

## Call For Mediterranean Countries' Participation At Belgrade

Malta's delegation to the Belgrade Conference on European Security and Cooperation formally proposed June 29 that the non-European Mediterranean states be invited to join the conference. Syria, Israel, Egypt, Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia were specified in the resolution, which according to the Cuban news agency, *Prensa Latina*, is likely to receive a positive response. If passed, this motion could help to move the meeting away from the U.S. delegation's "human rights" machinations and proceed to substantive deliberations on Mediterranean and pan-European security and cooperation.

Yugoslavia, the host country has repeatedly emphasized its agreement with such an idea, and Central Committee Presidium member Lazar Kolisevski, at a press conference June 23 prior to his departure for Latin America, called for non-European Mediterranean countries to participate in all phases of the meeting.

Indications are that the U.S. delegation will fight tooth and nail to prevent such an expansion of the conference. According to spokesmen from the U.S. Congress' Helsinki Commission, the U.S. will try to block any discussion of "hot and broad issues," and will make every effort to prevent participation of non-European countries beyond formal greeting statements.

The Soviet delegation and the Soviet press have repeatedly attacked the U.S. maneuvers, calling for a "future-oriented dialogue" rather than a mere assessment of past results (focusing on the bogus "human rights" issue) in implementing the 1975 Helsinki accord. The Soviet trade union daily *Trud* June 28 equated the disruptions of dissident protesters outside the meeting hall with the moves of the Carter Administration: "It must not be overlooked that certain forces are trying to create a situation of tension around the Belgrade meeting. This, in particular, was the purpose of the provocation by Zionist elements who came to the city disguised as tourists. This was stopped by Yugoslav security forces. The report sent by the White House to the so-called U.S. Congressional Committee on Security and Cooperation in Europe serves the very same purpose...It is no accident that this report has been cited by all enemies of detente, both in the U.S. and in the other NATO countries."

Belgrade is concurrently hosting a meeting of the Non-Aligned nations' finance ministers and central bankers to discuss implementation of the resolutions of the 1976 Colombo Conference of the Non-Aligned movement, which called for the establishment of a new world economic order, including debt moratoria and new banking institutions to finance development and trade.

## Soviets Bounce Carrillo; Eurocommunism Sings Swan Song

The internationally circulated Soviet publication *New Times* last week published a violent attack against the most rotten among the Western European Communist Parties, the Spanish party of Santiago Carrillo (PCE), which has been generally viewed as a notice of "excommunication" from the communist movement. In a statement which Spanish radio characterized as comparable only to 1968 attacks against Dubcek leading up to the Czechoslovak Prague Spring, *New Times* charged Carrillo with attempting to split the communist movement by setting the West European CPs against those of the East, perpetuating the division of Europe into military blocs, attempting to discredit the Soviet Union, and generally acting as an agent of imperialism.

As broadly recognized by the leading Western press

outlets and political commentators, the unprecedented Soviet action represented an unmistakable end to Moscow's toleration of the so-called "Eurocommunist" (anti-Soviet) phenomenon within the Western Communist parties. The new Soviet tactic, as admitted by Carrillo himself in a press conference on June 27, will be to split the PCE in favor of creating a new pro-Soviet party. By implication, as discussed by the Washington Post among others, the Soviets are ready to carry out a similar program against any other Western party which refuses to redress its Atlanticist proclivities.

Speaking to journalists on June 27, Carrillo bluffed that the Soviets would not succeed in dividing his party in favor of the contending pro-Soviet Spanish Communist Workers Party (PCOE) led by General Enrique Lister in

exile in Paris. Even while he spoke, the press was beginning to speak of a growing "Stalinist" phenomenon among PCE ranks. The conservative British *Daily Telegraph* reported days prior to the *New Times* release that Carrillo was facing a "strong attack" from the "Stalinist" wing of the PCE which blamed the poor party showing in the recent elections on Carrillo's virulent anti-Sovietism. Similar reports escalated subsequently, penetrating even into the pages of the *New York Times* which cited a PCE Central Committee member expressing his "surprise" by "the hard-line (pro-Soviet) stand taken by many young people from the provinces."

#### *No Help Coming*

As might be expected, Carrillo's calls for support from his "fraternal" "Eurocommunist" parties elsewhere in Europe have gone unheeded, particularly in the case of the powerful Italian Communist Party (PCI). The PCI's daily, *Unità*, initially responded to the *New Times* condemnation by dubbing it "ambiguous." This was followed rapidly by subsequent articles denying the very existence of "Eurocommunism" as a realized tendency among the Western CPs.

At the same time, PCI Politburo member Gian Carlo Pajetta suddenly announced that he would be leading a top-level delegation to Moscow for discussions a propos of the Carrillo "excommunication." Before departing Pajetta announced over Italian television that, as an autonomous party, the PCI was free to criticize Carrillo and that, furthermore, the Italian Communists' position on the USSR was directly opposite to that of Carrillo. Central Committee member Macaluso, who will accompany Pajetta to Moscow, simultaneously told an interviewer from *L'Espresso* magazine that the PCI "cannot forget" that the Soviet Union was the first country to establish socialism.

Isolated from the international movement, with an electoral defeat on his hands, a growing pro-Soviet phenomenon among his ranks, and a solidly pro-Moscow leadership under General Lister organizing to assume control of Spanish Communism with Soviet backing, Carrillo is singing the swan song of Atlanticist Eurocommunism for Spain and the rest of the communist movement.

---

## Western Press Looks At Moscow's Attack On Carrillo

The *New Times* attack on Carrillo has elicited a wave of panic and consternation from the western media. On June 26, the *New York Times* ran no less than nine commentaries and articles on the prospects for the Eurocommunist movement. West Germany's highly conservative *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* covered Carrillo's June 28 press conference as its page one lead, prominently quoting Carrillo on Moscow's possible intention to replace him with Enrique Lister, chairman of the pro-Soviet Spanish Communist Workers Party.

As the excerpts below show, the "Eurocommunist" factions in the French and Italian Communist Parties

have correctly understood the *New Times* attack as a warning to them as well, and have gone out of their way to clarify exactly how their own strategy disagrees with Carrillo's.

Also, the Mexican daily *Excelsior* featured on June 30 the joyful response of PCOE chairman Enrique Lister to Moscow's moves.

### Italy

*Unità*, daily of the Italian Communist Party, June 28, "Eurocommunism, *New Times* and Us":

Strongly denies that Carrillo will receive any support from their party. Explaining the PCI's actual relationship to Moscow, the article notes that "there were contrasts in the tone in some parts of the *New Times* article, especially on the problem of an independent Europe... What we want and what we are doing is not an attack against the Soviet Union, but a strategy of alliance in Europe... (*New Times* also distinguished between) the problems of the strategy and tactics of European communists." *Unità* adds: "We don't want to enter into the discussion of Carrillo's book, but we say that a doctrine of Eurocommunism does not exist..."

*Corriere della Sera*, June 28:

Brezhnev's strategy "is now to sabotage the Common Program in France and to split the French Communist Party from (Socialist Party chairman) Mitterrand."

*Il Giornale*, June 27, "Carrillo Isolated. Berlinguer Does Not Follow Him":

Berlinguer, chairman of the Italian CP, and highly compromised for his previous open endorsements of the Eurocommunist movement, revealed upon publication of the *New Times* attack that his party had refused to campaign for Carrillo during the recent Spanish elections, and this contributed to Carrillo's low returns.

### France

*Le Monde*, June 28, Carrillo interview:

Carrillo was asked, "Are you going to discuss a new strategy with the PCF (French CP) and the PCI (Italian CP)?" He answered: "No, everyone will defend himself on his own..."

*Le Monde*, June 28:

"One of the aims of the Soviets is to help each brother party (in the Soviet bloc), its devoted friends, to impose their views... the issues of the debate are as important for the Italian and French communist parties as they are for the Hungarians or the Poles. A confrontation within the communist movement would inevitably lead to the end of any and all independent endeavors, even modest ones, and bring (the CPs) to tighten ranks around the grand Soviet protector. Maybe it is too late to stop the excommunicating zeal of the Kremlin ideologues."

## West Germany

Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, June 29:

Reported in detail on Carrillo's Madrid press conference. It states that "Carrillo sees it as possible that the next move by the Soviet Party will be just as aggressive as the attack in the Moscow weekly newspaper *New Times*... 'Possibly the Soviets will think up a new intrigue, in order to attempt to destroy our party...,' (he said). Carrillo also told journalists that perhaps the Soviets were attempting to make another go with Lister, whom they kept on the sidelines. Nevertheless, the party would stand united behind him... Even the member of the central committee who had abstained from voting on the communiqué responding to the Soviets did that primarily out of formal considerations... 'We will not execute any complete break. If the Soviets want to break with us, then they should do it quickly. I will not be brought down from my position, whatever happens.' "

## USA

New York Times, June 27:

Reported on the meeting of the PCE Central Committee meeting where Carrillo received official support against Moscow from the leadership of the party. The *Times* added, however, that the vote "contrasted markedly with the more restrained reactions of the French and Italian parties, which have not yet come under direct attack from Moscow.

"A member of the Central Committee (of the PCE) said the statement had been passed without difficulty, though it did not seem to have resolved simmering differences between Mr. Carrillo and more hard-line figures like Dolores Ibarruri, the party's 81-year-old president, and Marcelino Camacho, head of the Communist-dominated Workers Commissions.

"There have been some people who we can say, vacillated, and said that maybe we had gone too far,' said the Central Committee member, adding that he was surprised by the hard-line stand taken by 'many young people from the provinces.'

"Superficially, the Central Committee statement seemed to solidify Mr. Carrillo's already strong position,

but some Spanish political analysts suspect that problems may lie ahead if the floundering economy pinches even more on the party's working-class base, turning it more militant.

"... 'There is no doubt that the Soviet censure of Santiago Carrillo,... is intended to further open a crisis... and prepare the conditions for the creation of a pro-Soviet party,' (one Spanish commentator wrote)."

## Mexico

*The Mexican daily Excelsior on an article from the Paris Diario 16:*

Reports that Enrique Lister, who in 1970 produced a split in the PCE to form the PCOE, did not conceal his joy at the attacks on Carrillo by the Soviet magazine *New Times*, which is linked to the Soviet foreign ministry.

"It pleases us," said Lister, "not only because it proves us correct, but because of the repercussions and the consequences that this is going to have throughout the international communist movement."

In a few days, Lister is going to issue a communiqué, which he gave in advance to *Diario 16*.

"What is important is that it is a Soviet magazine that today publicly unmasks the dirty activity of Carrillo and his followers and cohorts in other countries. The PCOE has been denouncing what was covered by the magazine, and much more, since its founding in 1970," Lister said.

Lister referred to the low percentage obtained by the PCE in the elections: "Carrillo and his friends inside and outside of Spain have made great efforts to explain the defeat the misnamed PCE suffered. They have blamed it on the 40 years of fascism, the animosity among Spaniards towards communism, and other such things. This is rubbish, the truth is otherwise. What the Spanish workers have condemned by not voting for the PCE is the treachery of Carrillo to Communist ideas. This is a social-democratic party. This is the truth which no cajoling can change."

In the commentaries in the Spanish and French press, numerous references are made to the fact that Lister separated from the Carrillo PCE in 1970 as a result of the Czechoslovakian events. Lister explained to *Diario 16*: "Our differences stem from way back; I prepared a virulent attack on Carrillo which is related in my memoirs, which are being published in parts in Spain."