Foreign Ministers of these states. It stressed the importance of successful preparation and holding of the Madrid meeting of the states participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

The meeting emphasized the importance of active resistance to any attempts by the aggressive circles of imperialism and other reactionary forces to undermine the process of détente through an arms

build-up, hostile campaigns against the socialist countries, stepped-up hostility among nations, and revival in some countries of revanchist and militaristic, neo-fascist and neo-nazi organizations and trends.

This requires, alongside political and diplomatic efforts, intensive ideological activity to explain to the public in all the countries the responsibility of imperialism and NATO's militaristic circles for the arms race and the futility of the attempts to put the blame for this on socialism. It is known that the socialist countries come out for an end to the arms race and for disarmament.

It is important broadly to inform the public of the socialist-community countries' peace initiatives and their growing contribution to the solution of the global problems facing mankind today. The 40th anniversary of the outbreak of the Second World War is an insistent reminder to the nations of the need to intensify the struggle for lasting peace and for averting another military disaster.

The participants in the meeting emphasized that one of the key lines of the fraternal parties' joint ideological work is to be propaganda of the economic, scientific, technical, socio-political and cultural achievements of socialism, which confirm its viability and which show the great constructive potentialities of the new system. Strengthening of friendship and solidarity among the socialist countries, extension and deepening of the all-round mutually advantageous cooperation, and growing participation in the international exchange of material and spiritual values are an important element in the development of the socialist countries and in strengthening their international positions. The 30th anniversary of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance brought out the tremendous socio-economic achievements of the CMEA socialist countries, the successes in their cooperation within the framework of the organization, and the prospects for its further development and deepening.

Much attention was given to cooperation in studying theoretical and practical problems of socialism, and the new phenomena and trends in the development of the modern world, which constantly confirm and enrich dialectical and historical materialism, scientific socialism and Marxism-Leninism, the revolutionary ideology of the working class.

The meeting pointed to the importance of exchanging experience in ideological and educational work, its constant improvement in the light of the dynamism of contemporary social life, and the marked growth in the cultural standards and spiritual requirements of the builders of the new society. It also noted the significance of the

dialogue and exchange of opinion, of international theoretical conferences conducted in accordance with the norms generally accepted in the communist movement, and with broad participation by representatives of fraternal parties, as an effective method of joint discussion of the vital problems of the world revolutionary process.

The participants in the meeting noted, in the spirit of the ideas written into the document of the Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe held in Berlin three years ago, the importance and meaningfulness of strengthening cooperation and solidarity among the Communist and Workers' parties and all the other revolutionary, progressive and anti-imperialist forces. They expressed their parties' determination firmly to support the peoples' struggle for freedom and independence, for their sacred right to decide their own future without external interference, and against the imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist policy, against racism and apartheid, for elimination of underdevelopment, for a restructuring of international economic relations on democratic principles, for the establishment of a new world economic order, and for peace, friendship and progress of nations throughout the world.

The participants in the meeting emphasized the great importance of the forthcoming Sixth Conference of the heads of state and government of the non-aligned countries in Havana, and expressed the conviction that its success would help to strengthen the unity and solidarity of the non-aligned nations in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism, for independent socio-economic development and for détente and cooperation throughout the world.

The meeting was held in an atmosphere of workman-like, friendly cooperation and international solidarity.

FOR INTERNATIONALIST SOLIDARITY

The delegations of the Communist and Workers' Parties of Bulgaria, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Laos, Mongolia, Poland, the Soviet Union and Vietnam attending the Berlin meeting of CC secretaries on international and ideological questions reaffirmed their parties' resolve to strengthen, on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, their solidarity with all the peoples fighting imperialism and reaction, and voiced the conviction that the achievements of existing socialism contribute to fresh successes for the cause of peace, democracy, national liberation and social progress.

They declared on behalf of their parties their full support for the Vietnamese people, which firmly rebuffed the Chinese aggression and is fighting for peace, national independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and socialism. They deem it necessary to continue working to advance the effective campaign of all-round support for the Vietnamese people.

They declare their solidarity with the Laotian People's Democratic Republic, which is fighting against the moves and subversive provocations of imperialism and reaction, and is working to effect profound political and social transformations and to build socialism. They welcome the new Kampuchea, whose people, led by the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea — the only legitimate government — toppled Pol Pot's tyrannical regime and took the line for the country's revival on a truly democratic basis.

It was emphasized that Peking's great-power, hegemonistic goals, used by imperialism in its struggle against socialism, pose a threat to the security of all nations, those of Southeast Asia above all, and are at odds with the interests of the Chinese people itself.

The fraternal parties resolutely condemn the imperialist and colonialist provocations against socialist-oriented Asian and African countries and express solidarity with their struggle.

They voiced their solidarity with the Nicaraguan people's struggle against the dictatorial regime, for its country's freedom and independence, and came out against the imperialist attempts to mount an armed intervention in that country, which would be a gross breach of the principles of peaceful coexistence and would run against the interests of détente.

The delegations reaffirmed their invariable support for the Arab peoples, especially the Arab people of Palestine, and noted the stand taken by most Arab countries against the U.S.-sponsored separate deal between Egypt and Israel. They expressed solidarity with the peoples of Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa in their struggle against imperialism, for national rights and their defense, for peace and social progress.

AT THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CPSU

The CPSU Central Committee has considered the results of the meeting of CC Secretaries of Communist and Workers' Parties of socialist countries held in Berlin from July 3 to 5, 1979, approved the work of the Soviet delegation, and also supported the evaluations and conclusions in the communiqué on the results of the meeting and in the address "For Internationalist Solidarity."

The meeting unanimously emphasized the importance of the results of the Vienna meeting between Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and President Jimmy Carter of the United States, and of the signed SALT-2, and expressed the view that the central task in the forthcoming period is to translate into practice the accords reached in Vienna.

Other important problems in the struggle to end the arms race, for international security and for stronger peace throughout the world were also discussed.

The CPSU Central Committee believes that coordination of action in a sphere like ideological work, and exchange of information and experience in the ideological and educational field, and the development of science and culture in the socialist countries have a growing role to play in the building and perfecting of the developed socialist society.

The departments and organizations concerned have been instructed to take steps to put through the measures agreed upon at the meeting designed for the further development of the fraternal parties' cooperation in these fields.

Pravda, July 15, 1979

CMEA: 30 YEARS

Anniversary Session

The 33rd meeting of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) was held in Moscow from June 26 to 28, 1979, to mark its 30th anniversary. The meeting was attended by the delegations of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, the People's Republic of Angola, Socialist Ethiopia, Finland, the Iraqi Republic,

the Laotian People's Democratic Republic, the United States of Mexico, the People's Republic of Mozambique and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen.

The meeting was chaired by Alexei Kosygin, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and head of the Soviet Union's delegation.

The meeting warmly received a message of greetings on the 30th anniversary of the CMEA from Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and messages of greetings from the leaders of the other fraternal parties of the CMEA countries.

The meeting considered the progress in implementing the five long-term goal-oriented programs for cooperation and coordination of national-economic plans for 1981-1985. It decided to extend to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam the principles of the Comprehensive Program on special measures to accelerate the development of the country's economy, as has been done with respect to the Mongolian People's Republic and the Republic of Cuba, in order to help the heroic Vietnamese people in its socialist construction effort.

In connection with a request from the government of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, the meeting adopted a decision on participation by the Yemeni side in the work of the CMEA as an observer.

Below is the message of greetings Leonid Brezhnev sent the meeting, and the CMEA's statement on its 30th anniversary.

TO THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE 33RD SESSION OF THE COUNCIL FOR MUTUAL ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE

Dear Comrades, esteemed guests,

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the Soviet government and in my own name I warmly greet the participants and guests of the 33rd session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

The setting up of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, on the initiative of the communist and workers' parties of a number of fraternal countries 30 years ago, marked the beginning of the collec-

tive search for fundamentally new methods of multilateral economic cooperation. Now we note with satisfaction that a socialist type of the international division of labor is taking shape and strengthening within the CMEA framework. This facilitated the development of the socialist community as the most dynamic, stable and progressive economic force in the world. Many complex tasks had to be accomplished and difficulties overcome along this road. As in any endeavor, they still exist. The activity of CMEA, the mechanism of its work, will undoubtedly be improved. But much has already been achieved. Much positive experience has been accumulated in the concerted solution of vital economic problems. Socialist economic integration has become part and parcel of the life of our community, a mighty and stable factor, making for the all-round progress of the fraternal countries.

This is, perhaps, the main political result of the activity of CMEA in the last 30 years and, specifically, in the last decade, which was distinguished by the implementation of the strategic decisions of the 23rd special session of the Council, embodied in the Comprehensive Program. It was in the 70s that the main advantages of the international socialist division of labor were revealed most broadly.

The social orientation of CMEA activity, subordination of the entire system of cooperation and mutual assistance to the interests of the working people, to the realization of the principal aim of socialism — higher living standards of the people — has come out in bold relief.

That is why the fundamental problems of all-round cooperation of the countries of the socialist community, the prospects of its further deepening are constantly in the focus of attention of the Central Committees of the communist and workers' parties and the governments of our fraternal countries.

The social result of the development of the CMEA countries is weighty evidence of the strength of the internationalist ideas of Marxism-Leninism, which, as is common knowledge, from the very beginning underlay the activity of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. Genuine democratization of international economic relations has been implemented for the first time in history within the CMEA framework. Equality, voluntariness, sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs, mutual advantage and mutual assistance are not just slogans but an everyday practice in the activity of the Council. Every country, irrespective of its size and level of development has equal representation in CMEA agencies, has an equal vote. No one commands on our Council. Our socialist community is distinguished by harmonious combination of national and international

interests, respect for the views and national specific features of each country. This is, perhaps, one of the reasons for the growing prestige of CMEA. Guided by the principles of peaceful coexistence, the CMEA countries in the international arena, too, vigorously oppose any discrimination in trade, economic, scientific and technological cooperation. This is no time-serving course. It is motivated by the very nature of our system, the general trend of socialist foreign policy.

Cooperation of the CMEA member-countries is developing in the interests of universal peace and security of the peoples. The CMEA's Charter, its program documents and practical deeds are permeated with the ideas of peace. I am confident that the activities of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance will continue to be an important factor in deepening the détente and giving it material basis, in ensuring stable peace and friendship among peoples. This will undoubtedly be promoted by the further development of CMEA's international contacts.

The Soviet Union is ready to continue giving maximum support to the CMEA's efforts to broaden mutually-beneficial links with other states and organizations, to work for the solution, on just principles, of fundamental problems of the world economy, for the improvement of the whole system of international economic relations.

It is good that the jubilee CMEA session is a broad international forum attended by representatives of 12 socialist countries, a number of other sovereign states of four continents and also competent international organizations.

The CMEA marks its 30th anniversary in an atmosphere of intensive activities. Long-term purpose-oriented programs, which determine the strategy of cooperation for the future decade, are to be implemented. Obviously the main objective now is to shape the long-term programs into a system of specific agreements, to ensure that the next two five-year periods be marked by intensive production and scientific-technological cooperation. The CMEA bodies are bound to promote the raising of socialist production to the most advanced level of science and technology, to help use the mighty productive forces of our states with the maximum effect. All this will strengthen the basis for improving the living standards of the peoples of the peoples of the socialist countries in the coming years.

It is most significant that an emulation drive of work collectives has been launched in honor of the 30th anniversary of the CMEA in our country and other fraternal countries. It is important to continue

exerting every effort for educating the cadres of economic executives and the broad masses of the working people in the spirit of combining socialist patriotism with socialist internationalism. This is a common and time-testing line of the fraternal communist and workers' parties which act as the guiding and cementing force in organizing our fruitful cooperation.

The development of socialist economy in conditions of different countries provides broad possibilities for spreading and mastering effective forms and methods of management, I believe that work in generalizing and using advanced experience should be invigorated for the benefit of the common cause. It is becoming a still more important reserve of our development.

I would like to wish the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, the business headquarters of socialist integration, all who are involved in this important work to intensify creative endeavors in search of new forms and methods of cooperation in order to increase its effectiveness, to strengthen friendship between peoples, to consolidate world peace.

I am confident, dear comrades, that you will attain new major successes in your fruitful activities.

Leonid Brezhnev
Pravda, June 27, 1979

STATEMENT OF THE CMEA SESSION ON THE 30th ANNIVERSARY OF THE COUNCIL FOR MUTUAL ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE

The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, the world's first organization for the multilateral economic, scientific and technical cooperation of the socialist countries, is 30 years old. Throughout that period the activities of CMEA have been serving to promote close economic ties between the fraternal countries, the strengthening of the might and cohesion of the community of socialist states, and the cause of building socialism and communism.

In the 30 years the peoples of the CMEA member-countries led by their Communist and Workers' Parties have carried out fundamental social and economic transformations. These transformations have become in the eyes of millions upon millions of people incontrovertible proof of the superiority of the socialist system. Socialist relations

of production based on the public ownership of the means of production have become established in all CMEA member-countries. The material and technical basis of socialism and communism is being built and developed. The structure of the national economies of the CMEA countries is being improved, the industries which are fundamental to technological progress are being rapidly developed and the highest world standards have been achieved in many directions of scientific and technological progress. Agriculture has been or is being reconstructed along socialist lines.

The social development programs of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the CMEA member-countries are being implemented successfully. The socialist way of life has forever rid the working people of exploitation and social insecurity. Full employment has been ensured, the real incomes of the population are steadily growing and the public consumption funds used to provide free education, medical services and pensions and to organize recreation for the working people are being extended. All these achievements of socialism have been reliably guaranteed by the constitutions of the fraternal countries.

This history-making progress is a result of the selfless efforts of the working class, peasants and intellectuals, and the creative application by every Communist Party of the general regularities of building socialism in the concrete and specific conditions of their countries, and also evidence of the great creative potentialities of the socialist social system.

The advances of the CMEA member-countries stand in striking contrast to the processes characterizing the situation of the countries of the world capitalist system. The growth rates of the national incomes and industrial output of the CMEA member-countries between 1961 and 1978 were three times higher than those of the developed capitalist countries. Thirty years ago the CMEA member-countries were turning out 18 per cent of the world industrial output, whereas today they produce one third of it. In the past they generated 15 per cent of the world national income, whereas today the figure is 25 per cent. Today the achievements of the CMEA countries are demonstrating in practice the superiority of the socialist system.

The intensive development of the productive forces and the continuous improvement of relations of production in every country, the building of developed socialist society in the Soviet Union, and the entry of the majority of socialist states into this high stage of development are a natural result of the political and economic progress of socialism in the postwar period.

Summing up the results of the activities of the Council over the 30-year period and stressing the unbreakable link between the social and economic achievements of the CMEA member-countries and the extension of their cooperation, the CMEA session states with profound satisfaction that the international economic relations of a new type based on the principles of socialist internationalism, respect for state sovereignty, independence and national interests, non-intervention in the internal affairs of countries, complete equality, mutual benefit and comradely assistance have for the first time in history been realized in practice in the activities of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

The solid alliance of the ruling communist and workers' parties has become a reliable political foundation for the peoples of the socialist countries to improve their cooperation and to unite ever closer their efforts in all spheres of public life. Thanks to their tireless efforts, the prediction of the great Lenin about friendship and fraternal relations among nations on the basis of mutual understanding and trust, coincidence of fundamental interests and voluntary concord has come true. New forms of human intercourse developed by socialism are an example for the peoples of the world, and their influence for the peoples of the world, and their influence on international affairs is constantly growing.

The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, being an important factor of the economic and social progress of the countries participating in it, facilitates the development and extension of the all-round friendly relations and cooperation of the peoples of the sovereign socialist states, the mutual transfers of advanced experience in building socialism and communism, and the gradual evening out of the economic development levels. The European CMEA members have made considerable progress along this road. Enjoying the assistance of the USSR and the other fraternal countries, the peoples of the Republic of Cuba, the Mongolian People's Republic and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam are building the foundations of modern industries.

The extension and deepening of mutual cooperation is a result of the continuous efforts of all fraternal countries. The Soviet Union is making a particularly important contribution to this common cause.

At all stages of the 30-year history of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, its activities have invariably been aimed to further consolidate the fraternal cooperation of the socialist countries and to enrich it with new methods and forms meeting ever more fully

and efficiently the tasks of the socio-economic development of those countries and helping speed up their advance toward socialism and communism. Having begun with agreements on mutual supplies of commodities, the fraternal countries have gradually moved on to higher and more comprehensive forms of economic collaboration covering whole areas of production, science and technology.

The 23rd (Special) CMEA Session, which took place ten years ago, was a historic landmark in the life of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. It charted a course, embodied in a Comprehensive Program, for the further improvement of cooperation among the CMEA member-countries and for the development of socialist economic integration.

That course has fully justified itself. The Comprehensive Program is being implemented successfully. Cooperation among the CMEA member-countries has been put on a qualitatively new level and oriented even more effectively toward technological progress, the specialization and cooperation of production and the joint development of natural resources for the common benefit of the peoples of the socialist countries. The fact that the volume of the mutual trade turnover of the CMEA member-countries grew 22-fold between 1950 and 1978 and that its growth rates substantially outpaced those of the national incomes and industrial output testifies to the continuous extension of the international socialist division of labor.

The growing cooperation of the CMEA member-countries in planning facilitates the all-round utilization of the advantages of the international socialist division of labor. By introducing national economic planning, socialism has proved by the experience of those countries the superiority of planning in the organization of economic contacts on an international scale as well.

The coordination of the national economic plans, consultations on matters of economic policy, joint planning of individual industries and lines of production by the countries concerned, exchange of experience in national economic planning and management have become the everyday practice in state-to-state relations between the CMEA member-countries. In recent years cooperation in planning activities has been expanded to include such new forms and instruments as the Co-ordinated Plan of Multilateral Integration Measures and long-term purpose-oriented cooperation programs.

Cooperation in planning offers the countries concerned a clear prospect and enables each of them to make more effective use of their national resources and the advantages of socialist international

specialization and cooperation of production, while substantially reducing the impact which the recurrent upheavals of the world's capitalist economy may have on the socialist economies.

It is a practice of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance to carry on a large-scale exchange of modern technology, technical experience and basic research findings through their developed system of international cooperation in the area of science and technology. Cooperation in the area of science and technology has accelerated technological progress in the member-countries. Remarkable gains of the CMEA member-countries in carrying out the "Intercosmos" program and the near-earth space flights of international crews which began in 1978 epitomize the socialist countries' high level of achievement in the field of science.

The "Druzhba" oil pipeline and the "Soyuz" gas pipeline, unique in terms of length and carrying capacity; the amalgamation of the national power grids of the European CMEA member-countries and the USSR; development and production of modern computer equipment of the common "Ryad" system; cooperation of the CMEA member-countries in the field of transportation and the common pool of freight cars they have created; the Nuclear Research Institute at Dubna uniting the efforts of scientists from socialist countries in one of the leading areas of scientific and technological progress; the construction, by joint efforts, of such major projects as the Ust-Ilim Pulp Mills and the Kiembay Asbestos Plant in the USSR, the "Erdenet" copper-molybdenum project in the Mongolian People's Republic, nickel factories in Cuba; the projected nuclear power plant of an aggregate capacity of 37 million kW to be built in the European CMEA member-countries and Cuba with technical assistance from the Soviet Union — these are some of the major results of the close and fruitful cooperation of the CMEA member-countries in various areas of production, science and technology.

The development of multilateral cooperation in material production — the major area of human activity — has brought into existence a network of international economic organizations of the CMEA member-countries which involve ministries, enterprises and associations of different countries into direct cooperation and link up their activities ever more closely with the operation of the CMEA agencies.

Mutual foreign trade, monetary, financial and credit relations have been established and are being constantly improved, stimulating the planned expansion and development of economic, scientific and

technological cooperation between the CMEA member-countries and facilitating the efforts of these countries in reducing the effects the crisis developments in the world capitalist economy may have on their economies.

Cooperation between the member-countries has become a matter of direct concern to thousands of production groups, scientific and technical staffs, million of working people. An international socialist emulation campaign has been launched by these contingents of working people in a number of countries to mark the 30th anniversary of CMEA.

With the achievements gained to rely on, the CMEA member-countries are focussing their attention on the things to be done in the year ahead and problems yet to be resolved. The continued enhancement of the efficiency of their socialist economies calls for closer international specialization and cooperation of production. The elaboration and realization of long-term purpose-oriented cooperation programs, in keeping with the resolutions of the parties and governments of the CMEA member-countries, have an important part to play in the achievement of this objective. By specifying and carrying forward the Comprehensive Program, the long-term purpose-oriented cooperation programs indicate an agreed strategy of cooperation to be followed right up to 1990 in resolving the fundamental problems of social and economic development. They are designed to ensure a still broader application of the advantages of socialism and to help find economic solutions to meet the interests of each member-country in particular and the common interests of all the CMEA member-countries in general. The session of the Council regards the long-term purpose-oriented programs, adopted at its 32nd and 33rd meetings, as a new step forward in developing and extending the mutual economic cooperation of the CMEA member-countries. The program of practical action they have outlined gives the member-countries reliable guideposts to go by in jointly resolving a number of major national economic problems in the coming decade.

The heads of the delegations reaffirm the strong determination of the CMEA member-countries to ensure a consistent application of the said programs for the sake of the further advance of the economies and living standards in each country and in the interest of consolidating the cause of socialism.

The CMEA member-countries consider it necessary to direct their cooperation in the coming decade, above all, toward the utmost acceleration of scientific and technological progress, meeting the ra-

tional demand for raw materials, fuel and energy as well as machinery, equipment and modern technology; improving the supply of foodstuffs and manufactured consumer goods to the population; creating an effective and technologically improved transportation network of the CMEA member-countries in line with the growing requirements of their national economies and their mutual cooperation.

With this in view, the CMEA member-countries are coordinating their national economic plans, drawing up an agreed plan for multilateral integration activities and working out bilateral long-term programs for specialization and cooperation of production for 1981-1990.

The CMEA member-countries and agencies will carry forward their intense and creative quest for new, more effective forms and methods of cooperation and will continue to improve the Council's activities gearing them toward resolving the specific questions of development of economic, scientific and technological cooperation.

This will contribute toward the further all-round development of their national economies and toward raising the efficiency of social production by the CMEA member-countries in accordance with the aims and objectives fixed by the communist parties of these countries as well as toward speeding the process of gradual convergence and levelling out of their economic development standards.

The Council for Mutual Economic assistance, having arisen as a regional organization of six European countries, is one of cooperation of ten socialist countries of Europe, Asia and Latin America in this 30th year of its existence.

The attraction of the principles and methods of cooperation applied by the CMEA member-countries, their outstanding social and economic accomplishments, the ever expanding democracy of the Council's activities and its high international prestige, as well as the positive effect which the mutual cooperation of the CMEA member-countries has on worldwide economic relationships, arouse a growing interest in the experience of our cooperation among many nations of the world.

Yugoslavia has been increasingly involved in the work of the CMEA agencies. Cooperation is under way between them and the Korean Democratic People's Republic and the People's Democratic Republic of Laos. Multilateral economic links are being established with the People's Republic of Angola and Socialist Ethiopia. The CMEA is cooperating with Iraq, Mexico and Finland under agreements it has with them.

The CMEA member-countries are determined to promote closer friendship and equal cooperation with all socialist states. They are consistently pressing for greater equal and mutually advantageous cooperation with the developing nations and with other states regardless of their social systems. This fundamental approach follows from the very essence of socialism and from the commitment of the socialist countries to the cause of peace, and is part and parcel of a policy of easing tensions. While consistently fulfilling the provisions of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the CMEA member-countries are urging constructive cooperation in international organizations for the benefit of peace, progress and development and for equal and business-like cooperation of CMEA with the economic organizations of the UN and third nations. They emphatically insist on ending discrimination and inequality, engendered by imperialist, colonailist and neo-colonialist policies, in world economic relationships, and are actively promoting establishment of a new, equitable economic order.

The session declares that CMEA will continue to develop the relationship of cooperation with third countries with a view to achieving a deeper international division of labor on fair, equal and mutually beneficial terms, contributing thereby toward restructuring of international economic relations on a progressive basis.

In summing up the record of three decades in the activities of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, the heads of the delegations to the 33rd CMEA Session express the firm determination of the CMEA member-countries to extend and deepen their all-round economic, scientific and technological cooperation, actively apply the provisions of the Comprehensive Program for the continued extension and improvement of cooperation and for the development of the socialist economic integration of the CMEA member-countries in the interest of each country in particular and all the CMEA member-countries in general and in the interest of building socialism and communism and ensuring a stable peace all over the world.

AT THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE USSR

The Political Bureau of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Central Committee and the Council of Ministers of the USSR considered the report of the Soviet delegation led by Alexei Kosygin, member of the CC CPSU Political Bureau and Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, on the results of the 33rd Session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance which took place in Moscow from June 26 to 28, 1979.

The CC CPSU Political Bureau and the USSR Council of Ministers evaluate highly the statement on the 30th anniversary of the Council for Mutual Economic assistance and the communiqué, adopted by the session, which reflect the resolve of the fraternal socialist countries to continue extending their all-round cooperation based on the principles of socialist internationalism. Emphasis was laid on the fundamental importance of the appraisals and conclusions made in the message of greetings of Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and President of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the messages of greetings of the leaders of other fraternal parties and countries, for further work to extend cooperation among the CMEA member-countries and for consolidating the unity and cohesion of the socialist community.

It was pointed out that the 33rd CMEA Session and the fact that it was attended by a number of countries which are not members of the Council testify to the growing international prestige of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and to the consistent implementation of the fraternal parties' course for the development of large-scale and equitable cooperation with all countries in the name of strengthening peace and friendship among nations.

The Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and the Council of Ministers of the USSR express their profound satisfaction with the practical results of the Session, namely, the completion of the drafting of all long-term specific programs of cooperation of a number of major agreements toward their implementation, and the adoption of decisions aimed at further consolidating the democratic foundations and perfecting the work of the Council.

The Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers point out that the Session has provided

conditions for further efforts to carry out an extensive complex of measures envisaged by the long-term specific programs, for completing the coordination of national economic development plans for 1981-85, and for extending socialist economic integration which has become a stable factor of all-round progress in each fraternal state and in the socialist community as a whole. The implementation of measures drafted by the 33rd session will help extend and deepen the fraternal cooperation of the countries in tackling major problems related to building socialism and communism.

The Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers approved the work of the Soviet delegation at the 33rd CMEA Session and instructed competent Soviet bodies to draft and carry out the necessary measures to ensure that the Soviet Union fulfills in time and in full measure its commitments stemming from the decisions of the session.

Pravda, July 8, 1979

The Comintern and the East

Editor: R.A. Ulyanovsky

Background on the Comintern has been long awaited. Ulyanovsky, a specialist on national liberation, has put together a book which outlines the basic principles of this important body. Furthermore, it provides a new look at early developments in China plus rare analyses of the events in Indonesia, Philippines, Japan and so on.

Name index, index of political parties and organizations, geographical index

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DOCUMENTS

RESOLUTIONS OF THE 16TH PLENUM OF THE CC, COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL

The Central Committee of the CPI met in plenary session from June 28 to 29, 1979. Tawfiq Toubi, Deputy General Secretary of the CC CPI, presented a report on the political situation and some organizational matters. The CC approved the report and the generalized results of the debate and passed a number of resolutions.

FOR NEW ELECTIONS, THE OVERTHROW OF THE "BLOC" GOVERNMENT AND THE FORMATION OF A GOVERNMENT OF PEACE, DEMOCRACY, EQUALITY AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

The Israeli people are living in an atmosphere of disaffection, uncertainty and opposition to the Begin government and its policy.

The "bloc" government,¹ which has been in power for two years, talks a great deal about how it has achieved peace. At the same time, it orders continuous brutal bomb raids on both Lebanese forces and Palestinian refugee camps. The victims are numerous completely innocent children, women and men. Tens of thousands of people have become refugees and wanderers. Terrorist attacks against Lebanon are designed to turn that country into an Israeli colony, eliminate the Arab Palestinian people's national refuge and unleash a war against Syria.

These aggressive and provocative actions gained in intensity after the Israeli air attack on Syrian aircraft in Lebanon on June 27, 1979. The world could see for itself that the Begin government is preparing for a new war under cover of the Camp David deal. Moreover, these acts of aggression may lead to another war, the most dangerous yet.

The Central Committee of the CPI calls on the workers, youth and people of Israel to protest against the brutal aggression to which Lebanon and the Palestinian people have been subjected, and against plans for a new war with Syria.

REPRESSION AND STRUGGLE IN THE OCCUPIED AREAS

At a time when the United States, Egypt and Israel are negotiating "self-government," the "bloc" government goes on advancing new plans for the annexation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The occupation authorities have extended their operations to seize land on the West Bank. Zionist settlements are being built at fast pace. Along with expanding colonization, the authorities step up repression against the Arab people of Palestine to undermine their resistance to occupation and the "self-government" plan and to prevent them from establishing an independent state. The dispersal of the demonstration held by the people of Nablus in protest against the creation of a settlement at Elon Murih, and the institution of court proceedings against the chairman of the municipal council and other persons are a provocation that must be resisted and condemned.

The fascist bands of Gosh Emunim and the criminals from Kahana operate freely and are abetted by the government. They commit bloody crimes by opening fire on, killing and wounding university students, schoolchildren and other inhabitants of the occupied areas.

In spite of the reign of terror, the Palestinian people are stepping up their just mass struggle against occupation and the "self-government" plan, for their national rights, for the establishment of an independent state alongside the State of Israel, and for peace on fair terms.

The Communist Party of Israel and all consistent peace forces of the country identify themselves with the just struggle of the Arab Palestinian people.

The Central Committee thinks highly of the growing opposition in Israel to the plan to create settlements at Elon Murih and elsewhere, and to close down Bir Zet University and some other educational institutions in the occupied areas.

The Peace Today movement has succeeded in uniting tens of thousands of workers against the creation of settlements and repression in the occupied areas.

The CC CPI calls for more militant unity of action against occupation, for abolishing all settlements and recognizing the national rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to establish an independent state alongside the State of Israel, and for fighting for a just, comprehensive and durable peace.

There is no task more important or more patriotic than the struggle for a just and durable peace, which can only be established on the basis of a fair settlement of the Palestinian problem.

RESIST THE FASCIST DANGER

The "bloc" government is intensifying the oppression of the Arab masses in Israel. It appropriates the lands of Negev Arabs and Maaliya Christians, and sets up so-called settlement posts² in Galilee, on land belonging to Arab villages. Its plans include laws authorizing the annexation of new Arab lands. Discrimination against the Arab population in the social and other spheres is increasing.

We appeal to the peace forces of Israel, irrespective of their political positions or party affiliation, to strengthen the movement against the policy of discrimination and national oppression in regard to the Arab population of Israel, for complete equality of rights.

There is a serious danger that democratic freedoms will be abolished and life in the country put on fascist lines. Fascist bands which terrorize the population of the occupied areas and Arab citizens of Israel, doing so under government protection, have also begun to attack peace supporters and democrats among the Jews. Statements and threats by Prime Minister Begin as well as by Sharon, Landau and other cabinet ministers, the witchhunt being carried on by the authorities and the media, attempts to pass anti-democratic laws, and plans of limiting the powers of the Knesset add up to a serious threat to already limited democratic freedoms in Israel.

The Central Committee calls for the broadest possible unity in defending democratic freedoms and resisting the threat of fascism in Israel.

STEP UP THE DEFENSE OF WAGES AND FREEDOMS

The two-year rule of the "bloc" government has resulted in a serious deterioration of Israel's economic positions in a runaway inflation, which considerably lowers the working people's standard of living and aggravates the housing crisis (this applies above all to young couples, the population of poor neighborhoods and large families). During the "bloc's" term in office, budget appropriations for the public services, the maintenance of local government bodies, education, public health, social purposes and housing have been cut. The Begin government curtails the Health Fund and threatens to abolish the Histadrut (labor union). It is a government of the big capitalists, who derive huge profits from inflation and an enormous military budget.

The workers and the people at large realize more and more that the Prime Minister's promise to freeze prices and improve their economic conditions is false and is intended to muster support.

There is a growing demand that budget appropriations ear-marked by the "bloc" government for the creation of new settlements in the occupied areas be spent for remedying the housing crisis, which is going from bad to worse.

The CC CPI insists that the Histadrut leadership take resolute and consistent action against the government's policy, in defense of the working people's rights, including the right to hold demonstrations, protest rallies and national strikes.

HASTEN ELECTIONS TO THE KNESSET

The evils born of the policy of the ruling circles and besetting Israel today should prompt the Maarah³ leadership to effect definite changes. A policy which is based on territorial aggrandizement and denial of the Palestinian people's right to an independent state and which backs the global ambitions of the United States directed against the peoples of the region, cannot become an alternative to the policy of the "bloc" government.

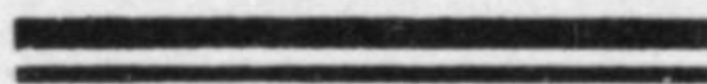
The Central Committee considers that to assure the prosperity and security of Israel and keep their rights and democratic freedoms intact, the working people must go to the polls with the aim of overthrowing the "bloc" government and bringing about a government of peace, democracy, equality and social progress. To this end, it is necessary to ensure that an earlier date is set for elections to the Knesset.

Al Ittihad, June 6, 1979

1. The Likud government under Menachem Begin — *Ed.*

2. Before work begins on building a settlement, a "post" of several dozen inhabitants is set up. Its purpose is to explore local conditions, adapt to life there, and so on. — *Ed.*

3. Coalition of the Labour Party and United Workers' Party (MAPAM) which preceded Likud in power. — *Ed.*



FOR MORE JUST AND STABLE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS

Statement by the FCP Political Bureau

The Tokyo summit of the heads of state and government of the seven most powerful imperialist states was held in an atmosphere of new economic difficulties in the capitalist world: accelerating inflation, growing unemployment and a slowdown in economic growth rates.

The responsibility for these increased difficulties falls on the leaders of the major capitalist powers and on the multinationals. In order to obscure this responsibility, a loud and deceitful campaign over the increase in oil prices was launched in France and other capitalist countries. Its aim was to suggest that the OPEC countries are to blame for the crisis and its aggravation. That is not true. The aggravation of the difficulties, notably of inflation, began even before the oil-price change. This change merely compensated for the loss in purchasing power in the oil-producing countries over the past four years. The rise is not excessive: a litre of crude oil costs 55 centimes.

The campaign mounted by the heads of the major capitalist countries is designed to impose on the people a continuation and intensification of the austerity policy. It is aimed to pose fresh threats and put more pressure by imperialism on OPEC and the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America which seek to consolidate their sovereignty and to dispose of their raw material resources in all sovereignty. This attitude of confrontation was already clearly in evidence at the UNCTAD session in Manila in May of this year.

The Tokyo summit was also marked by a U.S. urge to dictate its will on the basic issues. This was a summit of diktat because the U.S. leaders rejected any solution that could in any way be binding on them. The United States wants to maintain complete sovereignty over its own oil supplies. As for the EEC countries, the FRG, reviving its coal industry and seeking to overcome its lag in the nuclear field, retains a free hand. Giscard d'Estaing alone made clear-cut commitments not to increase oil imports to France. He has continued to fold up France's coal industry and has drifted away from the policy of national sovereignty on nuclear energy.

The leaders of the great powers reached agreement in Tokyo virtually on only these two points: to impose restrictions on their own people, and to act in a bloc against the oil-producing countries.

Although North-South relations should have been prominent on the agenda, they were but mentioned in passing, and only perhaps in the light of the idea of a confrontation with the OPEC countries. Active attempts are being continued to break up not only OPEC but also the Group of 77, and the non-aligned movement.

The attitude taken with respect to Vietnam gives a good idea of the arrogance of the United States (which has yet to meet its commitments under the Paris accords), and of the intention of imperialism to start a counter-offensive (it was no accident that after the Tokyo summit Carter flew to South Korea).

Giscard d'Estaing was one of the initiators of aligning France and the EEC with the U.S. stand. The day after the summit, he expressed satisfaction that it has testified to the unity of Western Europe. Actually, the EEC is no more than a subordinate grouping, with the FRG having the crucial role to play within the Atlantic bloc, dominated by the United States.

Thus, for France, this summit was yet another step in abandoning the national interest, submission to the United States and political integration within the EEC framework.

For the French this policy means a further growth of unemployment and cost of living, and more austerity.

This anti-national and anti-social policy is unacceptable. France must now develop its own sources of energy in the light of its own interests, and secure for itself complete sovereignty in oil supplies. It must abandon the policy of threats and confrontation with OPEC and developing countries. It must come out in defense of more just and stable economic relations, in defense of a new economic order.

Political Bureau, French Communist Party

July 4, 1979

L'Humanité, July 5, 1979



RESOLUTE SUPPORT

Communiqué on visit of CPJ delegation to Kampuchea

A delegation of the Communist Party of Japan which visited Kampuchea on July 3 last has released a communiqué whose full text follows.

On July 3, 1979, a delegation of the Communist Party of Japan visited the capital of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, Phnom Penh, at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Kampuchean United Front for National Salvation.

The CPJ delegation had talks with a delegation of the KUFNS in an atmosphere of friendship and solidarity.

The CPJ delegates who attended the talks were Tomio Nishizawa, Deputy Chairman of the Presidium, CC CPJ, and head of the CC Committee on International Diplomatic Matters; Hiroshi Murakami, Deputy Chairman of the Presidium, CC CPJ; Hiroshi Tatiki, member of the Presidium, and others.

For the Kampuchean side, the talks were attended by Heng Samrin, Chairman of the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea, Pen Sovan, Deputy Chairman of the PRCK; Chea Sim, Deputy Chairman of the PRCK; and Roh Samai, General Secretary, CC KUFNS.

The KUFNS delegation warmly welcomed the visit of the CPJ delegation. The Kampuchean delegation told in detail about the historic victory — the overthrow of the genocide regime of Pol Pot-Ieng Sary on January 7, 1979 — the complete liberation of the country, the mopping up of remnants of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, the establishment of revolutionary power throughout the country, the activity of people who are working to bring about greater stability and restore production, culture, education, medical services and achievements in all other spheres of public life.

The CPJ delegation declared its solidarity with and firm and active support for the KUFNS, PRCK (the sole legitimate spokesman for the Kampuchean people) and the people of Kampuchea, who are working continuously to rehabilitate and transform the country and its economy and to improve the life of its people, who had to live in very difficult conditions after the overthrow of the Pol Pot regime, guilty of unprecedented massacres.

Both sides unanimously stressed the following:

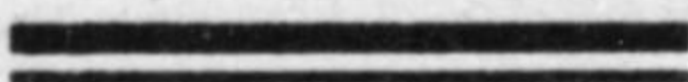
The complete elimination of the subversive activity of remnants of the Pol Pot clique and the implementation of the KUFNS program will result in assuring the real happiness of the country and help contribute actively to growing friendship and peace among nations in Asia. In the sphere of home policy, this program is aimed at establishing democratic rights for the people as a whole, achieving greater progress in the rehabilitation and transformation of the country, its economy and the people's life, and making further advances toward socialism; in the sphere of foreign policy, its objectives consist in promoting peaceful and friendly relations with all countries in accordance with the policy of independence, peace, democracy, neutrality and non-alignment.

Three peoples — those of Kampuchea, Vietnam and Laos — have won a historic victory over imperialism and the treacherous forces of reaction in their countries by developing international solidarity and cooperation on the basis of common goals. In the present situation, it is exceedingly important for the three peoples to continue developing friendship, cooperation and solidarity on the principles of respect for one another's right to self-determination, so as to curb various maneuvers by imperialism and reaction, achieve a still greater victory in rehabilitating and transforming their countries, and contribute to friendship and peace among Asian nations.

The CPJ delegation declared that it would continued actively supporting the struggle of the KUFNS and Kampuchean people by following a foreign policy of independence, neutrality and non-alignment on the basis of the right to self-determination.

The Kampuchean delegation expressed heartfelt gratitude to the CPJ and the Japanese people for their invaluable support, and stated the Kampuchean people's active solidarity with the struggle of the CPJ and the Japanese people for the genuine independence, peace, democracy, non-alignment and neutrality of Japan.

The two sides agreed without qualification to promote friendship and solidarity in the struggle for common goals, against the international forces of imperialism and reaction, and to abide strictly by the principles of independence, equality and non-interference in each other's affairs.



FROM THE PRESS

FOR A CONSTRUCTIVE APPROACH

The second session of the National People's Congress (NPC) ended in Peking recently. It approved a report by Premier of the State Council Hua Kuo-feng on the government's work, approved the national-economic plan and budget for 1979, adopted a resolution on revising some articles of the Constitution, post-war China's first criminal and criminal-procedure code, and a number of other laws. It was decided to reorganize the "revolutionary committees" at various levels into local people's governments.

Judging from the proceedings at the session, the country is being oriented upon an "adjustment" of various aspects of its life: economic, socio-political, inner-party and cultural, including a radical solution of the demographic problem. One is given to understand, now more or less explicitly, now allegorically, that for 20 years or something like it China has been travelling along the wrong road. An effort is being made to convince the Chinese people that Lin Piao and the "Gang of Four" alone are to blame for all this, for all the shortcomings, mistakes and crimes. Now, the Premier's report says, the situation has been or is being corrected. For the first time in the past two decades, some synthetic statistics have been published to back up the thesis concerning positive shifts and even "cardinal changes," and to add conviction to the claim that changes are taking place in China for the purpose of normalizing the economy and administration.

No doubt, changes have been taking place in China. That much is obvious. One need merely mention the law enacted by the NPC session giving foreign capital access to the country. China's militarization is being stepped up. In 1979, military expenditures are being increased by 20 per cent, although the overall budget, according to China's Minister of Finance, remains the same as last year's.

And what are the Peking leadership's new approaches to international affairs? One's attention is drawn to the studiously somber assessment of the situation in the world. The "factors of war" are growing, Hua Kuo-feng's report asserts. The situation is becoming increasingly troubled and tense. At the same time, the generally

negative view of international development is seasoned more abundantly than ever before with claims of China's "undeviating efforts" to ensure peace, its concern for a "peaceful situation" for internal construction. The blatant statements justifying war as commonplace, and as having not only its darker but also its brighter side, are not being repeated; at any rate, none were made at this session of the NPC.

Nor do the Chinese leaders lack sheer hypocrisy. Hardly anyone will find convincing their expressions of sympathy for the peoples fighting against the racist regimes in Rhodesia and South Africa, while Peking collaborates with these South African racists in staging subversive acts against people's Angola. One will also question the worth of statements about the need to reckon with the interests of the Palestinians, considering that the government of China supports the separate deals between Israel and Egypt, which are spearheaded precisely against the legitimate rights and interests of the Arab people of Palestine.

Quite naturally, we are also highly interested in the propositions and assessments of the session documents relating to the Soviet Union and Soviet-Chinese relations. Unfortunately, one has to state that the official rostrum of the NPC was once again used for slanderous insinuations and inventions against our country and its foreign policy, and for hostile attacks on socialist Vietnam and a number of other fraternal countries.

Once again, the Premier of China's State Council tried to intimidate his own people and other nations with the mythical "Soviet threat," and even went to the length of accusing the Soviet Union of "stepping up the pace of expansionism."

What can one say about such "assessments?"

There is not a grain of truth in them, and truth can be the only correct basis for formulating the foreign-policy line of any power, to say nothing of a big power like China. The attempts to ascribe to the Soviet Union goals and intentions which are totally alien to it do not at all testify to a responsible or constructive attitude on the part of the Peking leaders or to concern on their part to improve Chinese-Soviet relations. What is more, they are clearly at variance with talk about the readiness of the Chinese side to improve relations with the USSR.

The Soviet people regard as an invention the assertion of a "Soviet threat" allegedly impending over China's borders, especially now that both sides have issued official statements in favor of a dialogue on normalizing and improving relations.

Our people know very well these tactics of intimidating the people with a mythical "Soviet armed threat." Imperialism has been juggling this bogey for several decades now, seeking to scare the peoples with claims of a non-existent threat, fanning militarist hysteria, and seeking to justify tremendous military expenditures. Despite the scheming of the forces of reaction and aggression, a different, opposite trend is being established in the world — the trend toward détente, understanding and peaceful cooperation. No one can hope endlessly to ignore the realities of our day or to base his policy on deceit.

There is no doubt that appropriate deeds are above all required for restoring normal relations between our countries. But given the desire to gain a better understanding of each other, should not words be duly weighed, verified against reality and concerted with the facts? Words, especially when coming from senior leaders and issued, in addition, from an official rostrum, are a reflection or harbinger of deeds.

On the Soviet side there has truly been no lack of initiatives and proposals designed to improve Soviet-Chinese relations. The USSR has proposed the formalization in a special interstate act of the sides' commitment not to attack each other with any weapons, including nuclear weapons (1969 and 1970), the conclusion of a treaty on the non-use of force (1971), and a non-aggression treaty (1973). The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet has addressed the Standing Committee of the NPC with a proposal to agree on a joint statement by the USSR and the People's Republic of China on the principles of relations between the two countries (1978). We have also made numerous proposals for resuming economic and cultural exchanges, scientific and technical ties, contacts in public health, through public organizations, etc.

All of these absolutely concrete and constructive proposals have either been rejected or ignored by the Chinese side. So who is then to be reproached for a lack of practical steps and efforts designed to improve the atmosphere in relations between the USSR and China?

For the first time over the past decade, in April of this year, the world heard Peking's official announcement of its readiness to negotiate with the Soviet Union on improving interstate relations. This statement came in a more than ambiguous context: it came together with the Chinese leadership's refusal to prolong the 1950 Soviet-Chinese treaty, a treaty which epitomized the friendship of the peoples of the USSR and China and which provided the foundation for their joint struggle against imperialism, and for peace and security

in the Far East and throughout the world. One's attention was also necessarily drawn to the fact that consent to negotiate was expressed in Peking soon after the failure of the Chinese aggression against socialist Vietnam, and against a background of calls for an anti-Soviet crusade on a world scale.

This is an obvious if not a deliberate contradiction. Still, guided by its general line of settling inter-state relations, the Soviet Union came out in favor of translating the readiness of the sides for negotiations into practical terms, of clearly defining the subject-matter and purpose of the negotiations, and their principled content. Let us recall that in an aide-memoire of the USSR Foreign Ministry of June 4, 1979, the Soviet Union came out for normalizing and improving Soviet-Chinese relations on the principles of peaceful coexistence, including equality, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, and non-use of force. This understanding should be written into an appropriate bilateral document. The USSR also proposed that an understanding should be reached on not recognizing anyone's claim to special rights or hegemony in world affairs.

There was great international interest in the Soviet proposals of June 4. Their well-considered and constructive character was noted everywhere.

It would have been reasonable to expect that, having accepted the idea of negotiations, the Chinese leaders would, for their part, take steps not to artificially complicate the problems brought up for discussion in the negotiations even before they start.

But what have they been doing in Peking? There, we find not just a mere repetition of the inventions about the USSR's "responsibility" for the worsening of Soviet-Chinese relations and about a "Soviet threat" to China's borders. Referring to the Soviet proposal on non-recognition of anyone's claim to special rights and hegemony, the head of the Chinese government lays claim to the role of interpreter of what should be viewed as hegemonism. Finally, the prospects of the forthcoming negotiations are being made contingent on "whether substantial changes will take place in the Soviet government's stand."

One is left with the impression that there is a desire in Peking once again to put forward some "preliminary conditions" for improving relations between China and the Soviet Union. But it is well known that the "preliminary conditions" tactics is usually used whenever there is a desire to torpedo the negotiations from the outset or to drag them out indefinitely.

If these are not "preliminary conditions," perhaps there is an

attempt to put pressure on the other side, even before the start of the negotiations? Or could this be a move designed to mislead the Chinese population and international opinion? All things considered, there seems to be good ground for the conclusion drawn by political observers in Peking that some Chinese leaders would be quite happy if the very fact of Soviet-Chinese negotiations or merely talk about them would help China to secure political and economic concessions and military assistance from the United States, Japan and other capitalist partners of China.

It follows from the report given by the Premier of the PRC State Council that what Peking dislikes most is the internationalist principles of Soviet foreign policy, our support of our friends and allies in the socialist community and in the national-liberation movement. There is speculation in the Western press about China's inclination to "play the card" of negotiations with the Soviet Union to put pressure on the socialist-community states, especially the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. These speculations are not being refuted in Peking.

Such hopes clearly have no chance of success. The Soviet Union says "yes" to improving relations with China, and wants a mutual quest of ways leading to good-neighborliness, to a strengthening of détente and the security of nations. But it has never sought cooperation with anyone at the price of abandoning its principles or inflicting harm on the interests of its friends and allies. Leonid Brezhnev said: "We have repeatedly proposed to the Chinese side to agree on a normalization of our relations, and to lead them into a channel of good-neighborliness. We are still prepared to do so, but, of course, not at the expense of the interests of third countries."

The Soviet state eschews the "edge-cut-edge" method, which the men in Peking find so hard to forget. It has always advocated the need for a peaceful, mutually acceptable and equitable settlement of all international issues, including the most complicated ones.

This fully applies to our present relations with China, especially since it is a matter of relations between two neighboring powers whose agreement and cooperation are essential to make peace stable and reliable. Only those who count on tension, on confrontation and force in international affairs, those who step up the arms race and oppose détente in the hope of adapting international development to their militaristic plans and interests alien to the peoples can hate to see the prospect of a better atmosphere in the relations between the USSR and China, the prospect of giving them a positive content.

A statement of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the

CPSU, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the USSR Council of Ministers on the results of a visit by a Soviet party and government delegation to Hungary said: "A serious and positive Soviet-Chinese dialogue would be in the interests of promoting détente and making it all-embracing. This, of course, will require that the Chinese side also take a constructive attitude to the holding of such talks."

Only mutual efforts can help to improve the relations between the USSR and China. There is a Chinese proverb which says: "You can't clap with one hand." And if true good will and realism are displayed by the Chinese side, the Soviet Union will not be found wanting.

I. Alexandrov

Pravda, July 11, 1979.

CHAUVINISM AND EXPANSION

Peking's policy on Tibet and the neighboring countries

The great-Han substance of the Maoist policy with respect to the native population of China's autonomous regions stands out in ever greater relief.

Even in the early years after the revolution, chauvinist ideas gains the upper hand in the CPC and were increasingly entrenched.

This is confirmed by the fact that the General Program adopted by the National Consultative Conference in September 1949 did not even mention the right of nations to self-determination. The following year, Chinese troops invaded Tibet and in 1951 forced the local authorities to sign an agreement "On the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet."

As a result of various political campaigns, the "cultural revolution" above all, Tibet's constitutional organs of self-administration were abolished and replaced with military-dominated "revolutionary committees." At present, these revolutionary committees fully serve the interests of the great-Han policy aimed at turning Tibet into China's raw-material appendage and a bridgehead for expansion against neighboring states. Thus, the Tibet Autonomous Region has in effect become a special military zone.

Intensive measures are being carried out in Tibet, as in China's other national regions, toward further militarization of the economy

and social life. Virtually all the local enterprises cater for the Chinese troops stationed in the area. The whole of Tibet's able-bodied population, including the women, have been forced to join a "home guard" and have to perform arduous labor duties.

The Tibetan Autonomous Region now has something like 20,000 km of strategic highways, and numerous air force, nuclear missile and army bases. More than 350,000 regular troops and hundreds of thousands of home guard members are stationed in the region. The nuclear-tipped missiles deployed on its territory have a range from 1,111 km to 4,630 km and can at any moment be launched toward India and Afghanistan.

The Maoists are also trying to involve the neighboring countries in their military preparations, seeking their "consent" to all manner of dubious collaboration. For instance, Peking has proposed that the government of Nepal should concede to China a part of its territory bordering on India in exchange for a comparable area of Chinese territory. This would enable Peking to put pressure on India from the territory of Tibet, where broad military preparations are under way. China's subversive activity in India's north-eastern border areas populated by the Naga, Mizu and other tribes also show the hypocrisy of China's professed desire to improve its relations with India. According to the Indian press, armed bands are engaged in subversive activity in these areas. Their food supplies, arms and ammunition are smuggled in from China via Tibet, and Chinese instructors train them in guerrilla warfare.

Peking is still bent on its policy of interfering in India's relations with Sikkim and with Nepal, seeking to create pockets of constant tension on the Indian border. It has no intention of returning to India the large tracts of Indian territory seized in the course of its 1962 aggression. On the contrary, it has activated its plan for using these tracts of land for further expansion. A case in point is that in June 1978, it completed the strategic highway running across the Chinese-occupied area of Kashmir.

Peking is now trying to turn the Karakorum road, 800 kilometres of which run across Indian territory, into the main strategic military supply line to Pakistan. Chinese instructors help to train bands infiltrated from there into Afghanistan. Large consignments of arms and propaganda material for subversive activity against Afghanistan are transported along the highway running from Hsinking to Pakistan.

The urge to gain access to the natural resources of the countries bordering on Tibet is an ingredient of Maoist expansionist policy.

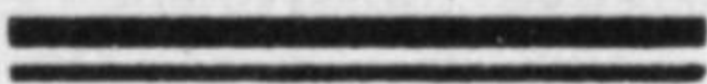
Peking has taken note of the oil and gas deposits discovered along the Karakorum road. During his official visit to Pakistan in 1978 for the ceremony to mark the opening of the road, Deputy Chairman of the PRC State Council Keng Piao insisted that China should be allowed to use the natural resources of that area. Peking is also interested in the Gilgit region of Kashmir, which is rich in iron ore, copper, molybdenum, gold and precious stones. The Indian public figure Sh. Bhushan wrote in this context: "China's policy in Kashmir reminds one of the imperialist policy in Zaire's Shaba Province and of Israel's expansionist activity in the occupied Arab territories."

The Maoist leadership's "four modernizations" program evidently calls for ever great militarization of the whole country, the Tibetan Autonomous Region in particular, with the use of every possible means to build China up into a great power with a strong army. With this aim in view, Peking has taken steps over the past few years somewhat to "correct" its policy with respect to Tibet. A short while ago, for instance, it decided to rehabilitate one of the Tibetan leaders, Panchen-Erdene, appealed to the Dalai Lama and other Tibetan refugees living abroad to return to Tibet, announced the release of some of the political prisoners held in Tibet from 1959, and allowed some monasteries to be reopened.

This false humanism is meant to promote a definite goal: that of stabilizing the situation in Tibet so as to enable the Maoists further to intensify their great-Han policy and foreign expansion. This policy is not only a source of general dissatisfaction among the people of the autonomous region, but also of a growing mass anti-Peking movement among all the Tibetans who want national independence and liberation from Peking's pernicious great-Han chauvinism.

D. Purev

Novosti Mongolii, June 19, 1979



NATO'S WAR MACHINE

I. Bilen

CC General Secretary, CP Turkey

It is 30 years since the founding of NATO. The sanguinary history of this organization includes 130 armed aggressions. Numerous examples since its establishment have repeatedly confirmed the fact that NATO's goal is to save the capitalist system of exploitation from its inevitable collapse. Accordingly, NATO has, on the one hand, pursued an aggressive policy with respect to the socialist countries and the national-liberation movements, and on the other, has sought to suppress the working-class movement and the peace movement in each capitalist country by interfering in its domestic affairs. That is why NATO signifies war and terrorism with respect to the whole of mankind.

Turkey's involvement in NATO has demonstrated the real face of this bloc. The Turkish bourgeoisie was involved in the bloodshed in Korea. It sold Turkish soldiers for U.S. dollars. At the same time, it resorted to terrorism and bloodshed in attacking the CPT, the peace fighters and the entire people.* Today, membership in NATO continues to be the basic cause of Turkey's economic ruin, and the main source of the danger of fascism in the country. That is why the working people, all patriots, met NATO's 30th anniversary with demonstrations and protests in Izmir, Eskisehir, Mersin and throughout the whole territory which was placed under a state of siege. They came out under the slogan: "Down with NATO!", a slogan which has become our people's militant banner.

The changes in the balance of forces in the world and the strengthening of détente have shaken the military-bloc policy conducted by imperialism to its very foundations. The imperialists now seek to revive their aggressive policy, which is why the anti-Soviet campaign has been stepped up, and there are fresh cries about a "communist menace." In view of the fact that more and more links have been dropping out one after another from the chain of imperialist blocs and in face of the popular uprisings, imperialism has been working on new aggressive plans, which are designed to extend

* In 1950, Turkey was drawn into the aggression in Korea. This was followed by mass arrests of communists and other peace fighters. It was in that atmosphere of anti-communism and militarism that Turkey joined NATO in 1951. — Ed.

NATO's sphere of influence, to form new military blocs and steadily to step up the arms race.

In view of NATO's expansionist policy, the task which now comes to the fore is to strengthen the unity of the international communist movement in the struggle for peace and disarmament. Special importance attaches to consistent struggle against every brand of anti-communism, and in defense of the gains of existing socialism. The press of the big bourgeoisie seeks to equate NATO and the Warsaw Treaty. Some within the working-class movement itself, fearful of "harming détente," seek to "maintain an equilibrium," and stay away from the fight against NATO. Such views show the importance and necessity of the struggle against every expression of opportunism.

The "keep the equilibrium" argument is also being used by the present Turkish government in an effort to damp down the people's indignation against NATO. But the facts show this argument to be false: the collapse of the CENTO bloc has benefited the cause of peace. The U.S. imperialists' urge to create another military bloc in this region poses a danger to peace. The collapse of the SEATO bloc brought peace to the peoples of the Far East. The attempts to set up a new military bloc in its stead tend to create an explosive situation in the region. Evidence of this is China's aggression against Vietnam.

In the recent period, the imperialist press has falsely declared that "unless Turkey gives the United States new bases for espionage operations, the SALT-2 talks will run into a dead end." Let us recall, in this context, the U.S. U-2 spy-plane incident. That provocation led to a confrontation between the two chief military blocs and a sharp aggravation of international tension. The assertion that the establishment of spy centers on the threshold of a neighboring country can serve the cause of peace is yet another instance of the twisted "logic" of imperialist propaganda. These inventions mean only one thing: the policy of dependence on NATO, which our country's ruling circles have long pursued, is now in deep crisis. It has been officially admitted that the main argument for the policy of dependence on NATO is an empty one. It was said that "no danger for Turkey comes from the Soviet Union." To the question of why, in that case, continue membership in that aggressive bloc comes the false assertion that membership in NATO is "advantageous" to our economic development. What is more, the government itself now says what a heavy burden NATO is for our country. The political document signed

between Turkey and the Soviet Union, and the series of agreements on economic cooperation meeting our national interests signed subsequently dealt a heavy blow at the policy of dependence on NATO. As a result, our ruling circles cannot say why Turkey is still a cog in this imperialist war machine.

But the answer to the question is there. On the one hand, Turkey is tied to NATO by U.S. imperialism with its bases and stockpiles of atomic weapons on the territory of our country, and also by FRG imperialism, which is infiltrating the country. On the other hand, the monopoly bourgeoisie collaborating with imperialism, which provides it with a power base, has an active role to play in this alliance. The Communist Party of Turkey has carried on a sustained struggle against both these hostile forces. It urges all the national-democratic forces to unite in the struggle.

The United States seeks to involve Turkey in a new military bloc. It has been setting up on Turkey's territory the espionage bases thrown out of Iran. In this situation, the fight against NATO becomes even more imperative. The obtaining conditions favor the success of this struggle and a spread of anti-imperialist action by popular masses.

Alexander Haig, NATO's commander-in-chief, was forced to reveal to the public one of NATO's basic problems, when he declared the need to strengthen NATO's south-eastern flank, "to help Turkey." At the Guadeloupe summit this task was assigned to FRG imperialism. The FRG's imperialist press calls Turkey a "sick man" suffering from "political fever" and "economic short-windedness." The imperialists do not rely very much on this sector of their hinterland.

Turkey is a weak link in the chain of imperialism. The reason is the change in the balance of forces on a world scale: the strengthening of the socialist countries, the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism, and the revolutionizing effect of the peace policy pursued by the Soviet Union and the building of communism in the USSR. At the same time, the contradictions within NATO are being sharpened by the uneven development under capitalism. Alongside the contradictions between Turkey and Greece, on the one hand, and NATO, on the other, there also arise contradictions within the ruling classes in these countries. Turkey is situated on NATO's flank bordering on the countries of the Middle East, in other words, the hottest spot. Turkey was the bridge which linked NATO with CENTO. The latter's collapse meant the collapse of one of the pylons of this bridge, and the contradictions in the region sharpened. The struggle of the

growing national-liberation movement in the area against imperialism is also having an effect on Turkey.

Meanwhile, Turkey is in the grip of a deep social, economic and political crisis. The militancy of our working class terrifies the imperialists and their servitors. The Turkish proletariat is capable of uniting in a common front all the national-democratic forces, the peasantry and the middle strata. Those who do not believe that it can do so, are either against the policy of setting up such a united front, or think that such a front means following the line of a definite wing of the bourgeoisie. Alongside the main contradiction between labor and capital, there are growing contradictions between a majority of the nation, on the one hand, and the monopoly bourgeoisie collaborating with imperialism and the big landowners, on the other, and this extends the objective basis of the national-democratic front. The higher the level of struggle by masses of people the deeper the divergencies within the ruling class.

The existence of a Marxist-leninist party, a party of the Turkish working class, which is guided by the ideals of proletarian internationalism, is a fact which especially terrifies imperialism and local reaction. Life itself has dealt a blow at the claims of those who at one time loudly shouted that there was no CP Turkey at all. Indeed, some still refuse to recognize that Turkey is a weak link in the chain of imperialism. All they want to do is to push the government into taking progressive measures. Whatever may be said, the CPT, pursuing an independent revolutionary policy, is in the van of the mass struggle. This will be seen both from the contradictions within the bourgeoisie, among the bourgeois parties, and within the government itself. The bourgeoisie has been heatedly discussing various ways of averting any further strengthening of the CPT. The fact that this discussion is more and more often carried on in parliament means a decisive defeat for anti-communism and for the policy of direct suppression of the CPT. The CPT is developing into a party on which the masses pin their hopes. The fact that hundreds of thousands of workers and other working people have come out with the slogan of "Freedom for the CPT!" testifies to the correctness of our party's policy, and to the growth of its strength and prestige.

We do not in any sense minimize the potentialities of imperialism and local reaction. The imperialist oppression has been steadily growing. Our country is faced with the danger of fascism. The reactionaries are on a wild rampage in Turkish Kurdistan. Still, in view of the above, one could say that favorable conditions exist for the struggle of

the working class and the whole people against NATO, and for advance toward a progressive-democratic revolution. The CPT does not stand aloof from the revolutionary use of these potentialities and does not give up its Leninist militant slogans.

Atalym, organ of the CPT CC, May 1, 1979

CAPITALIST INTEGRATION AND INTEGRATION OF REVISIONISM

A few days ago a meeting in support of Greek EEC membership sponsored by the *Avghi* newspaper was held in Sporting Hall. Significantly, it took place a few days before the parliamentary debate. This increases the responsibility borne by the Communist Parties of Spain and Italy, which took part in the *Avghi* gathering. Their representatives came to Athens to determine what should be Greece's attitude to the Common Market. They disregard the theses of the Communist Party of Greece, were tolerant of attacks on our party made by the so-called Communist Party of Greece (Internal).^{*} Their conduct during the gathering in Athens conflicted with the accepted principles of relations between Communist parties.

Moreover, this was the behavior of parties that had never ceased to stress their adherence to the principle of non-interference. Nor can this behavior be justified by the fact that they were invited by the so-called Communist Party of Greece (Internal), with which they share common views on the EEC. Everyone knows that, in both Italy and Spain, there are political forces that have broken away from the respective parties and are opposed to the EEC. Our party, however, has never evinced a desire to participate in activities such as those organized by these forces.

There was much talk at the Sporting Hall gathering of internationalism and cooperation among West European progressive forces. Our party has always supported such cooperation as promoting the development of the international revolutionary movement. Our party does not, however, believe that the existence of the EEC and Greek membership in it might further such cooperation, and international experience supports our view.

The following are some of the arguments in support of Greek EEC membership: the EEC is a logical result of the objective development

^{*} The CPG (Internal) is a group that broke away from the CPG in 1968. — Ed.

of capitalism and international economic relations (*Avghi*, June 17, 1979); the EEC and NATO "are not identical," because the U.S. is not a member of the EEC (*Ascarate interview, Avghi*, June 19, 1979). Furthermore, in the opinion of Jannaros and Filinis (*Avghi*, June 16-17, 1979) the important fact now is that "contradictions between the imperialist powers are steadily growing." The existence of the EEC and the intensifying contradictions between the imperialist powers offer new opportunities — in the opinion of the so-called CPG (Internal) — to every European country for strengthening its independence. They believe that it is especially relevant for Greece, that EEC membership would enable it to break out of dependence on the United States.

Representatives of the CPG (Internal) and the Spanish Communist Party have presented the various aspects of the problem in such a way as to lend a semblance of realism to their theories and arbitrary conclusions.

True enough, the USA does not belong to the EEC and there are certain contradictions between the two. But if we concentrate on and emphasize only this we may lose sight of the main factor, namely, that the EEC and the USA are both imperialist in nature and are waging a common struggle against existing socialism and the working-class movement in the capitalist countries (no one is likely to forget the outright U.S. and EEC pressure and interference to prevent communist participation in the Italian government), as well as against the national-liberation movement. Nor should we forget the fight of all imperialist centers against the international revolutionary movement is of prime importance, while inter-imperialist contradictions are secondary. We should not delude ourselves — let us always bear in mind that the EEC is an economic community of monopolies, and that the monopolies are united in their fight against the labor movement in the EEC countries. Let no one forget, either, that the West European economy is largely controlled by the U.S. multinationals. Let it be noted that none of these significant facts figured in the Sporting Hall speeches.

We must not confine ourselves to stating — correctly — that the USA is a member of NATO, but not of EEC. In doing so we are apt — consciously or not — to disregard the fact that NATO is more than just the USA, that the main EEC countries are NATO members, that they are pursuing and promoting NATO policy.

Our party does not for a moment doubt that NATO policy on our national issues, formulated with the agreement of the FRG, Britain

and other countries, remains unchanged wherever the policy-makers may be — in the NATO or the EEC conference room. Our party's view is not based on theory alone, it is based on reality, on the way things have taken shape in the NATO countries, on the EEC policy on Cyprus, on attempts by EEC governments to drag Greece back into NATO. A correct reading of the facts makes it perfectly clear that, as an EEC member, Greece would still be a dependent country in an unequal position, and this might well lead to legalized foreign interference.

EEC membership will not solve the problem of Greek dependence on NATO, of the American bases, or of the special agreements. Nor will the American stranglehold on our country be loosened if we join the Common Market. Quite the contrary, every attempt to get rid of U.S. and NATO influence and to strengthen our national independence will be strongly resisted by America's West European allies. Our people know this from bitter experience, for there have been many instances of NATO-inspired interference by EEC countries. It is only natural that the U.S. ruling element should welcome Greece's entry into the EEC as a step toward better relations between the two countries (message by U.S. Senators to Karamanlis of May 27).

In the opinion of representatives from the CPG (Internal), EEC membership would not only strengthen our national independence, but is the only possible road to socialism, for nowadays "socialist transformation" will not follow "the well-known model," according to which a certain country will at the "X-moment" fall away from the capitalist system, but will be achieved through transformations involving broader "entities." The EEC is supposedly one such broader "entity" (*Avghi*, June 17, 1979).

Those who have no confidence in the people associate the struggle for national independence and people's sovereignty primarily with the correlation of forces in Western Europe rather than with the correlations of the class and political forces within the country.

In order to justify their defeatist and opportunist policy, the leaders of the so-called Communist Party of Greece (Internal) — a title that is being treated with increasing irony — have thought up some new, "original" theoretical postulates or, rather, new artificial "models." To all intents and purposes, these constitute a clear negation of Lenin's theory of imperialism. In other words, the possibility of revolutionary change in our country, considering, of course, the international situation, is ruled out by them.

They are trying to make their impotence, or, in fact, their rejection

of the revolutionary path into a binding law. They want to hamstring our movement even when the situation may be ripe for fundamental revolutionary transformations, until the necessary conditions mature in all EEC countries. They blandly insist that revolutionary change in our country is impossible without "simultaneous changes" in the "integral whole," that is, the EEC. They allege that our party is pursuing a policy that condemns "the Greek workers to inactivity and passive waiting" (*Avghi*, June 16, 1979). In their opinion, the fight against the EEC is pointless. They think only in terms of reforming the EEC which, in fact, will only give it a facelift.

All the gains made by the workers in the EEC countries are the result of popular struggle and of the impact of the socialist system on the capitalist countries. Consequently, only through struggle can the workers in the EEC countries increase their gains. But the most important thing is that the fight for higher living standards and in defense of democratic rights and trade union freedoms will be facilitated when imperialist interference in our affairs, now legalized by Greece's entry into EEC, stops, that is when our country frees itself from this community.

It has to be said that this time, too, the so-called Communist Party of Greece (internal) has revealed its inclination to belittle — or more accurately, cancel out — all the gains made by our labor movement, gains that, in many cases, are more impressive than in the EEC countries.

What labor gains in one country, we are told, is automatically transferred to another; actually, what the monopolies gain in other European countries is automatically transferred to our country: Greece has had its share of the authoritarian laws and regulations imposed on Western Europe by the monopolies. Such is the outlook of those at the helm of the revisionist party: they have, in effect, abandoned the strategy of revolution and proletarian dictatorship.

The contention that national independence will be strengthened and the road to socialism smoothed by EEC membership is quite acceptable for the New Democracy party government. It is not accidental, therefore, that the *Avghi*-sponsored gathering was the first one since the overthrow of the junta to be covered so fully by the pro-government mass media. Of course, *Avghi* is free to interpret this as West European "democracy" being implanted on our soil. We, however, believe that this is fresh proof of an accelerating slide into opportunism.

N. Kodzias

Abridged from *Risospastis*, June 24, 1979

