

# information bulletin

**Chernenko's speech  
at a CPSU CC  
plenary meeting / 10**

**65th anniversary  
of the CPUSA / 26**

**U.S.-Polish  
relations / 38**

**France / 20**

**Documents  
of the Communist  
and Workers' Parties  
Articles  
and Speeches**

**December 1984**

## *contents*

- 3 For a further deepening of socialist democracy/*K. Chernenko's speech at the all-Union conference of people's controllers*
- 7 Turning point in the history of the German people and Europe/*Report by Erich Honecker at a meeting dedicated to the 35th anniversary of the founding of the GDR*
- 10 The supreme goal of the CPSU's activity is to steadily improve the Soviet people's living standard/*K. Chernenko's speech at a CPSU CC plenary meeting*

### COMMUNISTS AND THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE

- 15 Our party's primary task is to preserve peace/*A. Natta, General Secretary, Italian CP*
- 17 Konstantin Chernenko talks to the *Washington Post*
- 19 Hands off the Kurdish people! For peace and friendship between the peoples!*/CC, CP Turkey*

### CONGRESSES AND PLENARY MEETINGS

- 20 France: seek a new popular unification of the majority/*Georges Marchais, General Secretary, French CP*
- 23 The Soares-Pinto government's immediate resignation is the people's task/*Portuguese CP CC*
- 25 Second congress of the Independence and Labor Party of Senegal

### STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

- 26 Radical measures are needed to stamp out drug trade/*Workers' Party of Jamaica CC*
- 26 Indispensable class instruments/*CPUSA CC on the 65th anniversary of the CPUSA*
- 29 The Communist Party of Chile on its attitude to the armed forces
- 32 We welcome the thousands of new party recruits! Our country needs more communists!*/Presidium of the German CP Board*
- 32 Serving the working people/*Speech by C. Florakis, General Secretary, CP Greece to mark the 10th anniversary of the legal publication of Rizospastis*

### FROM THE PRESS

- 36 The great force of great ideas. 120th anniversary of the First International/*Vadim Zagladin (Pravda)*
- 38 On the question of U.S.-Polish relations/*Trybuna Ludu*

## information bulletin

Published by Peace and Socialism Publishers — Prague  
Appears in English, Arabic, French, German, Greek, Italian and Spanish

North American edition published by Progress Books  
71 Bathurst Street, Third Floor, Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5V 2P6

Copyright © 1968 by Progress Books, Canada

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED  PRINTED IN CANADA

23-24 (519-520) Volume 22

PRICE: 75 cents

# For a Further Deepening of Socialist Democracy

Konstantin Chernenko's speech at the All-Union Conference of People's Controllers, Moscow, October 5, 1984.

Dear comrades, you have met to discuss extremely important questions: how to make people's control more active and efficient. The CPSU CC considers this meeting very timely because we have entered a period when life is making new, higher demands of the quality of the work of all the links in our society's administration system. And people's control is an integral and, I would say, indispensable part of this system. That is why it is also incumbent on you to fulfil the imperative of our day — to raise your activity to the level of the great tasks now facing us.

Relying on the powerful material, intellectual and cultural potential, we are concentrating our efforts on developing in every way all branches of industry, agriculture, transport and construction, on accelerating the intensification of production, and on ensuring a new development of Soviet science and technology, education and health care, and the material and cultural living standard of the people. The present complicated and tense international situation makes us duty bound to strengthen the country's defenses and to raise the fighting efficiency of our Armed Forces.

We are at frontiers which, in a certain sense, will be crucial. These are major qualitative changes prepared by the whole course of our development and by the immense creative work done by the party and the people on the basis of the resolutions of the 26th congress of the CPSU and the subsequent CC plenary meetings.

Such changes are pressing and necessary in the development of the productive forces and in their transformation on the basis of scientific and technological progress. Such changes are also necessary in the economic management system and in economic planning. There is a need to improve our economic-management mechanism substantially. The people's well-being must be raised to a qualitatively new stage. And, of course, all this is inconceivable without the conscious and interested work, done with initiative, of each and every Soviet person. And this means that a major change is needed in this area as well: it is necessary for the masses' labor and social activity not simply to grow, as has been happening up to now, but literally to redouble.

Comrades, all this forms the live tissue of the process which we call improvement of the socialism that has been built in our country. It is to the problems which arise in this connection that the attention and the thoughts of the party and its Central Committee are now directed. And this is the main thing guiding the preparations for the 27th congress of the CPSU, the work on a new edition of the party program, and, accordingly, on the next five-year plan and the longer-term plans of economic and social development.

We have great decisions to take and great plans to endorse. And this means that we have to see to it in

advance that there are guarantees for their fulfillment. And the people's control, organized in the Leninist way, figures prominently among these guarantees. To say it straight, very much in our country's further progress depends on the work of the people's control. All our experience and the scientific theory of socialism make us draw this conclusion.

As we all know well, Lenin attached immense importance to the organization of effective control, to the drawing of masses of workers and other working people into it. He viewed this not simply as one of the many fields of the political and organizing activity of the party, the Soviets and the trade unions. Lenin's thinking went farther and deeper than that. It inseparably linked people's control with the very essence of the socialist system, with its democratic character.

Let us look at the history of the establishment and development of socialism in our country. It is clear that at each crucial part of this road the problem of control has invariably figured among the most pressing ones. On the threshold of the October Revolution Lenin's idea of workers' control became firmly established in many of the mobilizing slogans of the revolutionary proletariat. In the conditions of the civil war and economic dislocation, the young Soviet power, embarking on the construction of a new society, confidently advanced, armed with Lenin's clear and coherent instruction: "Accounting and control — this is the *prime* economic task." In the years of the New Economic Policy when the question of "who will win?" was being decided in the economy, the party's interest in a class, truly people's control again came to the fore. It was at that time that Lenin, expressing the most pressing need of the strengthening socialist society, published his policy-making work "How We Should Reorganize the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection." In each decade the activity of our state and social control bodies, which is based on Lenin's ideas, has been making a weighty contribution to the cause of socialist construction.

It is clear to everybody that a society based not on an erratic but on a planned, organized foundation would not get very far without systematic verification of how its aims are being realized. And we have made very great headway in socialist construction. The country has entered the period of developed socialism, and people's control has played an appreciable role in this, one which, I repeat, is indispensable in its own way.

It is quite natural that the rights and possibilities of people's control are widening considerably in the present-day conditions, at the stage of developed socialism. And, of course, its responsibility is also growing. This is clearly expressed in the constitution of the USSR and in the Law on People's Control

which was adopted on its basis. And the most important thing is that this has a tangible and fruitful effect on our day-to-day state-administration, economic and social practice.

You, comrades, represent the 10-million-strong army of people's controllers. Ten million — is that many or few? It is certainly an impressive figure and shows that your work is now large-scale and the participation in it is of a truly mass character. That is good.

But let us take into account not only what has been achieved. Let us compare the present situation with the supreme requirements set by the scientific theory of socialism. Lenin taught that in a socialist society control must be carried out by all the people. At the very outset of Soviet power, looking to the future, he wrote that "control must first be exercised by the workers' organizations and then by the *entire* population." And he stressed the word "entire." Today, too, the party formulates the question in the same, Leninist way. It is necessary to aspire precisely to this aim. It is necessary for every, and I repeat, every Soviet citizen to recognize that he or she is a people's controller and to think and act in keeping with this lofty civic duty.

I think that you will not misconstrue me. It is not a matter of expanding the people's control staff or the thousands of its committees, though we know well that you do not have so many full-time workers, especially at the district and city level. It is not figures but the essence of the matter that is important here. And the essence lies in the fact that development of people's control is a necessary direction in the deepening of socialist democracy.

Our democracy gives everyone the right and makes everyone duty-bound to conduct himself actively as befits a master of the country. And you know from your own experience that participation in control teaches one both to exercise this right and to recognize this duty. This is the principal, strategic if you like, angle from which the party considers the need to draw more and more millions of working people into your work. Let them become, if not directly by their rank but by the very spirit and content of their public activities, genuine and exacting people's controllers at first at their own place of work. Let them, as Lenin put it, "gradually switch from the simplest tasks to more important roles in the affairs of the state."

Realism is an invaluable quality to our democracy. And the party attaches great importance precisely to the genuine development and extension of this quality. You know well how seriously the April 1984 CC plenary meeting raised this question. Its decisions directly aim to step up the work of the Soviets. The task is to ensure that these mass bodies of state power learn to use all their constitutional powers in practice. The party considers this task relevant for the trade unions, the Komsomol and work collectives as well. And, equally, for people's control. On the whole, it is a question of giving full scope to the creative force of the people's socialist self-government. This is the meaning of improvement of our society's political system. This is the

drawing of that system closer to the ideal of socialism.

Generally speaking, comrades, we must make it a rule to act in keeping with the high standards of socialism. We cannot forget about them when evaluating what has been achieved. They must be our yardsticks in measuring both our present practice and future plans. And as far as your activities are concerned, these standards are, one can say, your first commandment. After all, in the final analysis people's control exists to help uncover and eliminate everything that runs counter to the nature of socialism and departs from its principles.

Take, for example, a socialist principle sacred to us all: from each according to his ability, to each according to his work. That is the very foundation of our social justice, which our working class, our people, translated from a dream into life for the first time in history. But, while conscious of the importance of this achievement, we should remember that it needs to be protected and developed. We have enough experience to know that compliance with the "according to one's work" principle calls for particular attention, otherwise we have to deal with breaches of it which do considerable damage to our economy and with those which arouse the deep indignation of Soviet people and do not at all fit in with our concept of justice.

What are these phenomena? "A tendency toward egalitarianism" and "living beyond one's means" are the words most often used in our country to designate them. That is putting it mildly, I would say, and perhaps too delicately, if we look at what is behind them.

The tendency toward "egalitarianism" is one of indulging the shirker, the slipshod worker, while infringing on the rights of the good, conscientious worker. You know that bonuses, for example, are often distributed equally among top and bottom-rank workers. Unfortunately, many turn a blind eye to that. And people's control, too, sometimes ignores such facts, apparently regarding them as trifling and insignificant. But these are in fact a flagrant departure from the fundamental principle of socialism.

Those who work with zeal must always and everywhere enjoy tangible advantages in earnings, in the allocation of housing, vacation vouchers and other social benefits. I am repeating what I have said before, but I am doing so specially for you because the task of people's control is constantly to see how the mandatory standards of the socialist system of distribution are observed in practice. To verify how, to use Lenin's words, the measure of consumption is linked concretely with the measure of labor.

Now about the notorious "living beyond one's means," or, if we are to call a spade a spade, instances of parasitism, with all its immoral and sometimes criminal essence. We must admit that we have not yet managed to wipe out these phenomena. There are still people who strive to arrange and have become proficient at arranging their well-being at the expense of others, at the expense of society. Clearly, such things are incompatible with the standards of our socialist society.



In recent years we have taken energetic measures to put our house in order, so to speak. The task has been formulated precisely: put an end to bribetaking and profiteering, squandering and embezzlement of socialist property, and abuses of office. We have greatly stepped up the efforts to strengthen legality, improve the work of our law enforcement bodies, enhance the responsibility of managers and ensure general organization and discipline. In this area the central party and state bodies have taken many practical measures, in some cases fairly drastic ones, as, for example, with respect to some workers of the Krasnodar territory, Uzbekistan, and the Rostov region.

Our people approve of and support this line. But this question arises: is everyone conscious that this line should be supported constantly, systematically and not just in general, not with solemn assurances alone but with practical deeds? This is a question that is also being put to you, leaders and activists of people's control. To you especially. Because when the people encounter phenomena which offend their dignity and conscience, they wonder with full justification what is done by their own, that is, the *people's* controllers. The same demands are, of course, also made of the the Soviets of People's Deputies, the law enforcement bodies and other state and social organizations. But that in no way detracts from the responsibility which rests on your shoulders. It is your direct duty to exercise resolutely your extensive rights where shortcomings and disgraceful occurrences are still combated only by speeches and not by deeds.

Of serious concern, comrades, are the poor results yielded by the measures which have been taken for many years against overindulgence in alcohol. A liking for spirits destroys people's health and brings trouble to homes. Drunkenness does much damage to production. And in general it casts a shadow over our way of life. It is evidently high time for more persistent and better thought-out actions to rid society of this great evil. I am sure that the people's control will do all in its power to make the struggle against drunkenness effective and not confined to formal "measures" alone.

Control is above all vibrant work with people. Practice shows the importance of a skilful approach here — strict, demanding and at the same time well-wishing. Blanket mistrust and suspicion must not be the way of representatives of the people's control.

The work of people's controllers should go beyond uncovering big and small flaws in our life and seeing to it that the guilty are punished. Lenin, as we all remember, stressed that control is called upon "not only and not so much to 'catch' and 'expose' as to *make corrections*", "to carry out the necessary timely practical changes."

What is especially important is to notice omissions in good time and prevent them from growing into major breakdowns. The emphasis must be on a thorough investigation into the causes of defects and abuses. Investigation and on this basis a collective search for measures capable of preventing negative phenomena. And, of course, any verification should

necessarily be taken to its completion, with no let-up until the situation has been rectified. It means that verification, prevention and correction of shortcomings must be merged in the work of people's control.

A considerable, if not the greatest, part of your activity, comrades, is linked with the problems of the economy, with concern to raise its efficiency. And that is natural. The economic sphere is for us the key one.

The number one task in this sphere now is to complete the current five-year plan period in a worthy manner. We have been able to overcome many past omissions but very strenuous efforts are still required in order to cope with the plan targets and socialist commitments assumed. We expect such efforts from the people's control as well, which must promote the maximum use of existing reserves. And these reserves lie above all in a further improvement of labor organization, in the tightening of discipline in and the strengthening of the policy of economy.

The drive we have launched for efficiency and organization in work has had tangible results. The contractual obligations of enterprises are being better observed. There has been a substantial decrease in idle time, unpunctuality, and absence from work. Production has immediately and appreciably benefited from this. Yet a part of the deliveries is still not being fulfilled, and a part of the working time is being lost. For these two reasons, both by last year's results and in the current year we are billions of roubles short in industrial output.

There is still not enough organization in capital construction. Building work is often of a low quality, and deadlines are frequently not met. That hits hard at our production plans and the personal interests of the working people. Occasional irregularities and unfinished work in construction result in the shortage of housing, school buildings, kindergartens and nursery schools. As you know, the CC Political Bureau recently outlined a whole package of measures to remedy the situation in capital construction. It is important that these measures should be put unswervingly into effect. And here we look to the people's control for active cooperation.

One manifestation of lack of organization in economic affairs is the squandering of and uneconomic attitude toward raw and other materials and energy. I am sure that everyone of you takes it to heart when he sees highly valuable equipment left corroding in factory yards. And the mountains of fertilizers not delivered to the fields in time? And the notorious oil flares that burn countless cubic meters of gas? Such mismanagement obviously calls for active interference on the part of the people's control.

We do have positive experience in the drive to economize on materials and power. Here are just a few examples. Over the past three years savings in fuel and power have amounted to half of the increment in their production. And in rolled ferrous metals they exceeded the entire increase in their output. The people's control made a weighty contribution to these achievements. So, comrades, let us develop these achievements in every way.

Thrift must become an immutable law of all our

economic life. But today I would like especially to draw your attention to the importance of strictly observing this law in agriculture. Hard work goes into a harvest, and there can be no excuses for even minor losses while reaping, transporting and storing it. Great care must also be taken now to preserve the reaped harvest and to maintain what has been achieved in livestock breeding. All measures must be taken to ensure good wintering for the increased livestock population. The people's control can be of great help here, can do much.

Comrades, the volume of public services, retail trade and passenger transportation is growing rapidly in our country. But the working people are still justifiably dissatisfied with the work of these sectors. Most frequently this is caused by gross violations of the order and norms obligatory in the work of public services. Some enterprises and institutions designed to provide conveniences for people put them through terrible ordeals and make them lose a great deal of time and nervous energy. People's control does not overlook these anomalies which poison our life, but since they have not yet been eliminated, more vigorous actions are apparently needed.

We now have enough experience to know beforehand under which conditions discipline will really be strong and work will proceed smoothly. Indiscipline and mismanagement will be fully removed if educational measures are combined with efficient organization of work and production. Take, for instance, advanced self-supporting teams. Absenteeism is out of the question here. Such teams know the value of every kopeck. A solicitous attitude to work, mutual assistance and exacting mutual control are fused here. It can be said that in such teams all are co-owners and all are controllers.

The organization of such teams is part of the painstaking work to create the economic conditions necessary for accelerated intensification of the economy. Today this work embraces many areas, including a large-scale economic experiment in a number of industries. In this experiment we are testing the elements of a new economic mechanism which will make it possible to distribute rights and responsibility correctly between central management bodies and production enterprises. The point is to improve radically planning and the structure of management and to set in motion the powerful levers of each worker's personal interest in and responsibility for his work.

The party attaches enormous importance to this great work. A commission of the CPSU CC Political Bureau on the improvement of management and raising of efficiency in the economy has been formed. As you all are aware, the elaboration of detailed and well thought-out proposals for restructuring the economic mechanism is a matter of prime importance.

Comrades, you know from your experience that the influence and prestige of people's control increase many-fold if this inspection receives the necessary support from party committees and Soviets. The party and the state regard people's control as a very important element of our party and state

endeavor, and they consider everyday help to it as one of their crucial tasks, especially since this also raises the role of people's control as a school of management, a school fostering an active civic stance by Soviet people.

That is why the party persistently requires that all its committees and communist leaders at every level should be very attentive and respectful toward the people's controllers. It is necessary to help them solicitously to master the Leninist style of work and acquire the ability to rely in any matter — major or minor — on the collective, on the knowledge and experience of colleagues, and to take into account their needs and sentiments. Every people's controller must be an example of broad political outlook, high professional skills, honesty, adherence to principles and incorruptibility. A people's controller acts not only on behalf of the people, but also in the interests of the people, in the interests of every worker. That is why his assessments and conclusions, his every step must be irreproachable. Irreproachable from the point of view of efficiency and from the point of view of fairness. And, certainly, from the point of view of socialist legality.

I have already said that people's controllers must always carry work to its conclusion, and must, as Lenin taught, regard as the cornerstone verification of the actual performance of duty. It is precisely in this that they are most in need of assistance from party committees and from Soviets of People's Deputies. There is need above all for a businesslike and prompt reaction to notifications and proposals by the people's control.

The efficiency of people's control will rise considerably if it closely cooperates with party control bodies, with commissions of the Soviets of People's Deputies and with public control activists.

It is no secret that at times real control work is replaced by control on paper. There are cases in which countless data, accounts and written explanations are required of enterprises and offices. As a rule, these papers are compiled by the very people whose work is to be checked by this unsuitable method. As a result, formal replies are produced, and sometimes "deceitful formal replies," as Felix Dzerzhinsky put it. It is necessary to struggle resolutely against such bureaucratic distortions.

It would perhaps be worthwhile to help people's control to coordinate various types of verification. There is still a lack of coordination and confusion. Sometimes no sooner has one commission left a plant than another commission is hurrying there and then a third. And all of them put the same questions. This practice gets on the nerves of the work collectives and hinders their work. In a word, the organization of inspection needs to be put right. This, incidentally, will make it possible to raise the responsibility of those who are inspected and those who inspect.

On the whole, comrades, if there is appropriate support and assistance from party and Soviet bodies, our people's control can do much to improve the work of the state apparatus and to do away with the formalism, red tape and unnecessary paperwork in it.

I would also like to speak about the attitude to the people's controllers and to their remarks and proposals on the part of those whose work they inspect. You know that the vast majority of officials take the verifications, conclusions and recommendations of the people's controllers in a principled and self-critical way. But you also know that there are officials who, to put it mildly, do not regard people's controllers with favor, and take their recommendations almost as an infringement on their prestige.

This runs counter to our party stance. The CPSU has always stood for bolder and more resolute action by the people's control bodies against everything which contradicts the interests of our society, against any attempt to act to the detriment of those interests and to circumvent the law. The people's controllers have a prominent role in the struggle against such attempts, wherever they occur and from whomever they emanate. Permit me to express confidence that they will always carry out this role in a worthy manner.

The control service is of a special character and calls for special people. These people have a keen

eye, an ability to get to the heart of the matter and to look into it impartially and thoroughly. Bias, arrogance and boastfulness are alien to them.

Comrades, I understand that sometimes a people's controller finds himself in difficult situations. For instance, a verification has provided material for serious criticism of an administration. One has to make impartial criticism of one's own chiefs. This certainly calls for courage, firmness of spirit and self-possession. These qualities are also indispensable when all of a sudden someone painfully hurts a people's controller with the cynical question of indifference: "What's it to you, anyway?"

A people's controller is always a fighter, a fighter everywhere and in every situation. Let him be an unbending fighter!

I want to assure, you, dear comrades, that the party highly appreciates your great, honorable and very important work and that it relies firmly on the efficiency of people's control and on its help in tackling our crucial tasks of today and tomorrow.

*Pravda*, October 6, 1984

---

## Turning Point in the History of the German People and Europe

Report by Erich Honecker

On October 6, 1984, the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the State Council and Council of Ministers of the GDR and the National Council of the National Front of the GDR held a meeting in Berlin dedicated to the 35th anniversary of the founding of the German Democratic Republic.

The meeting, which took place at the Palace of the Republic, brought together members of the SED CC, deputies to the People's Chamber of the GDR, veterans of the anti-fascist Resistance, front-rank workers, scientists, cultural workers and foreign guests.

Lothar Kolditz, President of the National Council of the National Front, opened the meeting.

Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the SED CC, Chairman of the State Council of the GDR, presented a report. Following is an abridged text of the report.

The founding of the German Democratic Republic, the first German state of workers and peasants, 35 years ago was a turning point in the history of the German people and Europe. Thereby our people, exercising their right to self-determination, declared irrevocably for socialism, for a society of real freedom, democracy and human dignity. Notwithstanding distinctions in world view and religious convictions, our people signified before the world their resolve to eradicate fascism and reaction, engage consistently in peaceful labor and do all in their power to ensure that never again would a war start from German soil.

Now that 35 years have passed since the German Democratic Republic was founded, we can put it on record that the GDR has always been loyal to these noble aims and is realizing them today in the same way as in the early days of its existence. Holding power, the working class accomplished gigantic tasks in building a new life under the leadership of its Marxist-Leninist party, the Socialist Unity Party of

Germany, and in alliance with the peasants, intellectuals and other working people.

Thanks to deep-going social transformations and hard work, the past 35 years have seen social security and confidence become a lasting quality of life in the GDR. The rising generation and adults alike have ample access to education and knowledge. Our citizens enjoy an effective system of health care and social maintenance. The equality of men and women is not only a declared constitutional right but a reality. Young people have clear prospects and live an active life as builders of socialism; they are the nation's hope and future.

After rising from the ruins of World War II and emerging from the material and spiritual chaos of the early postwar years, the GDR became one of the ten strongest industrial nations of the world.

It has been a long time since those who refused to reconcile themselves to postwar realities in Europe could prevent the GDR from taking up its place in the international community as an equal member.

Our state joined the United Nations and its specialized agencies; 132 states maintain diplomatic relations with us. The international standing of the GDR has been steadily improving. Today, 35 years after the founding of our republic, we assure all the peoples of the world that we will go on contributing our share to a world of peace, justice and true humanism.

Progress, peace, mutual understanding between nations and solidarity with all who are fighting for national and social liberation have become reliably established here in the heart of Europe for all time. It is neither national arrogance, nor destructive German conceit but creative cooperation in a family of equal socialist nations that underlies and will underlie the activity of our state.

The present occasion re-emphasizes the historic significance of the victory of the Soviet Union and other powers of the anti-Hitler coalition over German fascism in World War II. The Soviet Union bore the brunt of that bitter struggle. As a result of the victory over the Hitler regime, a victory whose 40th anniversary we will soon observe, humanity was saved from barbarity and our people, like other peoples, from the brown plague. We revere and cherish the memory of the more than 20 million sons and daughters of the land of Soviets who gave their lives for this cause. We will never forget the courage, staunchness and untold sacrifices of the soldiers and guerrillas of the most diverse countries, of anti-fascist Resistance fighters in the country that called itself the "Third Reich," of Hitler's opponents in exile.

After the Great October Socialist Revolution, the victory over Hitler fascism was the second liberating deed of everlasting significance accomplished by the Soviet people in this century. It led off global changes as a result of which socialism became a world system gaining steadily in strength and influence. On the 35th anniversary of its founding the GDR is a solid component of the world revolutionary process. At the same time its progress has its effect on this process.

The GDR is linked for all time by indissoluble bonds of friendship with the Soviet Union; it is inseparable from the socialist community. This has been the decisive basis for its prosperity over the past three and a half decades and is a guarantee of its further progress. We note with particular satisfaction that friendship with the Soviet Union has become a cause near and dear to our people. In good times as in bad ones, the fraternal community and all-round cooperation linking together the SED and CPSU, the GDR and USSR, in socialist construction, the defense of socialism's achievements and the struggle to safeguard peace, proved their durability. This will be so in the future as well.

The German Democratic Republic is the greatest achievement of the German revolutionary working class movement and all German working people. Translating into reality in the country where the founders of scientific socialism, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, were born are their ideas and the teachings of the follower of their cause, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. The working class and communists,

who are part of the working people and are loyal to the legacy of Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Ernst Thälmann, Wilhelm Pieck, Otto Grotewohl and Walter Ulbricht, proceed in line with the fundamental principle of socialism: everything for the good of man, for the happiness of the people, for life in a climate of guaranteed peace.

The GDR is a politically stable socialist state with a dynamic economy, a state characterized by steady growth in every sphere of public life. Situated in the heart of Europe, at the dividing line between socialism and capitalism, between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO, it meets its internationalist responsibility as a dependable pillar of peace.

Attempts to crush this pillar have certainly not been lacking in the past 35 years. They were made by the West, by those who long for a revision of the results of World War II and postwar development in Europe.

But they were invariably defeated. The defense of our socialist achievements has always been kept at the requisite level. Militarism and revanchism do not have the slightest chance. The sovereignty and territorial integrity of the GDR are inviolable and we should make this perfectly clear. Political power in our country is safely in the hands of the workers and peasants. Nobody and nothing can shake it.

The working class, cooperative peasantry, intellectuals and other working people have done a tremendous amount of work, exerted enormous efforts and made great sacrifices to ensure the prosperity of the GDR. On our national holiday we pay a tribute of special respect to the activists of the first hour who took part in laying the groundwork for the development of our state. We appreciate our citizens' everyday persevering effort, their indefatigable fulfillment of their duty in town and countryside, in the production sphere, educational and research institutions, the cultural sphere, and last but not least, the defense sphere, as a result of which our state has become what it is today.

We have reason to say that the Appeal on the occasion of the 35th anniversary of the GDR found a response in all social sectors and gave rise to a major initiative whose central aspect is continued realization of the decisions of the 10th SED congress. It is evident already that the 35th year of the GDR will be one of the most successful ones in its history. This is a good prerequisite for preparations for the 11th congress of our party which we are now beginning.

The 35-year record of the GDR is one of continuous economic growth. In 1949 our national income totalled 24.1 billion marks. This year it will exceed 220 billion marks, to judge by the present state of affairs. Socialist industry accounts for more than 70 per cent of the national income. Industrial output in 1949 was worth 30.6 billion marks and this year it will be worth about 422 billion marks. We have also achieved noteworthy results in agriculture.

As for our national income, it has since 1971 been higher than throughout all previous years. We owe this primarily to the heightened quality of our socialist economy. The structure of our industry has improved. We now have a stronger domestic raw mate-



rial base. Scientific and technological progress have visibly quickened the pace of renewal of production and machinery as well as consumer goods.

The economy set up in our republic comprises all basic modern industries. It is obvious already that in the future science and technology will influence its structure in greater measure than before. In this way we are achieving the high economic efficiency needed to continue strengthening our socialist society and raising the living standards of its members. We now have all that we need for this.

The present and future of our German state of workers and peasants rests on the foundations of fraternal cooperation with the Soviet Union and other member-states of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. Trade with the Soviet Union, our major and most important partner, is worth 14 billion roubles a year. It may be compared to a broad and solid bridge linking our countries together. In the very first year after the GDR was founded trade between our two countries, worth 300 million roubles at the time, was of decisive importance to us. It is a common fact now that every combine in our republic has its Soviet partner and that economic relations intertwine with numerous friendly ties between individuals. During our meeting with Konstantin Chernenko, General Secretary of the CPSU CC, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, we mapped the development lines of this cooperation till the year 2000; a document on appropriate concrete steps was signed today.

In accordance with the documents of the Moscow Economic Summit of the CMEA countries, we are working to ensure that our economic relations with the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries develop at a particularly dynamic rate. Relevant plans reaching into 1990 and often further still are being coordinated even now. In the family of socialist countries, whose members exchange goods and experience more and more fruitfully for the good of their peoples, the GDR holds a durable place of its own and has dependable prospects. Inside this community we are realizing all our vital interests. This is so and will be so at all times.

When the GDR was founded people in our country and the nations of Europe hoped, first and foremost, that this German state would do its utmost to preserve peace and safeguard it reliably and durably. At that time we pledged ourselves to devote all our energies to this goal and to contribute actively to the prevention of a new war starting from German soil. For 35 years the GDR has been making in common with the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries unrelenting constructive efforts to deliver both today's and future generations from the horrors of a new war.

Peace is man's greatest benefit. Because of the policy of confrontation and arms race and a bid for military superiority by which aggressive and imperialist circles are poisoning the international climate, peace is now in greater danger than ever since the end of World War II.

Nothing can be more important than to deliver the people from the threat of nuclear disaster, to stave off a nuclear conflagration in which there would be

neither winners, nor vanquished and which could destroy all civilization on our planet.

The appearance of new U.S. nuclear first-strike weapons — Pershing II and Cruise missiles — in Western Europe alarmed all who really want peace. The deployment of these means of extermination must be stopped, the systems already deployed must be dismantled and the situation which existed before deployment must be restored; this is necessary in order to proceed to fruitful talks on arms limitation and reduction. It goes without saying that all this must be based on the principle of equality and equal security.

The military strategic parity existing today is a historic achievement of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. It has enabled Europe to live in peace for 40 years now. It is a decisive condition for the peaceful future of both our continent and the world. This is why the steps upsetting this parity that were taken by NATO have inevitably led to counter-measures in the form of the deployment of operational tactical missiles of greater range, also on the territory of the GDR. These missiles cannot be removed until the cause of their deployment has been eliminated.

We have never been and will never be advocates of the balance of terror. What the GDR declares for — and with that end in view it has lately stepped up its foreign policy effort — is disarmament in East and West, the freezing and scrapping of all nuclear arsenals, a reversion to détente and the affirmation of peaceful coexistence, to which there is no reasonable alternative. Any step leading from confrontation to détente would be welcomed by the peoples. Political dialogue is quite important in this connection. Realism and reason must prevail, for this is the only way of creating a healthy international atmosphere, removing tensions in various parts of the globe by negotiation and averting the development of new ones.

This is the purpose of the well-known constructive proposals put forward by the leaders of the Soviet Union, GDR and other Warsaw Treaty countries at their Prague and Moscow meetings. It would be a step of vast importance to sign a treaty on mutual non-use of armed force and on the maintenance of peaceful relations between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO countries. Such a treaty would have an appreciable positive impact on the international developments. We also subscribe to the Soviet initiatives aimed at reaching agreement on steps to prevent the militarization of outer space, for these initiatives are of exceptional importance for safeguarding peace. The GDR is as willing as ever to make its whole territory available for the creation in Central Europe of a zone free from theater nuclear weapons as proposed by Sweden.

The arms build-up on our planet or even in space does not make for greater security. This is now realized even by those who do not share the conviction that the future belongs to socialism. Nevertheless, influential forces in the USA and NATO are stepping up the arms race, developing and producing more and more new weapon systems and allocating gigantic sums for the arms race, sums that could, if

real disarmament measures were adopted, be used for the good of peoples, primarily in developing countries. The high-sounding protestations of peaceful intent that we hear from election platforms are definitely incompatible with these grim facts. The only thing that is of real and decisive significance is, now as in the past, a constructive practical contribution to peace and disarmament on the principle of equality and equal security.

The peoples, above all those that twice in this century became victims of world wars, are particularly disquieted by the fact that the deployment of U.S. nuclear missiles in the FRG is reviving the danger of a new war starting from German soil. None of those who are aware of their responsibility and proceed accordingly, taking account of the lessons of history, can resign themselves to this. At the same time the appearance of Pershing II missiles in the FRG has given greater confidence to those who talk about the "continued existence of the German Reich within the 1937 frontiers" and about their revanchist claims to Polish, Czechoslovak and Soviet territory and who falsely allege that the "German question" is still open.

Yet history passed judgement long ago. The 35-year existence of the GDR is an indication of this. There are no open questions any longer. The "German Reich" went out of existence forever in the flames of World War II. That war and postwar development led to the rise and development of two German states: the socialist GDR and the capitalist FRG. They belong to different alliances. The only relations that can exist between the GDR and FRG are relations accepted in the world between sovereign, equal and mutually independent states. The sooner this is realized in the FRG, the better. This is also the meaning of the Treaty on the Principles of Relations which stipulates that either state shall be independent in its internal and external affairs.

Europe must be a nuclear-free continent, a region of mutually beneficial cooperation, as it has been an area of instability and turmoil for long periods of time. In line with the fraternal socialist countries' agreed policy, the GDR is working constantly to help guarantee a peaceful future for the peoples all over the world. It combines this consistent policy for peace with active solidarity with and support of all those in Latin America, Africa and Asia who are fighting for national and social liberation. They always have a reliable friend and associate in the socialist German state, the German Democratic Republic.

On our great holiday, the 35th anniversary of the GDR, we are looking ahead with confidence, being convinced that we can cope with the major tasks involved in the further building of socialism and contribute our share to the safeguarding of peace. It has always been the highest principle of our activity to do everything for the good of the people. We will continue our successful advance along the road charted by the 10th SED congress. Thinking of the future, we are working on a plan for the next five-year period, 1986-1990.

We can lean for support on the results and experience of the 35-year progress of the GDR, on the fraternal alliance between our state and the Soviet Union, on its strong links with the socialist community, on its good friends all over the world. Our most valuable asset is the confidence uniting the party, the government and the people, a confidence which we are steadily fostering and carrying deeper. This confidence is a source of great strength.

For a peaceful and happy future for our people and all the peoples of the world!

Long live the 35th anniversary of the socialist German Democratic Republic!

Long live peace and socialism!

Abridged from *Neues Deutschland*,  
October 8, 1984

---

## The Supreme Goal of the CPSU's Activity is to Steadily Improve the Soviet People's Living Standard

Speech by Konstantin Chernenko

A regular plenary meeting of the CPSU CC took place on October 23, 1984.

Konstantin Chernenko, CPSU CC General Secretary, made a major opening speech at the meeting. (Below is the text of his address.)

The meeting considered a "Long-Term Program for Land Reclamation and More Effective Utilization of Reclaimed Lands so as to Increase Steadily the Country's Food Stock" and adopted a relevant resolution.

Comrades, under consideration today is a question which has direct bearing on that which constitutes the supreme goal of the CPSU's activity — the steady improvement of the Soviet people's living standard. I have in mind major additional measures to solve the food problem by consistently making agricultural production more intensive and carrying out broad-scale land reclamation.

As is well known, we elaborated and collectively approved the country's Food Program at the May 1982 CC plenary meeting. Although only two years have passed we can confidently say that it was a fruitful period.

The greatest output of agricultural produce in the entire history of this country was achieved in 1983. This year, too, under extremely bad weather condi-

tions and with many areas hit by a dreadful drought, agricultural workers are waging a heroic battle in order to achieve just as good a result. It is already clear that the total output of agricultural produce for 1983-1984 will be roughly 20 billion roubles higher than in the first two years of the five-year plan period.

The changes which are evident in livestock-breeding are particularly gratifying. The average annual milk output went up by 7.4 million tons, meat by 1.4 million tons, and eggs by 4.6 billion. Fruit and vegetable crop has increased considerably, making it possible to raise the consumption level of some valuable products, which has also served to improve the Soviet people's dietary pattern.

In short, there have been unquestionable successes in agricultural production. To say nothing about them would mean not giving due credit to the selfless and difficult work done by field and farm workers. We should appraise in a fitting manner the intensive organizing and political work done by the party committees and the governmental and economic management bodies in the countryside. We should also note the tremendous contribution to agricultural development made by work collectives in industry, construction, transport and the entire economy.

We must, of course, keep on increasing our efforts to raise agricultural output and create the necessary conditions for all sectors in the agro-industrial complex to work successfully.

The main task, as before, is steadily to build up grain production. We must secure growth rates that are high enough to ensure that in the next few years all the country's needs will be fully met.

The second urgent task is to consolidate the favorable trends in livestock-breeding and to do everything necessary for accelerating its development. We must first of all raise livestock productivity by improving the quality of livestock and resolutely strengthening the fodder base. The main direction of the development of livestock-breeding must be more produce from the same number of livestock, with rational expenditure of fodder, labor and means.

It goes without saying that the only correct way to cope with these key tasks is to make agricultural production more intensive in an all-round way and place it on an industrial footing. Of course, we are going to continue to increase capital investment in agriculture and to equip it fully with machinery and other material means. But the main thing, both now and in the future, is to use all these resources efficiently and to concentrate them in those places where the biggest and earliest results can be obtained.

This approach has already yielded good results in industrial poultry-farming, livestock-fattening, and in the cultivation of maize, sugar beet and other crops by industrial methods. The CC Political Bureau recently approved measures to introduce intensive methods in the growing of winter and spring wheat, which will supply the country with millions of extra tons of grain. Progress must be made along this main line on a broad front, in every sphere of agricultural production.

Comrades, all the favorable results'achieved at this present stage, and those we have yet to achieve, are largely connected to the measures to transform the countryside socially. The party regards concern for the people and the creation of suitable conditions for their work, life and further cultural development as the basis for production successes. The Political Bureau has always paid unremitting attention to these questions. We can say quite definitely today that radical changes are taking place in the life of rural workers and that the countryside is changing for the better.

Housing totalling 132 million square meters will be commissioned in the countryside in four years of the five-year plan period, enabling more than 10 million people to improve their housing conditions. The scale of the construction of schools, preschool children's institutions, health-care and cultural projects has expanded and services are being improved. The real incomes of collective farmers and state-farm workers increase annually, and the sales of goods are growing rapidly.

Just ponder, comrades, the following figures. According to the USSR Central Statistical Board, of every 100 rural families 85 have TV sets, 87 have radios, 73 have refrigerators and some 60 families have washing machines. Almost every other family in the countryside has a car or a motorcycle. All this shows the tangible progress made in the implementation of one of our main tasks, that of levelling the living standards of the rural and the urban population.

Or take this question. Following the adoption of the resolutions on developing personal small holdings, the number of cattle belonging to the population increased by 1,600,000 head, and the number of pigs by the same figure. More sheep and poultry are now being reared. This is a tangible addition to our collective and state-farm production.

I would like to make special mention of the fact that the migration of the rural population to the towns has begun to decrease in the last few years. This process was long awaited and is now a reality. The migration of the people from the countryside has decreased overall by eight per cent in three years. In the Russian Federation, by 24 per cent and in the Non-Black-Earth Zone, by 30 per cent.

The higher birth rates in rural families are also of great importance. In the current five-year plan period this has been a feature of the Russian Federation, the Ukraine, Byelorussia and the Baltic Republics above all, even though certain demographic problems still remain in those regions. And in the country as a whole the birth rate over the last 20 years reached its peak in the countryside in 1983.

Comrades, I do not intend to give an exhaustive analysis of the first results of the Food Program in this short speech. One thing can be stated firmly: it is being implemented and the Soviet people can see it for themselves.

Of course, we are far from being complacent. The situation is still difficult in a number of agricultural sectors. Agricultural output is still lagging behind the country's growing demands. Despite all the favorable results, the supply of food products, and,

above all, of meat, to the population of many cities is still an acute problem. And this is of concern to the Central Committee and receives its daily attention.

The problems life poses along the road of making agriculture a highly developed sector of the economy call for new and more effective solutions. Not a rearrangement of the accents in our directives but a search for truly innovative and creative approaches.

Proceeding from this premise, the Central Committee is today posing the question of large-scale land reclamation, regarding this as the decisive factor for further agricultural development and for the stable build-up of the country's food fund.

Comrades, you are well aware of how complicated are the conditions under which we have to carry out our agricultural production. Most of the sown areas lie in unfavorable natural and climatic conditions and are prone to drought. If stable harvests are to be reaped under such conditions, agriculture's vulnerability to weather must be minimized.

This is a major task, the farmer's age-old dream. Lenin thought about how to deal with it back in the first years of Soviet power. On his initiative, the Council of Labor and Defense adopted a resolution in 1921 "On Combatting Drought" which said: "We must recognize that the struggle against drought is a task of primary importance for the country's agricultural life and that the measures taken in this direction are of very great significance."

That same year he sent a letter to the communists in the Caucasus. He pointed out with all possible clarity and depth: "What you need most is irrigation, for more than anything else it will revive the area and regenerate it, bury the past and make the transition to socialism more certain."

That was how the task was presented at the time: wisely and with insight, in a Leninist way. I think there is no need to prove that it is still relevant and pressing in our day. There is a need to rid people at long last of the tormenting worry over the fate of the harvest and to give them the joy of overcoming the elements. This is our duty, our obligation.

Nikolai Tikhonov will expound in detail the land reclamation plan for the period to the year 2000 elaborated by the USSR Council of Ministers and approved by the CC Political Bureau.

The decisions which will be taken today will no doubt open up a new major stage in the raising of land fertility. It is planned to expand the area of irrigated and drained land by half as much again in a comparatively short time, making it possible to double the output of crop-farming products on this land. As a result, the country will be able to reap nearly half of all its crop-farming produce irrespective of weather fluctuations. This, comrades, is the most important thing.

And it is not just a question of scale, though, as you can see, it is very impressive. The crux of the matter lies in the qualitative aspect of the land improvement work. The plan is to create large zones of guaranteed output of agricultural produce on an industrial footing, a kind of grain, feeds and vegetable factories. It stands to reason that this must be done with the use of modern engineering, automated

systems essentially. On the renewed land, priority must be given to scientifically sound farming methods, the best varieties and hybrids, advanced technology and programmed crops.

To tell the truth, previously we could not even dream of posing and carrying out such fundamentally new tasks in the countryside. We now have these possibilities. Whereas farms used to receive odd and low-efficiency sets of machinery, the machine-building industry is now shifting to the production of the latest sets and systems of machines. Effective chemical means of plant protection and varieties and hybrids of intensive crops have been developed. The output of mineral fertilizers is on the rise. At present our agriculture has skilled specialists and efficient production organizers. Agro-industrial associations are gaining in strength, especially at the district level, as the main form of agricultural and industrial integration. The economic mechanism is being steadily improved and the team contract is developing in the countryside. The point now is to put all these new possibilities into motion to the maximum extent.

Concern to raise agricultural productivity, comrades, first and foremost requires a different attitude to land — one of our most precious assets. And even greater care should be taken of the irrigated and drained lands. In the language of crop growers, this means investing everything necessary in the improved hectare, putting one's whole heart into it, and then the land will yield generous returns.

It is necessary to proceed from the fact that land reclamation often determines, in the full sense of the word, the viability of farms and entire regions. Take the Saratov Region, for example. The droughts there are so frequent and severe that in the recent past many farms were left without feeds for years. Comrade Gusev told me that with the coming of water people gained confidence, put things into perspective and began to live and work better. Now that the irrigated field comprises a half million hectares, the region regularly meets the targets for the sale of cattle-breeding produce to the state. The problem of supplying the population with vegetables has been resolved.

Irrigation has literally transformed even such long barren lands as the Nogaikaya steppe in the Stavropol Territory. At the Put k Kommunizmu (Path to Communism) Collective Farm, whose chairman is comrade Tereshchenko, the yield of perennial grass and silage crops rose to 12.8 tons of feed units after an irrigation system was set up, whereas previously it amounted to a mere 0.5 tons. The cereal yield has tripled. Such are the vast possibilities inherent in land reclamation.

Comrades, in implementing the state-wide land improvement program it is very important to choose priorities correctly in the channelling of capital investments and in output. The new plan gives preference to resolution of key problems of agriculture such as an increase in the production of grain and feeds. It is also important that the transition to irrigated vegetable growing will be completed.

As to the territorial aspect of the problem, we are fully justified in going to the south of the country with the greatest volumes of irrigation work. There



is good land, enough heat and manpower there, in other words, the maximum effect will be achieved sooner. Land improvement will be continued in the Non-Black-Earth Zone, which will have an important role to play in transforming that area.

In beginning land reclamation on a large scale, there is a need, first of all, to make the use of irrigated and drained lands much more effective.

It is inexcusable that specified yields are still being achieved in the country on only one-third of the irrigated land. For many years the productivity of improved land has not risen in Byelorussia, Moldavia and in practically every second region of the Russian Federation. In the Rostov Region, for instance, almost 33 per cent less grain, feeds and other products are received on irrigated lands than in the Crimea Region, though the natural conditions in their steppe areas are roughly the same.

Neither can we be satisfied with the fact that the construction of irrigation installations is not always of a fitting quality or done in a comprehensive way or with account of the many years of service and high returns of land reclamation systems. Their exploitation has been neglected in a number of regions. The simplest land reclamation operations that make it possible to improve considerably the state of fields with small inputs are for no reason being pushed into the background. In many regions, and I'll say this frankly, the water resources are being wasted.

And whatever reasons some comrades may give for all this, thrifty masters should not operate in this way.

The Ministers, comrades Vasilyev, Mesyats and Kozlov, must vigorously eradicate the harmful disjunction and often even narrow departmental approach in work. The obligations to organize the construction of irrigation facilities and the use of the lands must be fulfilled by common effort, in a businesslike manner and constructively, with a high sense of responsibility to the party and the government.

These problems need to be tackled more concretely and persistently by the district agro-industrial associations and all agricultural bodies at the center and in the localities.

I would like to highlight this question. A comprehensive approach is essential in the carrying out of the entire cycle of land reclamation — from choosing the objective to receiving the specified yield. The resolution of problems in the construction of irrigation facilities, the development of new lands and the laying out of farms on these lands must be linked from the very outset. Everything that is required must be given in full measure to the irrigated and drained lands: fertilizers, machinery, chemical means of crop protection and all other material and technical resources, including resources for operating the systems. Indeed, comrades, because we invest so much of the people's money in land reclamation and we have such high hopes for it, the possibilities of obtaining the best possible result must not be sapped because of lapses at some level of management.

In drawing up the guidelines for the 12th five-year plan period, the USSR State Planning Committee, the ministries and departments should take into ac-

count the new demands now being made of land-improvement and agricultural machine-building, the production of mineral fertilizers and the necessary chemical products.

Much will depend on the local authorities. There is a need to approach the selection of priority land-reclamation objectives realistically and in a balanced way. There must be a special approach to the economically weak farms. Such farms should be prepared well in advance to use land with engineering land reclamation systems. It is necessary to reinforce them with cadre, set up a production base and raise the standard of farming.

We are also entitled to expect that the collective and state farms will not wait passively until someone comes to them and begins the work. They must display initiative, utilize internal possibilities, and use their own forces and means to carry out the work to improve their land jointly with water-conservation organizations.

It is an urgent matter to put the natural fodder land in order. Their area, as we know, is vast. And I would say, comrades, that one can hardly overestimate the reserves of this essentially inexhaustible depository of natural fodder. We must immediately set about raising the productivity of every meadow and pasture, exerting every effort and being persistent.

Ecological problems cannot be excluded from the matter under discussion today. Land reclamation on a large scale implies interference with nature. We must be very careful when transforming the land so that far from harming it, we improve it, "ennoble" it, multiply nature's store. It is incumbent on all of us to think of tomorrow as well as of today, never taking hasty, haphazard decisions. It is appropriate to recall Marx's statement that people who use land should, like good family fathers, leave it improved for later generations.

I would like to use this opportunity to say that forests are a wonderful gift of nature. They play an enormous role in preserving water and land resources, in improving the environment and, indeed, in making life on Earth healthier. Forestry products are of great importance to our country's economy. The forests should be treated as carefully as the land.

Some territorial and regional party committee secretaries have told me that where there are forest belts, where trees protect ravines and sandy land, the fields are less affected by arid winds, and by wind and water erosion. This clearly raises a matter that must be tackled in earnest. This also applies to the efficient use of the forest's raw material resources and to the restoration and regeneration of the forests at a rapid rate. This should be given deeper consideration and some points of view should perhaps be reappraised.

These are the observations I wanted to make to you on the agenda.

Comrades, our party has entered a period of practical preparation for its 27th congress. I mentioned at the anniversary plenary meeting of the Soviet Writers' Union Board that the CPSU CC Political Bureau is now paying special attention to the preparation of a new edition of the CPSU program. At the same

time, proposals are being worked out on possible changes in the party rules. It is very important for us to ensure the organic unity of these basic documents.

The high demands which the CPSU's political course makes of organization of inner-party life, the style and methods of activity of its every link, and the work, behavior, involvement, responsibility and discipline of the communists should be reflected in the rules, and in the revised edition of the program.

The drafting of plans for the 12th five-year plan period and of long-term plans which are to give substance to and concretize the party's economic strategy until the end of the century is part and parcel of the preparation for the congress.

The principal objective of these plans is clear. It is to raise the people's well-being to a qualitatively new level, and considerably improve the material and cultural living standard of our people, relying on the ever more substantial work results of the Soviet people.

The party has clearly outlined the main way to reach new socio-economic frontiers. They are accelerated development of social production and maximum use of intensive factors of growth. We should achieve a major breakthrough in raising the efficiency of the national economy in the 12th five-year plan period.

The economy can only be placed on an intensive footing through scientific and technological progress. Efforts should be made to achieve a great increase in labor productivity and improvement of output quality. It is equally important to continue in every sector the thrift drive and improvement of the management and the economic mechanism.

High rates, production efficiency and quality of manufactured goods should all become the norm for every sector, every enterprise and, I would say, for every worker. And there should be no allowances whatsoever!

Today it is particularly important to translate these fundamental directives into the concrete language of assignments and state plan indices — the key instrument of the realization of the party's economic policy.

The CC Political Bureau has examined the preliminary results of work on the long-term plans. The task set is one of envisaging higher, more intensive plan targets for developing production, increasing its efficiency, and raising the people's standard of living. The USSR State Planning Committee, ministries and departments, the republics and regions, and individual enterprises have launched drives to mobilize reserves so as to gear our plans even more to the achievement of maximum final results.

For example, the Ministry of the Electrical Engineering Industry has found ways to include in the plan a 35 per cent rise in production over five years. This is higher than was first envisaged by the USSR State Planning Committee for this Ministry.

The Vladimir regional party organization has also taken a creative approach. The finding of additional reserves has made it possible to revise upward by 30 per cent the earlier planned increase in industrial production.

Recently, as you know, the CPSU CC approved

the work being done by the Leningrad regional party committee to raise the efficiency of the economy. Much is being done in this respect in Moscow, the Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Georgia and other regions. I think that such work should be more actively carried out in each republic and region, in each ministry, and at each enterprise.

Preparing for its congress, the party is concentrating the working people's efforts on the successful completion of this year's plans and the five-year plan as a whole. Today it can already be said that the results of the current year will be good. The national economy is on the rise, qualitative indices are improving, and the Soviet people's living standard is rising.

But we can also clearly see the omissions. Many enterprises and farms, and a number of industries operate below their potential and do not fulfil their plans and obligations. There is still time. It is more than a year until the end of the five-year plan period, and many things can be rectified. It is necessary to be more vigorous and persistent in putting production in order, improving organization and raising planning and production discipline, especially in the sectors that are lagging behind.

A few words about the completion of the agricultural year and preparation for the next harvest. Because of weather conditions, crops have been damaged in a number of areas and this will result in a considerable shortfall in grain. There are certain difficulties in providing fodder for animal husbandry. With the active participation of town-dwellers, rural residents everywhere are selflessly working to overcome the difficulties.

The CPSU CC highly appreciates these efforts. It is now extremely important to use every possibility to ensure a successful wintering of livestock, and prevent the slightest fall in the production and procurement of animal husbandry products. All preparation for the spring field work should be carried out at a high level.

To sum up, in the remaining months of this year and in the final year of the five-year plan period everyone needs to work as hard as possible so as to create a reliable basis for a confident start in the next five-year plan period.

Comrades, today the CPSU CC plenary meeting will discuss a plan for large-scale work to increase land fertility. The party considers its implementation a top priority for the next few years.

The plenary meeting participants are familiar with the resolutions of the CPSU CC and the USSR Council of Ministers which envisage concrete measures in the sphere of land reclamation. On behalf of the CPSU CC Political Bureau, I would like to ask the CC first secretaries of the communist parties of the Union Republics and territorial and regional party committees to take the implementation of these resolutions under strict party control. Success is going to depend on every worker's and every collective's understanding of the political importance of the tasks set, and on the organization of work in every sector. This should be the focus of the organizational and political work of the party organizations and of the activities of the government and managerial bodies.

Every republic and region, and every district must work out and implement a precise plan for implementing the measures that have been mapped out, taking into account the local production and natural and climatic conditions. It is especially important here to display a creative approach, proprietary insight, and enterprise, and to abandon habitual but obsolete patterns. Work to improve the training of highly qualified land-improvement experts, agronomists and other agricultural specialists should be given priority. There needs to be stricter accountability for efficient land reclamation work and for the results of the farming of the improved lands.

Much more is being required of the primary party organizations of collective and state farms and the rural district party committees in the light of the new tasks. They must step up educational work, seek to achieve greater organization and orderliness at every stage of work in the countryside, and develop in every worker a sense of great responsibility for his or her assignments.

Much has to be done by ideological workers and the mass media. Their direct responsibility is to keep in the focus of attention the party's work in the countryside, give fuller coverage to the activities of rural workers, and raise the prestige of their work.

The party expects that the land reclamation program will be enthusiastically received and supported by our Young Communist League. To place at the service of Soviet people millions of hectares of renewed land is both a romantic adventure and work training for our glorious youth.

The CPSU Central Committee is confident that the implementation of the long-term land reclamation program will become an endeavor of the whole people. This will make it possible to take a new major step in the creation of a highly developed and stable agricultural production and to raise the entire Soviet economy to a higher level.

*Pravda*, October 24, 1984

## Communists & the Struggle for Peace

### Our Party's Primary Task is to Preserve Peace

From an address by Alessandro Natta, General Secretary, Italian Communist Party at the *l'Unità* festival.

We are well aware that the confidence shown in the list of candidates of the ICP and the Proletarian Unity Party on June 17 and again demonstrated at this *l'Unità* festival, and also the history and recognition and great national strength of the Italian Communist Party require of us an even greater sense of responsibility and duty in putting forward concrete and precise political proposals and making initiatives. And this is particularly meaningful since we realize that Italy's prospects are closely bound up with those of Europe and the world and with the outstanding problems of the troubled period through which we are passing. This period of humanity's history is characterized by a state of "critical equilibrium" — ever more critical — which could be followed by a new epoch or a worsening of the situation.

On the one hand, there is the aspiration for peace, freedom and equality of nations, and the desire of all peoples to move toward civilization's more lofty goals. The resources of the intellect, labor and human knowledge and the achievements of the technological revolution show that these goals are attainable. They show it is possible to pull out of hell the scores of millions of children in Latin America, where, despite nature's bounty, they are doomed to a half-starved existence. It is possible to save the vast part of Africa in which the disastrous consequences of starvation, which are accompanied by the destruction of nature and people, are being in-

creasingly felt. There are prospects of development and progress for the many countries of Asia experiencing a shortage of the most elementary means necessary for human existence.

These are important objectives which require peace and a new system of cooperation between peoples, states and continents. But another logic brings pressure to bear on international relations, one stemming from confrontation and a striving for unilateral security and, worse yet, for military superiority.

Today we must underscore how dangerous are the accents which were revealed at the recent Republican Party convention in Dallas. President Reagan tried to call into question the situation that has emerged in Europe as a result of the Second World War.

The international situation is therefore continuing to deteriorate. Additional armament, nuclear additional armament above all, is now leading to the elaboration of very dangerous plans for war in and from outer space. The danger of a nuclear holocaust is growing: it is necessary to realize this, it is necessary to state it loud and clear. We reiterate that our party's primary and unalterable task is to work to preserve peace, preserve humanity, and achieve disarmament.

The nuclear and conventional arms race undermines the economy as it is the fundamental cause of the difficulties of the industrially developed world

and a source of hardship for the developing countries. Additional armament subordinates all social life, makes the principle of people's independence and sovereignty meaningless and jeopardizes democratic rights.

The United States, which is carrying out the largest additional armament program the world has ever seen in peacetime is compensating for the enormous state budget deficit (almost 400,000 billion lire in 1984), a deficit formed largely through military spending and by means of financial maneuvers. One cannot but ask what is the cause of the United States' economic growth. The truth is that even our poor lira is contributing to this miracle. Capital is being raked up on the Western market, and Europe is therefore paying for the missiles and the U.S. economic recovery with recession and unemployment, while the dollar debt that is strangling the developing countries is growing inordinately.

We are going to follow our chosen political line in this dramatic situation. Any assessment, any position, any choice which we make must be based on the interests of Italy, international equilibrium and peace.

A party that is a candidate for the country's government is aware of its responsibility. And it is not only today that we are stating that we want Italy's foreign policy to be ever more national and to acquire a clear democratic character and spirit, and the people's interest, initiative and participation to be ensured, above all so as to achieve the aims which profoundly affect our nation's destiny. That is why we proposed a national referendum on the missile deployment in Comiso. We consider the government's refusal a grave error, but this refusal can in no way close the question itself, which remains open in the minds of millions of people and requires appropriate changes in the constitution.

And from the viewpoint of the people's interests and dignity we were right when we raised the question of a timely withdrawal of the Italian soldiers from Lebanon and when we opposed the sending of armed forces to the Red Sea in August. This question will apparently soon be closed and it should be closed in the near future. But the very grotesque nature of these events cannot make one forget their potential danger and real gravity.

We have condemned the terrorist encroachment — and those responsible for it — on freedom of navigation in the Red Sea, as some months ago we unequivocally condemned those guilty (and this time it is known who they are) of mining Nicaragua's territorial waters. In this case, since it concerned the Reagan administration, the Italian government did not utter a word or even issue a warning. I am not recalling this in order to answer accusation with accusation but so that it will be a lesson for the future. We do not want Italy either overtly or covertly to be drawn into events or, worse yet, into adventures beyond its territorial borders and the defense regions which NATO has assigned its members. That is why we oppose the creation of rapid deployment forces to operate in the Middle East. We do not want Italy to participate in this risky and disastrous practice of one-sided interventions. Even the government itself has stated that the Red Sea

issue calls for UN participation. Therefore, precisely because of the importance for Italy of security on this sea lane, it was incumbent on the government to inform the United Nations immediately. But it did not do so.

It is incorrect to believe that one can pursue an effective and serious foreign policy without relying on the fundamental principles which make possible the coexistence of nations and states. The Italian communists have defended and must defend these principles. Relying on our great political and moral authority, we can demand that, together with us, all Italian democratic forces more strongly condemn the U.S. ruling groups, which are obstinately supporting the tyrannic regime that is oppressing Chile and spilling its blood, and which are also involved in armed aggression against Nicaragua. These groups have even come up with a "private" war so as to circumvent the decision of the U.S. Congress, which has blocked funds for this aggressive action.

We demand that representatives of the European Community go to Costa Rica for the next meeting with the governments of Central America and representatives of the Contadora Group countries, following the course of solidarity with Nicaragua that was recently demonstrated in Genoa, from which aid collected by various public organizations was sent, a course of support for the peoples fighting for self-determination, economic independence and development.

There will not be real peace if entire peoples, who have long awaited justice, are not given the elementary rights to exercise self-determination and live on their own soil: this applies both to the Palestinian people and the peoples of South Africa, who are oppressed by the most brutal racism.

Any effort by the Italian government and any other government to overcome the present mutual lack of understanding between the two blocs and the countries they include will find in our party an active supporter always ready to make a positive contribution. We are going to work for the conclusion of treaties on the non-use of force between the countries of the two blocs. It is also necessary to begin talks on chemical and space weapons, and on the boundaries and conditions for nuclear-free zones in the Mediterranean and in Europe.

The European Community must have a decisive say in this international discussion and especially on the problems of additional armament, which directly affects our continent's security and future. But in Italy since June 17 the government parties have shifted from rhetoric in the spirit of European unity to complete absence of political initiative. We are going to work to ensure that European countries from both sides participate in the disarmament talks. We are also going to insist that the European Community seek North-South dialogue not only for the sake of East-West détente. We are going to work for the setting up of a united and independent community whose security would not be based on the dangerous ideas of nuclear armament or modernization of conventional arms but on a reduction of the military arsenals. We are going to work for the setting up of a community which can help to bring nearer an epoch in which, with the gradual sur-



mounting of the blocs dividing our continent, Europe will be able to acquire the forms and content determined by its thousand-year history.

These are great and inspiring tasks of decisive significance which transcend diplomacy and must be fulfilled not by parties and movements but by men and women of various generations, by the entire people.

The Italian communists have acted to achieve this goal, and they are seeking to multiply their efforts in Italy, in Europe and throughout the world to strengthen their links with peace forces, nature and environmental protection movements, with various left forces of the working class movement, with Christians and the national liberation movements. Agreement should be sought and reached in understanding, in tolerance, and in renunciation of any integralism if we want truly to meet the challenge of our day.

And it is precisely for this reason that the Vatican's recent document on "liberation theology" seemed to us worrying and alarming. Our criticism certainly does not apply to theology, which is not our concern, but to the content and political consequences of this position. In the invective against Marxism, which is presented in a distorted and deformed way, in the extreme anathema pronounced against the countries that have had the first experience of building socialism, in the condemnation of the freedom-loving aspirations of a sizable part of the Catholic forces and organizations in Latin America one feels more the biting wind of the cold war than the guidelines formulated by Pope John XXII, Pope Paul VI and the Second Vatican Council.

As to us, we are guided by the ideas and deeds of

Palmiro Togliatti. Peace is the greatest value. In order to achieve it, it is necessary to do away with the crusade spirit and to sow the seeds of necessary and possible mutual understanding so as to preserve human hope itself.

The blood of the priest killed in Santiago by Pinochet henchmen, Bishop Romero's murder in El Salvador and the death of the hundreds of believers killed in Latin America in the last 20 years as Marxists, nationalist revolutionaries and lay democrats are still further and most eloquent testimony to the fact that people of quite different ideological convictions can find and are finding a common tongue so as to fight jointly for the peoples' liberation and human rights.

It is in the quest for these lofty ideals that thinking and culture that can be directly traced to Marx have arisen and become firmly established. And that is precisely why Marx, so often deemed to be dead and buried, re-emerges, at times unexpectedly, in the consciousness of those who are fighting in various parts of the world to liberate the oppressed.

But any ideological current, any cultural tendency must now be able to discern that which is the supreme and common goal for all.

For this reason we appeal to the Christians, to the Catholics. For us they are not aliens. Many of them have decided to wage their political struggle in the ranks of the Left and, in particular, in our party. To all of them, to all their organizations, we say that this is not the time to raise new obstacles; it is now time to achieve mutual understanding in the interests of the cause which is above all others. It is time for the unity necessary to preserve peace and ensure détente.

Abridged from *L'Unita*,  
September 17, 1984

## Konstantin Chernenko Talks to the *Washington Post*

Dusco Doder, head of the *Washington Post's* Moscow office, asked Konstantin Chernenko to answer questions on Soviet-U.S. relations, a subject which the newspaper says is of concern to millions of people throughout the world as well as to *Washington Post* readers.

Below are Konstantin Chernenko's answers.

*Q. President Reagan has said that the USA is prepared to resume dialogue with the Soviet Union on a broad range of issues, including arms control. What is the attitude of the Soviet Union to this?*

*A.* This is not the first time we hear words about the U.S. administration's readiness for talks but not once have they been backed by real action which would attest to a genuine desire to reach agreement on a just and mutually acceptable basis on even one of the essential questions of our relations, particularly in the field of arms limitation and a reduction of the danger of war.

Every time we put forward concrete proposals, they run into a blind wall. Let me give some examples.

Such was the case last March when we identified a whole set of problems. Reaching agreement on

them, or at least on some of them, would bring a real shift in Soviet-U.S. relations and in the international situation as a whole. But what they did was simply to shirk responding to our proposals.

Such was the case in June when we proposed an agreement on preventing the militarization of outer space. This time we received an answer, but what kind? An attempt was made to change the very subject of negotiations and it was proposed that nuclear weapons be discussed, that is, the issues that were being discussed at the Geneva talks, which were torpedoed by the United States itself. The USA has not only refused to remove the obstacles created by the deployment of new U.S. missiles in Western Europe but is going ahead with their deployment.

And what about outer space? Instead of the prevention of an arms race in space, we were invited to

work out rules for such a race, in effect to legalize it. Obviously, we cannot agree to that. Our objective is genuinely peaceful outer space and we are going to work persistently for this.

Such are the facts.

Turning now to President Reagan's statement which you have referred to. If what the President has said about readiness to negotiate is not merely a tactical move, I wish to state that the Soviet Union will not be found wanting. We have always been willing to hold serious and businesslike negotiations and have repeatedly said so.

We are ready to begin negotiations with a view to concluding an agreement to prevent the militarization of outer space, including complete renunciation of anti-satellite systems, with a mutual moratorium — to be established from the date of the beginning of the talks — on the testing and deployment of space weapons. This is precisely how we formulated our proposal from the outset. Now it is for Washington to respond.

The Soviet proposal that the nuclear powers freeze all their nuclear weapons quantitatively and qualitatively also remains valid. Agreement on that matter would entail mutual cessation of the build-up of all components in existing nuclear arsenals, including delivery vehicles and nuclear warheads. The nuclear arms race would thus be stopped. That would radically facilitate further agreements on reductions in and eventual complete elimination of such weapons. The White House still has before it our official proposal that the USSR and the USA first of all agree to freeze their nuclear arms, thus setting an example for the other nuclear powers.

There is a real opportunity to finalize the agreement on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear weapons tests. If there are no such tests, these weapons will not become more sophisticated and this will slow down the nuclear arms race. Here, too, the USA could demonstrate in deed the sincerity of its declarations in favor of nuclear arms limitation. It could also demonstrate this by ratifying the Soviet-U.S. treaties on underground nuclear explosions. These treaties were signed as far back as 1974 and 1976. It is ratification that will demonstrate this and not the inviting of observers, as suggested by the U.S. side, to merely record dispassionately the fact of explosion.

The Soviet Union has repeatedly called on Washington to follow our example in assuming the obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. Each time the answer was "no." Imagine the reverse situation: the USA assumes the obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons and calls on us to reciprocate while we say "no." This does not suit us and we reserve the right to deal a first nuclear strike. What would people in the USA think of our intentions in that case? There can be no two views on this score.

I have mentioned several of the most pressing problems related to ending the arms race and strengthening security. There are other important questions of which, I believe, the President is well aware. All of them require solution and concrete efforts. Unsupported by practical deeds, words about readiness to negotiate remain mere words.

I believe that answers your question.

*Q. A view is widely spread that recently a shift has become discernible which could lead to better Soviet-U.S. relations. What do you think about this and what is your view of the prospects for these relations in the time to come?*

*A. Indeed, sentiments in favor of a shift for the better in Soviet-U.S. relations are indeed widely held throughout the world. This, in our view, reflects the growing understanding of the importance of these relations, particularly in the present international situation.*

Unfortunately, there is yet no reason to speak of such a shift in Soviet-U.S. relations as a fact of life. Is it possible? I will give an unequivocal answer to this question: yes, it is possible. The resolution of the problems to which I referred earlier would help bring it about.

I am convinced that there is no sound alternative at all to a constructive development of Soviet-U.S. relations. At the same time we do not close our eyes to the fact that we have different social systems and world outlooks. But if the responsibility which rests with our two countries is constantly borne in mind, if policy is oriented toward peace and not war, these differences, far from excluding the search for mutual understanding, make it imperative to find it.

I have already said in the past and I wish to stress it once again that we stand for good relations with the USA and experience shows that our relations can be good. This requires a mutual desire to build relations as equals, for mutual benefit and for the good of the cause of peace.

*Pravda, October 18, 1984*

## **A World Without Arms?**

**I. Usachev**

Is disarmament possible?

The author discusses this question as a scientist and diplomat experienced in disarmament talks.

Paper 239pp \$4.50

**PROGRESS BOOKS**

**71 Bathurst St.**

**Toronto, Ont. M5V 2P6**

# Hands Off the Kurdish People! For Peace and Friendship between the Peoples!

Statement by the Central Committee,  
Communist Party of Turkey

Citizens,

The Turkish armed forces have for days been carrying out slaughter in the Kurdistan of Turkey, Iran and Iraq. The official press informs the public about the events in accordance with the orders of the Martial Law Command, that is, it actually deceives the people.

The real situation is that, under the pretext of events in Erzurum, Sivas and other provinces, the junta has started a new military operation in all border provinces and beyond the borders as well on the territory of Iraq and Iran. The real aim of this onslaught is to realize the U.S. plans to make Turkey the U.S. gendarme in the region. This dirty business has been in rehearsal since last year through the bloody attacks against the Kurdish people.

The Communist Party of Turkey openly declares that it is on the side of the poor, suffering, oppressed Kurdish people, whom the junta wants to annihilate and erase from history. The generals must take their hands off the Kurdish people. Solidarity with the Kurdish people, who have been pushed into the bloody circle of the fascist, nationalist and theocratic Turkish, Iraqi and Iranian regimes, is now a feature of all true democrats and peace supporters. Those who, because of the smoke created by the provocations, are unable to see the struggle of the heroic Kurdish people for the right to self-determination, and who therefore keep silent in the face of a chauvinistic campaign that is a shame on the Turkish people, in our opinion still do not understand the meaning of the danger threatening Turkey.

At the moment, the military operation is being conducted directly by the Chief of General Staff, high-ranking commanders and the Minister of the Interior. There is continuous delivery of new military troops to the region, and heavy arms and war planes are being used. Meanwhile, in his statement to the press on August 22, 1984, Prime Minister Ozal said that events in the southern and eastern regions are "insignificant and are for propaganda purposes." This means that the recent military operation was also conducted for other "important" reasons.

The situation is now crystal clear:

Using the Iran-Iraq conflict and the contradictions of both sides with the Kurdish national movement, the Reagan administration is trying to make Turkey sneak into the region as a Trojan horse of NATO.

The announcement by the Turkish Foreign Minister on August 22, 1984 that only Turkey could bring an end to the Iran-Iraq conflict needs to be borne in mind.

The Evren operation in Kurdistan is a dangerous step taken against the background of the Persian Gulf adventure.

The saber-rattling in the east is directly connected with increased tensions in the west, in the Aegean

Sea. The Greek government stated that the threat to Greece does not emanate from the Soviet Union or the other socialist countries and boycotted the NATO maneuvers in the Aegean Sea, while the Evren-Ozal dictatorship is not only betraying our national interests but is also becoming a champion of the interests of the USA and NATO.

The USA is utilizing the Turkish-Greek dispute to consolidate its domination in the region, especially to transform the Aegean Sea into a "lake" of the aggressive NATO bloc and to turn Cyprus into an unsinkable aircraft-carrier.

What was the purpose of Rogers', NATO Commander-in-Chief's, visit to Turkey and what did he get this time? This question has been raised not only by our people and the national democratic forces but also by some politicians who used to favor the USA. The government did not make any official statement about the visit and that is of great concern to our people.

What is obvious is that Rogers insisted on the implementation in the Aegean Sea of the plan that bears his name. The purpose of this plan, which is hidden behind the cover of U.S. arbitration, is to step up armament in the region against the socialist countries and to create a strong command mechanism for it. In this connection, Rogers is trying to subordinate to NATO the Aegean army, which is supposedly organized independently of NATO forces.

While the USA is preparing anti-people and anti-peace plans and weaving dangerous war plots for the east and the west of our country, the Soviet Union has added a new initiative to its uninterrupted moves for world peace. It proposed a peace plan on July 29, 1984, to stop the mounting tension and the war in the Middle East. The plan was supported by nearly all Arab countries, but Israel rejected it. However, the Turkish government chose to remain silent. This effective peace plan of the Soviet Union is undoubtedly in harmony not only with the interests of the Arab peoples but also with the interests of the Kurdish people and of all peoples of the region. The CPT sees that the Soviet Union's proposal directly expresses the interests of our people and supports these proposals. Reality shows quite clearly that the threat to Turkey does not come from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

Compatriots,

Turkey has undertaken a very dangerous role in U.S. imperialism's world-wide aggressive plans. The Communist Party of Turkey again draws the attention of all forces for peace, national independence and democracy, of our people to the following points:

First, in the Pentagon plans Turkey will play the role of springboard for action against the Soviet Union. As was leaked by Konrad Freitag, a NATO

officer, in a nuclear war Turkey will be used as a point for a "first strike" against the Soviet Union. To this end it is planned to deploy atomic missiles on our soil. To the same end, military bases are being enlarged, new ones are under construction and the arms buildup has been speeded up.

*Second*, the USA is preparing Turkey for the role of its gendarme in the Middle East to replace Iran. At the same time, with the support of the USA, military cooperation treaties have been signed between Turkey and such reactionary regimes as in Pakistan, Egypt and Saudi Arabia. They are making plans to form a reactionary bloc. On the other hand, Turkey is to be turned into a U.S. shock-force in the Mediterranean.

*Third*, these two aims are closely interconnected and are both essentially based on approval of Reagan's "crusade against communism." The plans of the Pentagon and its dangerous agents in our country are to use Turkey in future for an attack against the Soviet Union and to clean up Turkey's home front at this stage . . . The meaning of this plan is suppression of all anti-imperialist democratic forces in the country. The generals' words about "internal war" are copied from the U.S. "national security doctrine."

*Fourth*, President Reagan is a nuclear war maniac who impudently rehearses how to give the order for a nuclear attack against the Soviet Union and takes decisions in his party convention to erase communism from the globe. Unfortunately, the generals and the government have committed a crime by unconditionally handing over Turkey's destiny to that man.

All this is quite enough to give an idea of the dimension of the threat facing Turkey. Those who

consider the events in Kurdistan an ordinary conflict between the junta and the terrorists are making a serious mistake. We would like to remind those who talk about the "indivisibility of the motherland" that the whole country is under threat.

Nevertheless, the Pentagon has not achieved its aims. For that reason, if the peace-loving, democratic forces rally and start actions, they can still use the opportunities before them. It is possible to protect Turkey from a slaughter. This calls for:

— an end to the military operations in the Kurdistan of Turkey and beyond the country's borders;

— an end to the brutality in the Kurdistan of Turkey;

— settlement of the Turkish-Greek dispute outside NATO, through peaceful talks between the two countries;

— settlement of the Cyprus question on the basis of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus and in line with the interests of both communities, through inter-communal talks and an international conference;

— support for the Soviet Union's peace proposals of July 29, 1984.

The CPT will try to make every constructive contribution to facilitate the reaching of a common understanding between all the left forces, all national democratic forces, in the interests of the fight for peace, national independence, democracy and freedom for the Kurdish nation and for a united, more effective struggle.

Everything for peace, for friendship between nations!

For democracy, independence, and the freedom and well-being of the peoples!

August 24, 1984

## congresses & plenary meetings

# France: Seek a New Popular Unification of the Majority

From a report presented by Georges Marchais, General Secretary, French Communist Party, to a FCP CC plenary meeting.

### THE COMMUNIST PARTY'S POSITION

We are no longer in the government and have nothing to do with the direction and management of the country's affairs. In parliament we support that which we consider positive and refuse to support that which we consider contrary to the interests of the working people and the country; in the country itself, we are with the people so as to make progress in resolving the problems. This means that we are waging and will continue to wage a fight against the Right, with which we could never be in agreement.

There is no doubt that within both the Rally for the Republic and the Union for French Democracy there are individual leaders who are prepared im-

mediately to draw conclusions from this situation and who believe that, with the "communist guardianship" removed, it is now possible to look to cooperation with the Socialist Party. But it should be recognized that this plan is encountering serious obstacles, primarily the greed for power of the right-wing forces, which are fighting for their interests, and the personal ambitions of their leaders, who have more serious objectives than a mere place in a government headed by Francois Mitterand and Laurent Fabius.

Indeed, everything shows that, in connection with the upcoming 1986 parliamentary elections, the calls from the government and the majority for an "easing



of tension" stem more from a desire to increase the Socialist Party's influence in "the center," among those who are usually called the "floating" voters, than from a desire to conclude an early political agreement with the right-wing parties. This danger has obviously been noted by the leaders of the opposition, who are trying (each in keeping with his place in the political arena) to maintain his positions among the so-called "moderate" electorate.

#### LAURENT FABIUS' POLICY IS A CONTINUATION OF THAT OF PIERRE MAUROY

This evolution of the situation is already having an effect on the Socialist Party. I have already spoken of the calls for a new coalition: other Socialist Party leaders believe that it is a good tactic to make accusations against us, referring, naturally, to the perpetual "hand of Moscow," and, finally, still others who are known as the "friends of Pierre Mauroy" and are trying to take over that ground on the Left which they believe has been cleared for their party. They envisage for the Left a "social democratic scheme adapted to the realities of the contemporary world" in which the Socialist Party would unite with a renewed Communist Party, that is, according to them, a communist party which would stop proposing measures to do away with the causes of the crisis and would renounce internationalist solidarity and democratic centralism. And all of this, naturally, in the name of the supposed requirements of the "third millennium" . . .

Such a call prompts us to make two observations. The first is that it constitutes inadmissible pressure from without on the discussion which the communists are going to hold within the FCP in preparation for their 25th congress. The second is that it ignores the important fact that the policy currently being pursued by Laurent Fabius is not a rejection but rather a continuation of the one pursued by Pierre Mauroy. I mentioned this just now. It was not in July 1984 that the government's policy was re-oriented; it was from June 1982 that we voiced our concern, which continued to intensify, unfortunately with good reason, during the subsequent two years. From this point of view, even if Pierre Mauroy did not resign along with his government in July 1984, everyone understands that his policy would, in any event, have raised the question of the communists' participation in the government. We told Laurent Fabius frankly that the decision taken by our Central Committee did not by any means stem from our attitude to an individual but from our attitude to a policy.

#### WHAT IS TO BE DONE NOW?

Of course, confronted with this situation, many communists and millions of working people are asking themselves: what is going to happen now? Everyone is predicting the defeat of the Left. Is this really the fate that awaits us? Is this really inevitable?

To this question we reply: we do not want this defeat. We will do everything to avoid it. And it is possible to do so. There is still time to arrest such

developments and redress the situation by choosing new roads and thus meeting the hopes of the people.

That is why we are acting from this perspective and will devote all our efforts to this task.

I have just said that our decision not to participate in the government in no way signified a repudiation, and that in taking it we wanted to send an alarm signal to the country's leaders and, much more broadly, to appeal to all those who contributed to the Left victory in 1981, to all those who believed that it would be possible to impose a new policy; we call on them to reflect clearly and to act.

#### OUR GOAL: A NEW UNIFICATION OF THE PEOPLE'S MAJORITY

In order for this appeal to be heard, the Communists are going to re-establish contact with everyone — with those who voted on June 17 and with those who abstained. As we stated last July 19, "we address ourselves to every woman and every man — Communist, Socialist, men and women from all parties and organizations of the left and progressive forces. By uniting we can create a powerful common force to advance toward a solution to the country's problems." A new unification of the people's majority — such is the goal which we have set ourselves.

Is it difficult to attain this goal? Undoubtedly! But it is by no means beyond the forces of the popular movement. The Right's return to power is not inevitable. Certainly, the danger is great and obvious: there is the maneuvering of which I spoke; there is broad mobilization of the reactionary forces; there is the linking of a part of these forces with the extreme right-wing fascist-like circles of Le Pen. At the same time, the discouragement and absence of a mobilizing prospect is having a negative impact. But there is no shift to the Right by the electorate. There is no drastic change in the public's position. The road remains open: it is possible to rally the forces capable of preventing the Right's return to power.

And political finesse is inadmissible here. A new unification of the people's majority cannot be created without regard for all that we are currently experiencing. And this experience which people are gaining shows that statements and promises are not enough. A new upsurge and new unification can only be attained around objectives which make possible concrete action and tangible progress.

That is why we address ourselves to all French men and women who are experiencing the tragedy of unemployment. We address ourselves to all French men and women who, as the new academic year begins, are finding it difficult to stretch their family budget, pay taxes and buy the necessary school equipment for their children. We address ourselves to all French men and women without exception who are resolved to act in every sphere affected by the hard consequences of the crisis.

We are seeking to unite all those who want, together with us, to formulate proposals, act and attain what is attainable. We want to unite people in the workshops, in offices, in plants, in banks, in laboratories, unite them in blocks, in towns, and regions so as to achieve even limited improvements, both at these levels and in the government's orienta-

tion, without opposing one to the other.

This is our demarche: we turn resolutely toward people so as to listen to their opinion without attaching labels to anyone beforehand; to hold discussions with everyone so as to uncover ground for agreement and common objectives; to formulate proposals for action to mobilize as broadly as possible ...

### SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

Naturally, as we deal with our project of a socialist society for France, we consider it our duty to outline again in this document our conception of the nature of the countries where a socialist society is being built and our relations with these countries and the parties which lead them.

For some years, in all capitalist countries — and in France even more so than in others — everything concerning the socialist countries has been the object of what we describe as a real ideological war. I do not think I need to give the Central Committee examples: there is a host of them. We will only state that this incessant psychological processing has resulted in a considerable deterioration in the socialist countries' image in the eyes of the French people and in the eyes of the working class itself. There is no doubt whatsoever that we are feeling the negative consequences of this evolution.

Because of this, some comrades at times reason in this way: since these countries are apparently the "cannon-ball" to which we are chained, why do we not cut the link? Let us break with them and proclaim that what we want for France is the opposite of what they are doing; we will not thereby resolve all our problems but at least this problem will disappear ...

This position is profoundly incorrect. First, because it is illusory: what we want for France is a socialist society. Yes, an original, democratic society "à la France," one different from the society being built in other countries. But still a socialist society. And whether we like it or not, in order to make a judgement, the French people who look to us and could be won to our project of society are always going to make comparisons with the socialism being built in some countries ...

So what should we do? The response which the Political Bureau proposes to the Central Committee is the following: we should not alter the line that we adopted on this question at our 24th congress; we should implement it in a much better and fuller manner and resolutely place the entire party on the offensive.

### WE ARE COMPLETELY INDEPENDENT

Should we be more "independent"? But how can we be more independent when we are already fully independent? We are the only French political party that is not a member of any international union. Nothing, no decision in any area is suggested to us from outside. It is in this context that we, as underscored at the 24th congress, have been developing with all desirous communist parties and progressive movements "relations based on independence, full

equality and non-interference, a search for flexible and effective forms of joint actions to attain common goals, recognition of the right to differing points of view and to possible disagreements on this or that question." And we add: "Our position of solidarity is not unconditional. We maintain — and intend to maintain in the future as well — the right to criticize, and substantial disagreements may arise between us. These rights have been recognized, as stated in the important joint communiqué of January 1980 issued by the FCP and the CPSU. We state our point of view responsibly, in calm discussion, in no way imposing our policy as a 'model' and not lecturing anyone."

### KNOW THE TRUTH BETTER AND MAKE IT BETTER KNOWN

As for our assessment of the reality of the socialist countries, here, too, we believe that the position which we took at the 24th congress need not be reviewed. The essence of this position can be expressed in a few words: know the truth better and make it better known. We want "to assess as objectively as possible the contribution of the peoples building socialism, and the diversity and present framework of this process." We have finally dropped the practice of systematic praise and laudation. But we are not going to go to the other extreme of making a caricature of the reality of the countries of socialism, often even with a racist overtone, as happens in our country.

We take into consideration the scale of what is being done and what has already been achieved in these countries in a period that is relatively brief by comparison with the immensity and novelty of the accomplishments. We are well aware of the problems which they face, and we pay careful attention to the solutions which they find.

These problems are connected, first, with the low initial level of development from which the majority of them started. In addition, they face problems stemming from the international environment: the effects of the crisis of the capitalist countries, the burden of the arms race imposed by imperialism, the duty of internationalist solidarity. There are also problems resulting from errors and grave and painful mistakes which were made during their history and which slowed down socialism's development. And, finally, there are problems related to the difficulties and contradictions generated by their own development and to the new needs of their peoples which arise out of this development.

That is why, as we have said, these countries have to carry out the "triple task of achieving economic efficiency, ensuring social progress and developing democratic participation." We follow with interest the search in these directions and the most varied innovations currently being introduced in a number of socialist countries as a response to these great demands of our epoch. Some of them are still encountering considerable difficulties. But this should not conceal from us the overall advance and the general tendency that is being manifested. If one looks objectively — and the reports of some international organizations do this — at what is happen-

ing today in the countries building a socialist society, one cannot but note that they have undeniable trump cards and that they are carrying out a series of experiments and introducing innovations so as to find answers to the questions facing them. As is well known, such an objective approach — one which we take in assessing these countries' problems and achievements — prompts us to express disagreement with any infringement of freedom whenever this occurs. We stated this strongly at our 23rd and 24th congresses and subsequently: we regard "the central question of the democratization of political, economic and social life as a universal demand of socialism."

#### FOR THE BROADEST MOBILIZATION FOR PEACE

It is quite evident that the question of assessing the reality and role of the socialist countries is inseparable from the class battles taking place throughout the world. In this connection we think

that our document\* should mention facts which arose in the past period and which show that there has been a substantial deterioration in the international situation, which is marked by tension and greater dangers.

Imperialism, headed by the United States and Reagan, has been manifesting increasing economic, political, military and ideological aggressiveness. We have often stated that this multiform aggressiveness is not a sign of strength but a symptom of the deepening crisis of the imperialist system of domination. We still believe that the international correlation of forces remains in favor of peace and progress. Nevertheless there is still a grave threat to international security and this necessitates very broad mobilization for peace.

Abridged from *L'Humanité* supplement,  
September 20, 1984

\*Reference is to a draft document of the 25th FCP congress to be held in February 1985. — Ed.

## The Soares-Pinto Government's Immediate Resignation is the People's Task

### Political Statement Adopted at a Plenary Meeting of the Portuguese CP CC

#### I

*At its plenary meeting of September 15, 1984, the Central Committee of the Portuguese Communist Party carefully examined the rapid deterioration in the situation in the country caused by the Soares-Pinto government's policy, whose main and basic objective is to restore the power of the monopolies (linked with imperialism) and the latifundists.*

#### II

The development of the economic, social and political situation daily confirms that in order to achieve this objective the Soares-Pinto cabinet, which has embarked with no scruples whatsoever on the road of flagrant violations of the constitution and democratic legality, does not hesitate to condemn the people to poverty and hunger, liquidate the democratic system and sacrifice national independence.

#### III

The CC's analysis of the situation fully confirms the need for the immediate resignation of the coalition government of the Socialists and Social Democrats.

#### IV

*The main reasons for the extreme urgency of the resignation of the Soares-Pinto cabinet are as follows:*

(1) *The drastic deterioration in the Portuguese people's living conditions, which have become totally unbearable with the runaway rise in the cost of living, the mass dismissals, the unemployment, the delays in wage payments, the prohibitive cost of housing and medical care, the ruinous taxes and other government actions, decisions and measures, which*

are accompanied by a deterioration in the situation in education and culture and a growth in corruption and immorality.

(2) *The anti-constitutional and illegal decisions and measures (both those taken and those planned) aimed at wiping out the nationalized sector of the economy, the agrarian reform and other major democratic gains like the labor legislation, the laws on waste lands and agricultural tenancy, and other actions that are part of a process whose continuation will not only cause disorder in the national economy and even greater poverty but will also inevitably lead to sharp social and political conflicts.*

(3) *The catastrophic deterioration in the country's economic situation, which, if not rapidly halted, will generate such disorganization and such a monstrous foreign debt, such a profound crisis that it will take many years for Portugal to overcome it and renew advance along the road of development and social progress.*

(4) *The serious blows (those being dealt and those being prepared) against the freedoms, the democratic local government bodies, the state institutions and the electoral system, and other measures which are opening the road for the creation of a totalitarian state and are jeopardizing the very existence of the democratic system.*

(5) *The process of forming a police state, the plans to governmentalize the armed forces and other measures, which, along with the proposed "internal security" and "information service" laws, the bill on the Defense Ministry and the decision recently approved by the government to readmit fascist servicemen*

dismissed following the April revolution, show unequivocally that a subversive and putschist plan is currently under way to impose forcibly the unconstitutional, anti-people, anti-democratic and anti-national policy that the people reject.

(6) *The growing concessions to imperialism* (notably U.S. imperialism) in the economic, financial, diplomatic, political and military areas, concessions which make Portugal subject to foreign countries and — if this is not halted without delay — will seriously imperil national independence and security.

## V

In addition to these main disastrous and perilous consequences of the continuation in power of Soares-Pinto, the Central Committee warns of other various attempts by the government to raise obstacles in the way of an alternative, namely:

— demagogic maneuvers with the use of state funds to deceive the least educated strata of the population;

— monopolization of the state-controlled mass media, which would create conditions for manipulating the media to carry on disinformation campaigns and provocations;

— new laws on political rights and the electoral process which, when they come into force, could turn the elections into a farce, as a result of which, as happened during fascism, the pro-government forces will preserve the majority of parliamentary seats even when they are defeated in the balloting.

## VI

Pointing to the disastrous consequences and the danger of the present government's continuation, the *Central Committee at the same time notes* that, with this cabinet's complete failure to resolve the national problems, its thorough discrediting, the internal contradictions in it, the drastic narrowing of its support base and with the existence of a very broad social and political front opposed to it, *the present moment is particularly favorable for its resignation.*

On this basis the Central Committee has concluded that *the immediate resignation of the Soares-Pinto government is the people's task, the institutions' duty and a national imperative.*

## VII

Hence the Central Committee also believes that it would be *a grave error to link the government's resignation with the 1985 presidential elections*, which it will be much more difficult for the democratic forces to win if the coalition government of the Socialist and Social Democratic Parties remains in power until then.

The democrats and patriots must prepare for the presidential elections. They must seek to rally their supporters to vote for a candidate capable of defeating reaction's placemen (including Soares) and thereby win the elections. They need to understand that rashness, a fight for "one's own" candidate and other similar actions will hinder the attainment of this objective and the unification of the democratic votes and could thus make victory doubtful. They should realize that there is a need, if not for an official agreement, then at least for a consensus of these forces, including the PCP, since a democratic

candidate needs the communists' vote in order to win.

While making these points, which must be taken into consideration so as to ensure the democrats' victory in the presidential elections, the Central Committee insists that *preparations for the presidential elections is not the principal task of the moment.*

*The principal, central and decisive task of the moment is the government's resignation and a democratic alternative.*

## VIII

The Central Committee reiterates that not only does an *alternative policy* exist but so also do the main objective conditions for a *political alternative.*

The *alternative policy* must put an end to the counter-revolutionary process and, while respecting the constitution and democratic legality, mobilize and put in action all the nation's potential to overcome the crisis and resolve the existing serious problems.

The *political alternative* will mean the continuation of the democratic functioning of the institutions and their mechanisms as a result of the formation of a democratic and patriotic government enjoying the active support of the overwhelming majority of the Portuguese people.

## IX

With a view to attaining the objectives of the present social and political struggle, the *Central Committee*, while confirming, making more precise and developing earlier approved directives, is *indicating the four main directions of the work of the party, its organizations and members in the immediate future:*

(1) *The masses' struggle on every front, their participation in large and small actions with concrete and immediate objectives related to all the national problems, resistance to the "labor pact" and the government's other anti-people, anti-democratic and anti-national decisions and measures, and the merger of all the currents of the struggle which have concrete objectives so as to carry out the main political task of the moment — the earliest possible resignation of the Soares-Pinto cabinet.*

(2) *The strengthening of the unity and the joint or convergent actions of the working people, the anti-monopoly classes and social strata and all democrats and patriots.* Special emphasis should be placed on strengthening unity in the trade unions and other mass organizations and on developing the joint or convergent political initiatives and actions of all forces and strata of the population which voice support for a democratic alternative.

(3) *The struggle for the democratic functioning of the institutions* through a step-up in the activity of the Assembly of the Republic and other state bodies, including the courts, and through still greater activation of the democratic local government, firm struggle in all concrete circumstances for observance of the constitution and democratic legality, and opposition to any illegal actions and abuse of power.

(4) *The strengthening of the party in all the main aspects of its activity: organizational strengthening* (continuation of the campaign to recruit 10,000 new

members and the campaign to invigorate the work of the enterprise party cells) *strengthening of propaganda and ideological work* (readiness to give exhaustive responses to events and oppose the subversive anti-communist campaigns and the ploys to mislead public opinion); *raising of militancy* (mobilization of party organizations and members to carry out concrete tasks). The grand scale, massiveness and high level of militancy manifested during the *Avante!* newspaper festival evidences not only the enormous force of the party but also the possibility of strengthening it still further and more rapidly.

While taking into account the tasks which each party organization and member has and the necessary division of labor, all organizations and members must simultaneously begin to work in these four main directions.

*These four main directions of the party's activity are inseparable and complementary.*

## X

The Central Committee underscores that if the party's activity is to develop it is extremely important for all its organizations and members to remove every manifestation of sectarianism and always to be open for dialogue and agreement with a view to ensuring the broadest and most diversified participation in the struggle, actions and initiatives.

## XI

While reiterating that the situation is extremely difficult, complex and dangerous, the Central Committee states at the same time that an objective analysis of the situation makes it possible to affirm that *democracy is still stronger than reaction and the struggle continues with the profound conviction that the Portugal of April will win.*

September 15, 1984  
*Avante!*, September 20, 1984

---

# Second Congress of the Independence and Labor Party of Senegal

The Independence and Labor Party of Senegal (ILPS) held its second congress in Dakar on September 28-30, 1984. It was attended by 835 delegates from all of the country's regions and also by representatives of a number of communist and workers' parties.

The CC report was delivered by Amath Dansoko, the Deputy General Secretary. He analyzed the party's work over the three years that have elapsed since the party's constituent congress, noting its contribution to the struggle for the welfare of the people, for national and social progress.

Speaking of the international situation Dansoko underscored the decisive role played by the USSR and other socialist countries in preserving and consolidating world peace, in containing the aggressive policies of international imperialism led by the USA.

The delegates debated and approved the CC report, adopted a new program, and passed a series of resolutions on socio-economic matters and the party's work in mass organizations, and also a resolution on the main documents of the congress. The text of this resolution is given below.

The congress elected Seydou Sissoko as the party's Chairman and Amath Dansoko as its General Secretary.

## Resolution on the Basic Documents of the Second Congress of the ILPS

The commission charged with examining and specifying the main documents of the congress (the CC report, the orientation and program theses, and the action program) held its sitting with the participation of representatives of the party's various federations and sections. Having studied the remarks, suggestions, and amendments from the party organizations on these documents and, moreover, taking into account all the evaluations and considerations stated at the nation-wide discussion, the commission proposes the following resolution to the congress:

The second congress of the ILPS has summed up the work accomplished by the party, defined its orientation and program, and considered the Central Committee report.

Considering the very wide and, on the whole, positive public response to the theses on the party's policy and program that have been circulated and discussed;

Taking into account all the steps that were taken by the Central Committee to make this a genuinely democratic discussion, the call to all party members to conduct a public and uninhibited discussion, and the request to large sections of public opinion to state their critical remarks, suggestions and wishes at the hundreds of rallies, public briefings, and conferences held throughout the country;

Having in mind the novel character of this approach and the original and and innovatory theoretical content of our documents, which are characterized by, among other things, self-criticism, frankness and daring, which was noted by all sections of public opinion, the congress

— approves the Central Committee report, the theses on the party's orientation and program, and the party's action program;

— congratulates the CC on the work accomplished by it and all ILPS members, whose col-



lective and constructive analysis placed in the party's hands valuable instruments allowing it to have a better understanding of the socio-political realities in the country and define more lucid prospects in its struggle for peace, true national independence, democracy, and socialism;

— instructs the CC to finalize these documents at the earliest possible date with account of the important amendments suggested at the discussion in and outside the party, and also to ensure the broadest possible dissemination of these documents in the most effective ways;

— makes it binding upon the party and all its

members to continue the analysis that has been started in order to acquire a more profound understanding of our country's economic, political and socio-cultural problems and work out the most suitable solutions for these problems in the light of our specific socio-cultural realities;

— calls upon all party members to make the utmost effort to give immediate, consistent and creative effect to the adopted program and main orientations of work in order to enhance the effectiveness of the party's struggle against the neocolonialist authorities, for the national democratic revolution, which is a stage on the road to socialism.

## *statements & speeches*

### **Radical Measures Are Needed to Stamp Out Drug Trade**

#### **Statement by the Workers' Party of Jamaica CC**

The imposition of stiff tax measures on narcotics traffickers which was announced by Prime Minister Seaga on September 11, has nothing to do with stamping out the drug trade in ganja (marijuana) and cocaine, but is a revenue collecting drive aimed at satisfying the International Monetary Fund.

It is now known that the IMF is concerned that its targets will not be met. Hence the escalation of the layoffs of 11,000 workers, the divesting of local government operations such as sanitation, cleansing and the imposition of exorbitant fines for traffic violation in order to increase revenue.

It is inconceivable that a government concerned about stamping out a trade which every patriotic Jamaican, including members of the ruling Jamaica Labor Party, recognises as a threat to the country and the people, should not seize the assets of the offenders and lock them up.

Mr. Seaga is reported as having told the House that it is "well known that Al Capone was not de-

feated by the FBI. Al Capone was defeated by the tax man."

However, it is well known that Al Capone was not defeated at all. Today, the mafia is more powerful and entrenched in American society than in Al Capone's time. The mafia invests and thereby rinses its ill-gotten moeny in legal operations such as casinos. That the mafia pays taxes is little comfort to the millions of lives it preys upon like a parasite and destroys all over the capitalist world.

Drug trafficking as a serious crime against humanity, especially the young, demands to be treated seriously. It requires, on the one hand, sweeping land reform in order to isolate the criminal-minded from the thousands of honest small farmers whom our system has totally forgotten and condemned to poverty; and on the other hand the full force of law. Anything short of this is pure talk.

September 12, 1984

### **USA: Indispensable Class Instruments**

#### **Statement by the Communist Party USA CC on the 65th Anniversary of the CPUSA**

The 65th anniversary this September of the Communist Party USA coincides with the approach of the most crucial national elections since the end of the Second World War — perhaps in the last century. At stake in the November elections is the immediate future course of our country in the nuclear age.

That is why the question being asked in all countries is: will Reagan be returned to office? The world, and the people of the United States as well, are deeply concerned that four more years of Reaganism would mean further intensification of the arms race, continuation of the policy of seeking military superiority over the Soviet Union, confrontation,

interventionism and dictation.

There is concern that underlying Reagan's recent ghoulish "joke" about outlawing and bombing the Soviet Union is a deadly, suicidal urge to do just that.

And there is also concern that, should Reagan be re-elected, attempts would be stepped up to destroy the labor movement and to turn the clock back on the fight for equality of Afro-American, Chicano, Puerto Rican and other oppressed peoples and women. The attack on the living standards of all working people would surely be sharpened under four more years of Reaganomics, and democratic

rights would be threatened with further curtailment.

On the other hand, if all those who have a stake in fighting Reaganism can be united, and if this all-people's front can be stimulated to a high enough level of activity to defeat the Reaganites at the polls, the door will be opened to movement in the opposite direction — especially away from the precipice of nuclear annihilation.

Defeating Reagan and Reaganism requires the contributions of all the forces of the developing all-people's front. It especially requires the dynamic participation of our multinational, multiracial working class, the organized labor movement and the Afro-American people. It also requires the unique contributions which the Communist Party USA and its Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates, Gus Hall and Angela Davis, have been making.

This special contribution arises from the Marxist-Leninist character of the Communist Party USA and from its vast experience in the course of 65 years of struggle for the best interests of our working class and all working people, for the vital interests of the United States.

The party has learned to make a concrete assessment of the interests of all the class and social forces in each situation, taking fully into account new developments in arriving at the policy that best serves the needs of the working class and oppressed peoples. It is from such an assessment that we conclude that the unavoidable central task for all progressive forces is to defeat the Reaganites in order to be able to move forward.

The Reagan administration, to a greater degree than any prior government, represents a trend in monopoly capital that is exceptionally aggressive, reactionary and chauvinistic, both internationally and domestically.

It holds in its hands new weapons that threaten the very existence of life on earth. Our experience in the fight against the world and domestic danger of fascism in the 1930s and 1940s is invaluable in identifying who the main enemy is in this election; who can and must be brought together to defeat Reaganism; and on what basis to build unity among diverse class and social forces for this task.

In an earlier period, we were the first to warn of the fascist danger. We played a crucial role in cementing the unity of the working class and people, even with the section of monopoly capital opposing fascism — a unity that turned back that danger to humanity.

The Reagan administration is not a fascist regime. But opposition to its extreme reactionary policies must be, and is, being built among an exceptionally wide array of class and social forces, including a more sober-minded section of monopoly.

Unity of action to defeat Reaganism once again requires overcoming all that divides that unity and weakens or diverts from the central task. It does not do away with ideological differences, the class struggle or other differences among diverse social forces. But these differences must always be put in the context of the struggle for unity of the anti-Reagan forces, because there is no path to progress, political independence and more radical alternatives other than defeating Reaganism.

At the same time, both logic and the experience of numerous electoral struggles, particularly in connection with the New Deal, the 1948 Dewey-Truman-Wallace election and the Kennedy administration, confirm that the Democratic Party nationally cannot be converted from a monopoly-dominated party into an anti-monopoly people's party.

But in the cases of Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal candidacies and the present Mondale-Ferraro candidacy, these have been the only electoral vehicles available to the main progressive social forces to defeat extreme reaction.

Under present conditions, unity in the struggle to defeat Reaganism is the only way to advance the process of mass political independence and move toward the creation of a mass, labor-led, anti-monopoly, people's party. Any other approach to building political independence would be contrary to the interests, attitudes and instincts of the broadest ranks of the people, and would therefore fail.

A major ideological pillar of Reaganism is anti-communism and the Big Lie that the Soviet Union threatens the United States. This is the ideological cover for Reaganism's extremely aggressive and interventionist policies.

In this election, our party makes a unique contribution by answering and combatting the Big Lie of anti-communism. This is a decisive contribution in the struggle for peace and democratic rights, against interventionism and Reaganism.

In conducting this campaign for peace and against imperialism, we draw on experience our party has accumulated right from its founding.

The Communist Party USA was born out of the Socialist Party's left wing, which fought for peace and against involvement in World War I, for acceptance by the U.S. government of the birth of Soviet Russia, and against the invasion of Soviet Russia by 14 powers (including the U.S.).

We have always been in the front ranks of peace activists and given unstinting solidarity to the struggle for national liberation, especially against U.S. intervention. This includes support for Nicaragua and other Caribbean and Central American countries, Ethiopia and China, all victims of imperialist invasions. It includes aid to Republican Spain in the 1930s, where thousands of Americans, including many communists, fought and died in the gallant attempt to prevent the victory of fascism and so avert the imminent danger of a world war.

During World War II, communists played a large role in all aspects of the crusade to rescue the world from the menace of fascism, with thousands, including the present CPUSA National Chairman and General Secretary, Henry Winston and Gus Hall, participating in the armed forces. Our special contributions continued in the fight against the Cold War and McCarthyism, in the struggle to keep "Hands Off Cuba," to end the Vietnam aggression, and in recent struggles around South Africa, Lebanon, the rights of the Palestinian people, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Grenada, Euromissiles and space weapons.

In all these situations, we reveal anti-communism as the chief rationale of aggression. We combat the Big Lie by pointing out the facts of Reagan's aggres-

sive policies, the role of the military-industrial complex in setting the priorities and objectives of this administration, and by explaining the inevitable consequences of these policies, which aggravate all domestic and social problems.

We also point out that from its birth the Soviet Union, a socialist land without corporate profiteers or any group which reaps private gain from the drive toward war, has championed the cause of peace. The Soviet Government has made over a hundred principled and realistic proposals to strengthen peace in recent months, including negotiations to ban militarization of space, without eliciting a single positive response from the Reagan administration.

The Communist Party's clear-cut and practical proposals are a special contribution to the anti-Reagan struggle. Our election platform pinpoints the six-hour day with no cut in pay and nationalization of key industries, among other demands, as means to create jobs and defend the living standards of working people.

We seek to strengthen class-struggle trade unionism and bring the working class forward as an increasingly independent force leading the all-people's front to defeat Reaganism.

We seek unity of our class on the basis of the fight for full equality of Afro-American and all other oppressed peoples and women. To achieve such equality, we support affirmative action with verifiable quotas and reject the Reaganite attempt to split and divert working people using racism and male supremacy.

These concepts are firmly grounded in our consistent class approach, our scientific theory and our history of struggle.

The formation of the Communist Party USA had become necessary in 1919 because the Socialist Party leadership had moved away from upholding the leading role of the working class and from recognizing that the working class can only move ahead through sharp struggle against the capitalist class.

The great strike struggles to organize packing-house workers and steelworkers, led by William Z. Foster, were part of the process of our birth. We have participated in and wholeheartedly supported every major struggle of our working class and labor movement since then, and have often played an initiating role. These include the Passaic, Gastonia and other struggles in the textile and coal industries in the 1920s; the great battles of the unemployed for relief and jobs; the campaigns to win basic labor legislation and to organize the mass production industries; the historic San Francisco General Strike; the railroad, coal, steel, auto and electrical strikes in the postwar years; the current struggles for jobs and security, exemplified in the AFL-CIO Solidarity Day demonstration of September 19, 1981, and the struggles of Greyhound workers, copper miners, hospital workers, and many others.

Our present contributions for equality and democracy are built on the shoulders of past struggles to organize tenant farmers, voter leagues and tobacco workers in the South, for fair employment practices, voting rights and desegregation in practice and in

law, against racist frameups and violence in the Angelo Herndon, Scottsboro, Trenton Six, Willie McGee, Angela Davis cases and the recent Eddie Carthan case, and in the fight for Black representation exemplified in the New York City Council victory of communist leader Benjamin J. Davis and the presence of such Black leaders as James W. Ford, Charlene Mitchell, Jarvis Tyner and Angela Davis on our presidential tickets since 1932.

We supported and participated in the Montgomery bus boycott, the sit-ins, Freedom Rides, the youth marches and the 1963 and 1983 marches for peace, jobs and freedom, and the struggles for affirmative action.

Sixty years ago, in 1924, the Communist Party launched the first English-language Marxist daily, the *Daily Worker* (now the *Daily World*). In that year, William Z. Foster became the first communist candidate for President. That year also saw the initiation of the first English-language Marxist book publishing house, International Publishers, and the publication of the first translations into English of Lenin's writings.

These were serious efforts to reach the working people of our country with the message of peace, equality and socialism despite the Palmer Raids and other anti-communist persecution the party had suffered in its early years and the difficult conditions it still confronted.

This was also the period in which the unity and cohesion of the party as a working class organization were strengthened by the replacement of nationality federations with a territorial and shop structure, and the time of the first efforts at concentration on workers in basic industry.

Undoubtedly, what enables the Communist Party to make its unique contribution in the fight to defeat Reagan and Reaganism is our 65-year history as a working class political party, basing our analysis on the science of Marxism-Leninism.

Today our election campaign is reaching tens of millions with the most telling exposure of Reagan and with compelling arguments why people should vote, and vote to defeat the Reaganites. We show that there are real alternatives to Reaganism on the issues.

An anniversary is a time to learn from the history of struggle, to draw useful conclusions for today's battles. It is a time for renewed dedication to the central task of today — developing the unity and activity of the all-people's front to defeat the Reaganites and save humanity from the grave risk of nuclear war.

It is a time to rededicate oneself to the struggle for an anti-monopoly people's coalition, party and government and to a socialist USA. It is a time to strengthen efforts to build the Marxist press, the Young Communist League and the Communist Party USA as indispensable class instruments in the struggle for social progress by the working class and people of our country.

*Daily World*,  
September 6, 1984

# The Communist Party of Chile on its Attitude to the Armed Forces

## Answers by CPC Leaders to Questions from the Chilean and Foreign Media

*Q. Does the Communist Party of Chile consider talks with the armed force possible? If so, why; if not, why not?*

A. We would say that a dialogue with the armed forces is desirable. It could spare our country and our people many troubles. This dialogue between the military and the democratic forces, including the communists, is opposed by Pinochet and his accomplices among the military, such as Guillard or Gordon, and their counterparts among civilians, such as Jarpa, Rodriguez, Fernandez or Guzman.

It follows that the dialogue would become possible only if the armed forces got rid of the Pinochet tyranny. Whether this comes about depends primarily on a frontal fight against the dictatorship. This fight alone would enable members of the armed forces to express the patriotic sentiments that are clearly cherished by many of them.

If the dialogue were made impossible and the conflict intensified all over the country it would not be our fault. It would happen because military men not holding fascist views would have proved unable to revise their position and overcome the obstinacy of the dictator, who is set on carrying his internal war against the people as far as massacres.

*Q. How does the CPC visualize eventual talks?*

A. You say "talks." Yet there must first be a dialogue aimed at speedily restoring a democratic regime that would ensure unfailing respect for human rights and the formation of a majority government. All this would have to be done with a view to removing the effects of the grave domestic crisis brought on by the dictatorship and to restoring the national character of the armed forces, which could only be imparted to them on the basis of a new military doctrine and the democratization of military institutions.

*Q. How would the CPC proceed if the armed forces took an unacceptable stand in the course of eventual talks, as by ruling out the possibility of a political defeat (assuming that a strategy of confrontation was rejected at the talks) and reserving the right of veto in regard to the transition period and to guarantees of a future durable democratic regime (that is, one not aspiring to increase social pressure or resort to armed confrontation in the democratic period as a means of exerting pressure in an attempt to "adjust" nascent democracy to the strategic lines particularly favorable to the Communist Party)?*

A. Your question has several aspects and we would like to deal with every one of them in as precise terms as possible.

It is obvious that the dialogue we advocate must be based on the people's interests and take account, furthermore, of the legitimate interests of truly patriotic members of the armed forces. Your words, "ruling out the possibility of a political defeat," should not be seen as a problem for that section of the military. The defeated would be Pinochet and his policy, which is not a policy of the military as a

whole but a policy of fascist military men and fascist civilians, or members of big financial capital, economic groups and transnational capital. These are Pinochet's real bosses, the civilian generals whose responsibility for the coup is as great as that of those military men who carried it out or even greater. The military are headed, in effect, for a complete political defeat because they are willing to perform the role of watchdogs of an unjust regime and the privileged sectors unacceptable to the people.

Speaking of the armed forces' "right of veto" in regard to democracy, we must state in no uncertain terms that it is nothing but the negation of democracy. Pinochet had this claim incorporated in his constitution and it is one of the reasons for the illegitimacy of that constitution. Our conception of the military doctrine implies that the members of the armed forces are and must be full-fledged citizens, that they must, like all other Chileans, participate in the creation of democratic power, which can only result from the exercise of popular sovereignty, and must submit to this power.

The idea of granting the military the right of veto is similar to the idea of the right of veto for doctors, engineers or priests. However, the government and democratic institutions generally would in some spheres consider the contribution that members of the armed forces could make to their activity. This is quite possible and necessary. Our national conference said: "We are not clinging to the idea of replacing the fascist dictatorship by a government composed exclusively of civilians. Should it become possible to form a popular, national, anti-fascist, anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic government without excluding anyone and involving the military, we would vote for such a government."

There is also the question of "guarantees of a future durable democratic regime." Can today's armed forces guarantee this? This guarantee would be provided primarily by the working class and the people as a whole, by their organization and active participation in democratic life, as well as by the existence of democratized armed forces rid of putschist and fascist elements.

Agreements should ensure that September 11 does not recur ever again. A commitment in this sense must be made by the armed forces and the political parties which were involved in the coup.

Concerning a veto on an aspiration "to increase social pressure," may we ask by what authority, on whose behalf and in whose interests would the armed forces want to tie the working people's hands so as to prevent them from exerting social pressure? Pinochet has been ruling the country for 11 years now and the results of his rule — hunger and poverty — are there for all to see. We will always defend the vital interests of the working people; only on their basis and in their defense, and only with the aim of

bringing about a real democratic regime, can we accept a social contract between the working people and a democratic government.

With regard to the idea of resorting to "armed confrontation in the democratic period as a means of exerting pressure in an attempt to 'adjust' nascent democracy to strategic lines, particularly favorable to the Communist Party," we must say that it is prejudiced and absurd. The people have never used armed force anywhere, except when they were compelled to resist reactionary violence against them. Chile's experience is a case in point. We have come to the conclusion that every form of struggle must be used for overthrowing Pinochet because the dictatorship itself compels us to do so. It is not we who impose violent forms; they depend on the attitude of the fascist regime and will depend to a considerable extent on the future role of the armed forces. But it is evident that under a democratic regime, with the Communist Party having the same rights and duties as other political parties, the forms of struggle would be adequate to the regime.

*Q. The Communist Party maintains that no contradictions should arise between civilians and the military. What is, then, its idea of these military? Does the CPC see them as the totality of today's armed forces, as the present armed forces minus their commanders or what?*

A. Obviously, we do not mean the totality of present-day members of the armed forces. After all, Pinochet is one of those wearing the army uniform. We reject Pinochet emphatically and completely, not because he is a general, but because he is a dictator and a fascist. This antagonism is equally strong in regard to Jarpa, Rodriguez and others who are fascists without being military men.

Today's armed forces must undergo deep-going changes. We have already said so. Chile has suffered damage as a country and its people are hard hit by the official national security doctrine imposed on the country. This must be ended. Besides, it is necessary to liquidate the National Information Center and disband the officers, sergeants and privates serving in this repressive agency. This is in the interests of the people and the armed forces themselves.

It is an essential aspect of proper relations between civilians and the military as well as of a corresponding democratization of military institutions to work out and adopt a doctrine of democratic national defense. Fascism's advocates present our demand for democratization as an attempt to abolish the military hierarchy, military discipline, and so on. That is a caricature, or rather a device intended for simpletons. Democratization has nothing to do with allegations of that sort; on the contrary, it implies access to a military career without economic (e.g. costs), social or ideological (patronage) discrimination, with members of the armed forces enjoying the right to hold the views they choose as well as the right to join in civilian activities without detriment to the military hierarchy and without renouncing their military duties. Democratization implies the establishment of proper relations between military institutions and democratic government bodies in the two-fold sense of taking account of the contribution of the military to the fulfillment of the major

tasks facing the country and ensuring democratic control over military institutions. Every serviceman must have the right to apply to civilian agencies, such as Congress, whenever he wishes to make a demand or dispute a decision which he considers unfair. All this is part of our concept of how to avoid antagonisms between civilians and the military.

*Q. As there are to be no contradictions between civilians and the military, does that imply that what is meant by "the military" is the armed forces, which must be "purged"? What would such a purge be like?*

A. A purge should be seen exactly as we have described it: butchers, murderers and fascists must not belong to the armed forces. We believe a purge should be the responsibility of the democratic forces and the military themselves, who would thus ensure the protection of national interests and the military institutions themselves.

Alberto Gamboa, a journalist, published in the weekly *Hoy* and in book form a detailed account of his experiences in concentration camps. This drew a protest from Carvajal, a cabinet minister and one of the initiators of the conspiracy "in defense of the honor of the armed forces." In what way is the honor of the armed forces affected? Would it be the publication of facts (which are far more numerous than those published in Chile)? Or perhaps the fact that the men guilty of those atrocious crimes are among the military or are continuing outside their ranks to exercise power, as is the case with Contreras, for one? The lawsuit against *Hoy* may boomerang very strongly, for there are thousands of survivors who could supply appalling evidence of the brutality shown in those years. If there is a desire to restore the honor of the military let those who have tarnished it be forbidden to wear the uniform.

*Q. Does the Communist Party consider that a purge would be a natural procedure in the form of retirement? Or does it favor an imposed, forcible purge? If the party favors a natural purge does it believe that in that case the problem would take much longer to solve than the five years remaining till 1989?*

A. Corruption in military institutions would be ended with the overthrow of the dictatorship. As long as Pinochet stays in power, the situation will not improve but deteriorate. The method of retiring army officers would affect democratic-minded servicemen and make for a greater concentration of fascists and those who submit unquestioningly to their will. To imagine that developments would take a different turn is a delusion. You have only to look into the situation in the Air Force to satisfy yourself of this.

With the dictatorship down, crimes and scandals would surface by themselves. Bona fide members of the armed forces would refuse to tolerate in their ranks those who have discredited themselves by disgraceful deeds. The new military command to be appointed by the new democratic regime would have to take, together with the government, steps to stop corruption in the armed forces. Those who deserve to be prosecuted would be put on trial while others would simply be retired from the armed forces. This process could not and should not be dragged out. Otherwise it would merely add to confusion among bona fide servicemen. Everyone knows well how he



behaved. We believe the voluntary resignation of many military leaders who have compromised themselves by links with fascism, a resignation making room for those with whom a dialogue could be started, should be regarded as a notable extenuating circumstance in appraising their past conduct. Chile wants this process to begin now, with Pinochet's resignation. This would be the most natural event and could only be a result of struggle.

*Q. If you are in favor of a forcible purge does the CPC agree that that prospect implies a strategy of confrontation with the armed forces? Does the Communist Party consider that strategy a condition for victory? Do you believe you could win if it came to a confrontation?*

*A.* Let us specify. *First of all*, what you call a "forcible purge" is the only way since corruption will not stop as long as the fascists are in command. *Second*, we are not spoiling for a showdown with the armed forces. *Third*, we are not retreating and will never retreat in the fight against fascism, which we are carrying on together with our people.

Our national conference declared: "The Communist Party of Chile holds that the armed forces are not and cannot be impervious or indifferent to the deep crisis which the country is going through, any more than to the nation's demand that the dictator go, in order that Chile may revert to democracy. They must reckon with the fact that the people are demanding a solution now and that very large anti-fascist and non-fascist sectors — civilians and servicemen alike — show readiness to come to terms in this respect. It is only with Pinochet and his clique that no agreement is possible. The duty of the armed forces is to help the people solve this problem. Unless they do so servicemen will also have to take the blame for provoking a showdown between themselves and the people. And while the people will achieve victory in any case, sooner or later, it would be better for Chile to avoid such a showdown and effect changes immediately and not at a later date."

This is our position. Social processes are not easy to forecast but the people always have the last word. If non-fascists fail to prevent Pinochet and the fascist elements from using the armed forces as a means of holding on to power, it is most likely that the armed forces will be drawn increasingly into a conflict with their own people, in which case the people are bound to gain the upper hand, and it may well be that many members of the armed forces will contribute to the people's victory.

*Q. Is the alternative of keeping the road to insurrection and/or confrontation open to be considered within the framework of that eventuality?*

*A.* No. The policy of a mass popular uprising is not a synonym for armed confrontation. It reflects the people's right to refuse submission to arbitrary rule and unjust norms imposed by force, to fight for their rights, defeat attempts to shackle them, and use every workable method, either peaceful or forcible, in order to cast off oppression. This right, which we have proclaimed, is recognized as legitimate by every humanitarian doctrine, including Christianity, and has actually been recognized by political leaders and the clergy. Those who question the legality of proclaiming the right to revolt and its exercise must prove that there is a different road to democracy

under a fascist regime. Each time some naive person or some demagogue says so, Pinochet makes a point of refuting him. It is certain that for as long as the armed forces refuse to change their attitude and continue barring the road to democracy, we will defend this right, doing it consistently.

*Q. A purge in the armed forces would involve the problem of justice. What would justice be like in that case? Who would have to administer it? Against whom? In what circumstances?*

*A.* To end fascist corruption is a patriotic objective. Anyone who wants to achieve it must ascertain the fate of the arrested and missing as well as the circumstances of all the crimes committed by the tyranny. There is no re-establishing the national and democratic character of the armed forces even to a minimum degree until this aim is achieved. In a few days it will be 10 years since the assassination of General Carlos Prats and his wife. Those responsible for this heinous crime are still in the armed forces or enjoy privileges, all of which is corroding that institution and will go on corroding it until the problem is solved and the culprits are punished.

In raising this question, we are not at all prompted by a desire for revenge. However, we declare frankly that unless justice prevails acts of vengeance will inevitably follow and no one will have a right to condemn them under the circumstances. We consider that justice should be administered discriminatingly, with due regard to the nature of the crimes; it should be directed primarily against those who bear the chief responsibility for offences classed as crimes against humanity and laid down in precise terms in international laws, and should fully guarantee the right of the accused to defense with due regard to all mitigating circumstances. Our stand on this issue was stated at our national conference. "This is necessary," we said, "in order that the country, and more particularly its youth, may know to what extremes of abuse and criminality a fascist dictatorship goes and may immunize themselves, so to speak, against this scourge."

Mid-September 1984

## **The Working Class and the Trade Unions in the USSR**

**E. Vittenberg**

**Paper 316 pp \$4.50**

**PROGRESS BOOKS**

**71 Bathurst St.**

**Toronto, Ont. M5V 2P6**

# We Welcome the Thousands of New Party Recruits! Our Country Needs More Communists!

## Statement by the Presidium of the German Communist Party Board

The ranks of the German Communist Party (DKP) have been enlarged by several thousand young people. We welcome these young people, who have found their way to the revolutionary Marxist workers' party of the FRG. To those who contributed to this impressive success of the campaign to recruit young people to the party, we express our gratitude. Special note should be made of the contribution of the Marxist youth organizations — the German Socialist Young Workers and the Spartakus Marxist Union of Students.

We say to our new comrades: you have joined a party which fights selflessly for the working people and their youth, for peace, social security and justice, for democracy and socialism. You have joined the ranks of a combatant community guided by the ideas of Karl Marx, Frederick Engels and Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, which are transforming the world, a community that is active throughout the globe.

The struggle for peace and jobs is today the focus of DKP policy, which is why our people's interests necessitate an intensification of the working class movement. By joining the party of the working class, the new DKP members have made a consistent personal contribution to this. Our people's interests call for joint actions of the peace movement

and the working class movement. Your decision helps the DKP to develop this process. The worldwide struggle against imperialism demands that our people, too, strengthen international solidarity. You have made a decisive step in this direction for you have joined a party of proletarian internationalism.

We all know that our country needs more communists — at the enterprises and in the schools, in the training workshops and democratic organizations. That is why the DKP's Nuremberg congress made a Thalmann appeal to the party, calling for a strengthening of its ranks and its newspaper *Unsere Zeit*. Every DKP member should receive through *UZ* the information necessary for his or her daily party work and participation in discussions, and must promote the broader circulation of this the only socialist workers' newspaper in the Federal Republic.

We are approaching the autumn campaign for peace and jobs. We are sure that these actions will make us stronger. We know that with every new DKP member the party's influence and attraction will increase for the good of the working people and their youth.

*Unsere Zeit*,  
September 22, 1984

---

## Greece: Serving the Working People

Speech by Charilaos Florakis, CC General Secretary, Communist Party of Greece, at a mass rally to mark the 10th anniversary of the legal publication of the newspaper *Rizospastis*.

Dear comrades and esteemed guests,

The initiative to mark the 10th anniversary of the resumption of the legal publication of the newspaper *Rizospastis* not merely as a festival but as a full *Rizospastis* Week has justified itself.

The reports and debates of the past four days have given a picture of the long road travelled by our newspaper, and brought out the weaknesses and difficulties that we have to overcome. This concerns all of us, and in the first place those comrades who devoted all their energy to working on *Rizospastis*. I am sure that the mastering of the experience and also an account of the critical remarks made during this week and also the new creative initiatives will render considerable assistance to *Rizospastis* and its staff and enable them to carry out more efficiently than ever the important and difficult mission assigned to them by the party.

Dear comrades, the conclusion that during these 10 years *Rizospastis* has been on the ascendant stated by us and unanimously confirmed in the debates held during these days is unquestionably correct.

Our party and all who work on *Rizospastis* can take pride in the fact that also in this new period of its long

life our newspaper continued to abide by the great revolutionary-democratic traditions and remains worthy of its heroic history, which it is enriching by its work in the new conditions of our movement's struggles.

Local and foreign reaction tried to compel our party into silence and drown the voice of *Rizospastis* by means of innumerable bans, the vandalization of the newspaper's premises, arrests, exile, and assassination of its editors and contributors.

Reaction has failed to achieve its aims. Like a new Proteus,\* *Rizospastis* has not disappeared. It has only changed its shape, each time reinforcing its militant and educational work.

Such was the case also after the downfall of the junta. In the new political situation, working tirelessly together with tested senior comrades, young comrades, men and women, who at first did not have sufficient experience, have created a new *Rizospastis*.

---

\*A sea deity in Greek mythology capable of assuming different shapes. — Ed.

We had to overcome considerable obstacles and difficulties. But thanks to the assistance of the entire party and thanks to the all-embracing and moving backing of our friends and supporters the newspaper has been able to take the correct road and cope with its tasks. Recall Lenin's famous words that the newspaper of the revolutionary party of the working class has to be a propagandist, agitator, and organizer of the people.

Communist journalism has nothing in common with bourgeois sensation-mongering, irresponsibility and ballyhoo, which, possibly, excite the imagination but divert the working people from their class interests, from the social struggle aimed at fundamentally improving their life and raising their cultural level.

Essential elements of communist journalism are its fidelity to the party's principles, its popularity, its scientific character and its clarity.

Our journalism must strive to state objectively the interests of the forces of social progress, and this means the historical truth as well. It must anticipate developments and intervene in them.

In promoting this type of journalism *Rizospastis* has been, in this new period as well, a sort of bell awakening the consciousness.

It was this newspaper that helped our working class to become a class for itself, i.e., to become aware of its historic mission as the only class capable of leading the people out of the capitalist chaos onto the road of socialist regeneration.

Throughout these 10 years *Rizospastis* has been a significant factor uniting the party's forces and furthering the growth of its influence.

It has helped to unite under the party's banner older militants who had been led astray, in particular, by the divisive actions of the revisionists; helped the party to win influence in the trade unions and other fronts of the struggle; helped to promote the progressive women's movement and to improve the work of the Young Communists of Greece among young people, developing the revolutionary traditions of the former Communist Youth Organization of Greece, EPON (the anti-fascist organization of the war years and immediate postwar period. — *Ed.*), the Lambrakis Democratic Youth, and the Polytechnical School (during the fascist dictatorship of 1967-1974. — *Ed.*).

There has not been a single action of the workers, office employees, peasants, women and young people that has not been supported by *Rizospastis*, in keeping with traditions and with the imperatives of the moment. *Rizospastis* has made a big contribution to much of what they have achieved.

The fight that *Rizospastis* has put up for higher wages, against the claims of the extreme right-wing forces, against anti-Sovietism, for peace and our national independence, against pollution and destruction of the environment, for an anti-imperialist and anti-monopoly way out of the economic crisis, and for a genuine change in our country has enhanced the newspaper's prestige, enlarged its readership, brought it a bigger circulation, and helped to increase the influence enjoyed by the party.

Whereas for progressive forces, for conscious

working people *Rizospastis* is a faithful comrade, friend, and champion; for reaction, for the ruling class, it is an object of attack.

This could not be otherwise.

The charges made by reaction against our newspaper are known. It is falsely accused with being anti-democratic, biased, demagogically "prejudiced," and much else in the same vein.

Our allegiance to democracy stands in no need of special confirmation. This is indisputably testified to by the countless sacrifices made by our party for the people's freedom; the participation of *Rizospastis* itself in the struggle against the dictatorship of August 4, 1936; against the tyranny of Hitlerite fascism; against the April dictatorship;\* the consistent struggle of our party and our newspaper against arbitrary rule of all kinds, the harassment of the press, for freedom of speech. The same course is pursued by our present proposals and militant actions for the democratization of the mass media, for the right of journalists and the working people to information, for a democratic press free of interference from the state and from suffocating control by big capital.

We do not forget that in capitalist countries — and Greece is a capitalist country — the bourgeois press is a capitalist enterprise that is already now monopolistic.

In the vast majority of cases exclusively mercenary aims and the drive for profit underlie the publication of a newspaper and the printing of information. In speaking of profit, we have direct and indirect interest in mind. Direct interest consists of state subsidies and of revenues from the sale of newspapers. Indirect interest consists of the fact that a large section of the press is controlled by businessmen involved in ventures in other fields and using their political clout to obtain super-profits from their other investments.

It is not at all accidental that the overwhelming majority of newspapers in our country are controlled by five groups which are smothering the notorious pluralism in information.

We are by no means putting all the other newspapers in the same bracket, fitting them into one and the same pattern. But when we speak of "objectivity", "pluralism" and "neutrality" in the press, we must say that every newspaper, every publication has a specific class political orientation. The press does not have its head in the clouds. It exists and functions in a society characterized by political and class contradictions, an intensive class struggle, and a clash between opposing, incompatible interests.

Newspapers report and comment on events and situations that influence the life of the people and the country's development, and they do this from definite positions. One way or another, directly or indirectly, and to one extent or another, the press reflects and expresses the class differences and political trends existing and coming into conflict in our society.

Consequently, all the talk about "objectivity" and "unbiased information" has the ulterior motive of misinforming the working people. The "plural-

\*The fascist dictatorship of the colonels in 1967-1974. — *Ed.*

ism" of any newspaper ends where the specific class and political interests expressed by it are affected.

The main thing that distinguishes *Rizospastis* from other newspapers is that it neither hides nor has to hide its political face. It does not play the "aloof observer." On the contrary, it exclusively serves and has to serve the working people and their interests.

We want our *Rizospastis* to reflect the character and policy of our party with a sense of responsibility, in a simple language, in a lively manner, and compellingly, to keep the working people as fully informed as possible, and to deal with the substance of the working people's struggles, with the significance and aims of genuine change and socialism, with everything that is progressive and democratic in our society.

In this lies our objective obligation and our duty as communist journalists.

We are convinced that through its work *Rizospastis* is now, as before, rendering an incalculably great service to our people and to progress in our country and will continue to do so.

We have to keep those "shortcomings" that are laid at the door of our newspaper by the bourgeoisie and its press. In them lies our valor and what distinguishes us from the others. It is necessary constantly — as has been the case hitherto — to counter the pressure and influence of the bourgeoisie and its press and never to forget that the slander and charges of "shortcomings" aimed at *Rizospastis* from the other shore are political and ideological.

The real shortcomings of *Rizospastis* do not worry these accusers. They would like us to have many such shortcomings. They are disturbed by the newspaper's very existence and its revolutionary character. Had *Rizospastis* begun to tilt toward the Establishment, all the charges and slander against it would have been dropped at once.

But, comrades, while rejecting the slander of those who invent it with reference to non-existent shortcomings, we should not slide into complacency.

All the positive work accomplished by our newspaper in the course of 10 years should not blind us to actual miscalculations and weaknesses in our work. Life does not stand still — requirements widen and the demands made of quality are becoming stricter. We have no possibility of taking a breather after every step forward. On the contrary, each forward movement places us before new and higher requirements and demands.

This fact becomes clearer than ever now when clouds are gathering on the international horizon, when internal development is growing more complicated and the people's problems are growing more acute, and when the tasks and responsibility of our party are growing heavier and more difficult in the question of carrying out real changes in the country's life.

We have long ago indicated the danger that is being created to world peace by the aggressiveness of U.S. imperialism and of some of its allies. The international situation is steadily growing more disturbing and dangerous. Without going into details, let me emphasize that this general aggressive-

ness of U.S.-led imperialism is surfacing in all areas of socio-political and economic life.

The revaluation of the dollar, which cannot be regarded in isolation from the policy of building up armaments, is also a form of economic aggression by the USA. Despite all the efforts and constructive initiatives of the Soviet Union and the rest of the socialist community, and also of the other peace forces, the ceaseless escalation of the unbridled arms race is pushing the world to a dangerous threshold. This is what explains the reaction of alarmed peoples.

It is obvious that in this situation the struggle for peace and détente is acquiring ever greater significance. In particular, this concerns countries like ours, which are situated in a troubled region that is experiencing the aggressiveness of the U.S. imperialists and NATO. They are bringing enormous pressure to bear on Greece to compel it to follow the cold war course.

On the other hand, there are difficulties in the country itself. The problems of the working people, of our national economy, and of our national life are growing more complicated and acute.

We have said on several occasions that the government is unable to solve these problems because instead of pursuing a policy of changes it is constantly retreating, adjusting itself to the interests of the Establishment. In our view, it is this policy of retreat and concessions of the government that feeds the appetite of foreign circles and the right-wing forces.

With the total support of foreign states, the right-wing forces and their new leaders are stepping up their offensive, looking for ways of returning to power, of returning to the past. The "liberal" and "centrist" maneuvers of the New Democracy Party's new leadership should deceive nobody. By means of these maneuvers the right-wing forces are attempting to look more attractive to the vacillating segment of the voters while preserving, as the above-mentioned party's program and statements make clear, their true unseemly image of proponents of subservience to foreign states, of authoritarianism, of total freedom of action for the oligarchy, and of the one-sided policy of "austerity" at the expense of the people.

The vows of fidelity to private business, NATO, and the USA, repeated by the New Democracy's new leaders, their attacks against the public sector leave no doubt that they seek continuity in the policies of the right-wing forces, who keep abiding by their old anti-people attitudes and even intend to play a more aggressive role.

We have made it clear that the present government policy cannot ensure an effective rebuff to this right-wing onslaught conducted in parallel with the offensive by industrialists and foreign circles. Much less will it be halted by confrontation on questions of the past or an argument over who represents the so-called "centrist strata" and is the actual heir of the former Center Union Party.

This area of political struggle is a realm of the Establishment and is fraught with the threat of rolling back all political life.

To us it is obvious that the right-wing forces can

only be effectively repulsed from a position of change, by carrying out changes and pursuing a policy of changes.

It is evident that in this difficult and grim international and national situation there is a growing need for militant political actions by the party as a whole and by *Rizospastis* in particular.

A large number of working people get their information about our party by reading *Rizospastis* and by their contacts with it.

Like a mirror our newspaper reflects the day-to-day life of the Communist Party of Greece. But it does this actively. And this is exactly how we understand the great role of the newspaper. It is vital that it should reflect our policy, our views, our image more accurately and, at the same time, as much more creatively as possible.

For that very reason we should not only work hard to surmount our shortcomings and weaknesses but do everything to help our newspaper to be constantly in step with developments, with the new requirements generated by life and our policy.

Judging by what I have heard and learned, many constructive remarks and considerations meriting the closest attention have been articulated during the past four days. It was quite rightly said that our reports, particularly our articles, are often long and hard to understand. In individual cases the manner of presenting our viewpoint impoverishes our policy, its rich content. Sometimes even the basic thing that should be stressed is lost.

There are times when we lag behind developments, act belatedly or advance unsubstantiated and hasty judgments, reply with inadequate skill, and do not always maintain the needed tone.

Moreover, we have not rid ourselves of stereotypes and formalism yet. Our notes and reports are not always distinguished by attractiveness, wealth and freshness of language, and the accuracy and clarity of enunciation which must be our hallmarks. Of course, *Rizospastis* has improved immensely. But we still have problems that must be resolved. For instance, more journalists, contributors and readers must be enlisted into the making of the newspaper. We should consider the question of photographs, of the correlation and layout of material, of make-up, of more catchy headlines, of selecting more suitable letters and type, especially for the main articles, and so forth.

As I see it, these questions are being raised by life, if you like, by the development of our party and its role in political affairs, by the development of *Rizospastis* itself.

Of course, the improvement of *Rizospastis* is a matter that concerns the whole party, its Central Committee and Political Bureau. But, it goes without saying, a large portion of the responsibility devolves on our comrades working on the newspaper itself.

It is undisputable that by your dedicated efforts you, dear comrades, who are working on *Rizospastis*, have achieved remarkable successes, turning our newspaper into a modern and irreplaceable political weapon of the party.

But *Rizospastis* is functioning under constant fire from the enemy in an important and responsible

sector of the struggle; we therefore cannot rest content with what has been achieved and must be more exacting to ourselves.

Tireless efforts to raise the ideological and theoretical level of editors and all other staff members of the newspaper and a better knowledge and creative popularization of the party's policy are what, in our opinion, comprise a solid and dependable basis for carrying out the important and honorable tasks confronting *Rizospastis*.

Red tape must be fought constantly. Editors should be more attentive and they should not be tempted into adopting the methods of bourgeois journalism.

May the spirit of collectivism and responsibility develop in the newspaper — that is the guarantee against the vices of individualism.

May the work of the party organization improve steadily, may party discipline be strengthened, and may higher demands be made of rank and file members and leaders, of all the journalists working on our newspaper. While being more exacting we should help our comrades who are swamped with work and we should show a concern to have reserves.

The remuneration received by the editors and other staff members of *Rizospastis* is not big, nor is that of all our functionaries in other sectors of party work, but they experience a great moral satisfaction, which cannot be bought for money and which is unknown to bourgeois newsmen.

Selflessly serving the people, staff members of *Rizospastis* have the possibility of writing the whole truth, to champion the interests and rights of workers, and speak of the sufferings of the oppressed and disinherited.

The features distinguishing the communist journalist exist not only in theory: they have been created and borne out by our newspaper's history, which bears the imprint of our sacrifices, including such unforgettable comrades from *Rizospastis* as Takis Fitsios, Mitsos Maroukakis, Kostas Vidalis, and dozens of other newspaper activists.

Comrades and friends, we are optimistic about the future: *Rizospastis* has done a good job during the past 10 years, and in the future, with the help of all of us, it will do an even better job.

But for this we have to increase our newspaper's circulation constantly, carry our party's words to more factories, to an ever-growing number of working people's homes, and win more readers every day.

In conclusion I should like to take this opportunity to appeal to journalists with progressive and democratic views, regardless of their party affiliation (including those who do not belong to any party), to all journalists who are patriots and cherish peace, national independence and détente, to write the truth about the deadly threat of a thermonuclear war, to contribute to turning the Balkan peninsula and the Mediterranean into nuclear-free zones, and work for the triumph of peace and international cooperation throughout the world. There is no more honorable, more humane and more sacred duty than to safeguard world peace.

*Rizospastis*,  
September 30, 1984



## The Great Force of Great Ideas 120th Anniversary of the First International

Vadim Zagladin

September 28, 1864. London's St. Martin's Hall is packed to overflowing. There are British, French, German, Italian and other workers there . . .

A British proletarian, Odger, reads out a letter which his comrades sent to their class brothers in Paris a year ago: "Let us call our congresses and discuss the questions on which international peace depends . . . Let us be brothers! Let us establish close links with all people who want peace, industrial development, and the freedom and happiness of humanity all over the world."

A Parisian turner, Tolin, is at the podium. He holds the French workers' reply to their British colleagues: "Workers of all countries, anxious to be free! . . . Driven by the exigencies of the epoch and by the force of things, capital is concentrating and organizing into powerful financial and industrial associations . . . We must unite so as to place insurmountable barriers in the way of this baneful system . . ."

Approval of these ideas was unanimous. The assembly resolved to establish an International Working Men's Association. It elected an Interim Committee to draw up its program and charter. Among the Committee members was a representative of the German workers, a man who was already well known to the world of labor as a consistent and uncompromising exponent of its interests: Karl Marx.

The founding of the International Working Men's Association, the First International, made it quite clear that the vanguard of the international proletariat was mature enough to begin an active struggle for the working class cause. It now had to be tempered and armed and prepared for the battle ahead.

Karl Marx addressed himself to this task in the energetic manner typical of him. He drafted the Association's Inaugural Address and the essential points of its Charter. By that time, Marx and Engels were quite clear on what the working class needed so as to be able to accomplish its historical mission. "... Numbers," Marx wrote, "weigh only in the balance, if united by combination and led by knowledge" (Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Volume Two, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1969, p. 17). This meant that what was primarily required was a proletarian party, a party that would join the labor movement with knowledge — with a scientific revolutionary theory.

Bourgeois and reformist "Marxologists" have been straining every nerve to prove that the idea of creating a militant revolutionary party was alien to Marx and that this idea is well-nigh contrary to "authentic" Marxism! In actual fact, it was Marx

and, together with him, Engels, his loyal companion, who was the originator of this idea, and, what is more, the organizer and teacher of the early proletarian revolutionary parties, which joined Marxism, scientific socialism with the labor movement.

But it was not at all a simple matter to achieve such a combination and to forge a hard alloy of scientific socialism and the struggle of the proletarian masses. For, in spite of the certain degree of maturity achieved by its vanguard, the labor movement of the 1860s was on the whole still weak and fragmentary. Much of it still embraced all kinds of petty-bourgeois and even bourgeois views. The ideas of utopian socialism intermixed with anarchist leftist views. "It was very difficult," Marx wrote, "to frame the thing so that our view should appear in a form acceptable from the present standpoint of the workers movement . . . It will take time before the re-awakened movement allows the old boldness of speech" (Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1965, p. 149). It is necessary, Marx went on to say, to be stronger in deed and more moderate in form.

"Stronger in deed." These words should be noted first of all. To be stronger in deed means consistently to put into practice the tried and tested principles of revolutionary theory and to be unswervingly loyal to its principles. Far from compelling Marxist-Leninists to oversimplify and vulgarize their theory and renounce some of its propositions, the complexity of the social composition of the labor movement and the mosaic and contradictory nature of the views of its particular contingents should induce them to work hard to bring the totality of its ideas home to the masses in a proper and intelligible form. When it grips the minds of the masses, the theory of Marxism-Leninism becomes a great, unvanquishable force of the fundamental social remaking of society.

The First International was a striking example of the practical realization of the ideas of scientific communism. As Lenin wrote, it "laid the foundation of an international organization of the workers for the preparation of their revolutionary attack on capital" (V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1965, p. 306).

In the history of the International a great deal now belongs to the past, reflecting the experience, one that is invaluable for us, of the first steps of the organized working class movement. But in the Association's activity there was much that remains quite pertinent in our day as well. This applies primarily to the idea that its very name embodies: *International*.

"It is one of the great purposes of the Association," Marx pointed out, "to help the workmen of different countries not only *feel* but *act* as brethren and comrades in the army of emancipation" (Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Volume Two, p. 78). It can certainly be said without exaggeration that the elaboration of the ideological principles of international proletarian brotherhood, on the one hand, and the application of these principles in the course of the daily struggle of the working class of different countries, on the other, were the dominant features of the activity of Marx and Engels in the First International. *Proletarian internationalism* has been the chief legacy of the International Working Men's Association for the communists of all subsequent generations and is its main behest for us, the communists of the late 20th century.

It is well known that in our time the opponents of Marxism seek to "prove" that internationalism is something artificial, introduced into the working class movement from outside by "ill-intentioned Marxists." Accordingly, they conclude that the sooner the working class movement gives up internationalism, the better it will be for this movement itself and for humanity as a whole.

But this conclusion is as false as the premise on which it is based. In reality, proletarian internationalism is not a figment of someone's imagination, not a product of either theoretical fantasy or subjective political will. *Proletarian internationalism is an objective phenomenon reflecting in the sphere of ideology and politics the very essence of the working class and the workers' movement.*

The ideology of proletarian internationalism is strongly opposed to the nationalistic, chauvinist ideology of the bourgeoisie that "substantiates" the disunity of the working people of different countries and different nationalities. Marx noted that the bourgeoisie knows "that this scission is the true secret of maintaining its power" (Ibid., p. 176).

Accordingly, the *policy* of proletarian internationalism is a policy of ensuring the solidarity of the working class movement of all countries. "Citizens," Marx said in 1872, "let us think of the fundamental principle of the International, solidarity! It is by establishing this vivifying principle on a strong basis, among all the working people of all countries, that we shall achieve the great goal we have set ourselves" (Ibid., p. 293).

In our day the content of proletarian internationalism is, on the one hand, the strengthening solidarity of communists and all contingents of the working class movement, including the peoples of the socialist countries and the working class of the non-socialist world, and, on the other, the solidarity of the international working class movement with all fighters against imperialism.

The negation of the need for proletarian internationalism in our day that is sometimes encountered is tantamount to downgrading or even denying the historical role of the working class and the workers' movement. Actually the argument over the fate of proletarian internationalism is a part of the argument over whether or not the modern working class movement retains its role and whether or

not the proposition of Marx, Engels and Lenin on the historical mission of the working class remains valid. It is precisely for this reason that all those who are loyal to the ideas of scientific communism and to the ideals of the proletarian movement cannot accept the thesis that proletarian internationalism has lost its historical role and its right to exist.

Moreover, the role and importance of both the ideology and policy of internationalism are increasing greatly today. A number of factors account for this, but the most important is the mounting war danger — the threat of nuclear war. To avert this danger and prevent war is a truly worldwide, international task. And, as the main productive force of our epoch and the principal bearer of social progress, the working class is called upon to make a determinant contribution to its accomplishment.

In the documents written in the years of the First International Marx explained with typical profundity the essence of international relations as a specific form of production relations and at the same time a major element of the superstructure of each formation. Analyzing capitalism's foreign policy and international relations, he showed that they were in fact a specific form of class oppression. As we mark the 120th anniversary of the International Working Men's Association, it should be recalled that it was in the Inaugural Address of the Association that Marx formulated the conclusion that bourgeois foreign policy "in pursuit of criminal designs, plays upon national prejudices and squanders in piratical wars the people's blood and treasure" (Ibid., p. 18).

This foreign policy can be radically changed and turned into a truly democratic and peaceable policy only as a result of the replacement of the rule of capital by the rule of labor. However, even before that the working masses, especially the working class, can effectively influence the ruling circles' international activities. Marx said that in order to do this the working class must "master themselves the mysteries of international politics, to watch the diplomatic acts of their respective governments, to counteract them, if necessary, by all means in their power" (Ibid.). And Marx gave a concrete example of the effectiveness of such counteraction: "It was not the wisdom of the ruling classes, but the heroic resistance to their criminal folly by the working class of England that saved the West of Europe from plunging headlong into an infamous crusade for the perpetuation and propagation of slavery on the other side of the Atlantic" (Ibid.).

A crusade is again threatening humanity today. But this time it comes not from the Old World to the New but from across the Atlantic to Europe and the other continents. It is the imperialist crusade against socialism and all forces of democracy and progress. And it is fraught with the danger not only of the propagation of monopoly, transnational slavery but also of an outbreak of a nuclear-missile war, which would have disastrous consequences. In these conditions adherence to the traditions of the First International, the traditions of resolute struggle against war and of the internationalist unity of all the working class forces to prevent war, is really extremely important. Any deviation from these traditions is

bound to harm the cause of peace and the very people who have embarked on that path.

The First International called on the workers "to make the simple laws of morals and justice which ought to govern the relations between individuals the supreme laws of relations between nations as well. The fight for such a foreign policy forms part of the general struggle to liberate the working class."

In our day this conclusion is implemented in the foreign policy of socialist countries. The Great October Socialist Revolution and then the other socialist revolutions were victorious because, among other things, they raised aloft the banner of peace between nations. And today, overcoming imperialism's stubborn resistance, socialist diplomacy is working hard for the triumph of the laws of true morality and justice in the international arena.

The peoples' struggle fully to establish these laws in international relations is led by the working class movement's combatant vanguard, which is equip-

ped with Marxist-Leninist theory and committed to the ideas of internationalist solidarity. It is the communists, whose role in today's anti-war movement is enormous. But their great responsibility as a conscious force of social progress necessitates still greater efforts and even more effective internationalist coordination of actions.

"It is unforgettable, it will remain forever in the history of the workers' struggle for their emancipation," Lenin wrote about the First International (V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 240). Although it was founded 120 years ago, its great behests — adherence to the ideas of scientific socialism, internationalist unity of all the forces of the proletariat and its allies and tireless struggle against the oppressive and aggressive policy of the old world rulers — are still alive today. They are a guiding star for all who fight for people's right to peace and a free and happy life.

*Pravda*, September 27, 1984

## On the Question of U.S.-Polish Relations

### Trybuna Ludu Editorial

Present bilateral relations between the United States and Poland are, to put it mildly, bad. The Reagan administration has carried them to their lowest point in the past 65 years, that is, since 1919 when the two countries established diplomatic relations.

Trade between the USA and Poland has dropped sharply. Diplomatic contacts have weakened. There have been no ambassadors in the capitals of the two states for a long time. Cultural and scientific exchange and the once lively tourism have been seriously upset. The subversive U.S. radio stations broadcasting in Polish have been carrying out propaganda aggression on an unprecedented scale.

This situation has obtained long enough for one to finally understand the difference between the USA's short-lived, sometimes merely hysterical reaction to its failures in Poland and the anti-Polish course which is increasingly discernible among the circles which shape Washington's foreign policy.

This time it is not a question of verbal polemics, which can no longer bring anything new, but of elementary political and economic facts on whose basis the PPR authorities and the country's entire public must draw certain conclusions.

The Polish People's Republic is an integral part of Europe and the whole world. It is vitally interested in a return to détente and fruitful East-West dialogue, and in a curbing of the arms race. It has always been an ardent supporter of international agreements and of all realistic proposals to ease international tension. It has clearly demonstrated this in the past and is doing so firmly today.

Poland's national interests are inseparably linked with the unalterable character of the postwar territorial and political structure in Europe, that is, with a policy of peaceful coexistence, stabilization of European relations and the strengthening of universal peace. Like any other country, Poland has na-

tional and state interests that are predetermined by its history and present developments in the world. They are dictated by our unbreakable alliance with the USSR and the socialist community countries.

From the point of view of these very state interests, it is necessary for Poland to be a fully equal partner in the general processes of the development of international relations. This does not only meet Poland's interests; this is an integral factor of the stabilization of the situation in Europe and thus of the world on a broader scale. There is no prospect of success for the attempts to place Poland on the sidelines of world development.

Our relations with the developing countries have been expanding successfully. We also welcome the progress in normalizing our country's relations with many Western states and we expect them to be further expanded. This will undoubtedly serve not only bilateral mutually advantageous cooperation but also an improvement of the general political climate in Europe. In this context the United States' position in relation to Poland is becoming increasingly untenable. U.S.-Polish relations are certainly not determinant for the two countries' foreign policy. No sensible person expects that they will be of any "special" character.

The difference in the two countries' economic potential is obvious. Just as obvious are the differences in their systems. Nevertheless, this did not prevent the mutually advantageous development of bilateral relations in the past. Periods of worsened relations were always followed by periods of improved relations, but the former were not of greater duration than the periods of useful cooperation.

This time things are different. A peculiar group of "volunteers to fight against Poland" has formed in the highest echelons of the U.S. authorities. Occupying a special place are the U.S. mass media,

which are subordinated to this group. At the same time, it is difficult to name even one state leader who would have tried to counter-balance the influence of the anti-Polish lobby and look at relations with Poland in a broader perspective.

President Ronald Reagan has personally been playing an especially negative role in this drastic deterioration of bilateral relations. To the detriment of the Polish state and people, he regularly demonstrates his anti-communist "firmness." While pretending to sympathize with Poland, Reagan has done much to harm the Polish state.

For well-known historical reasons, notably because many millions of Poles have settled in North America and because the United States was on the side of our allies in the years of the Second World War, relations between Poland and the USA were characterized by a considerable degree of closeness for many decades.

The policy of the present President and an influential group in the U.S. ruling centers are daily destroying the positive aspects that formed in our bilateral relations in past years. In the past two years President Reagan has at times spoken three times a month on Polish questions. In almost every discourse he refers to the opinion of his "personal friends" in Poland. No one is claiming that he does not have such friends. These people pay for the President's generous promises by zealously and noisily playing up to the White House. It is another matter how many "Polish admirers of Reaganism" actually exist and what is their real influence on society.

Speaking on December 3, 1982, in Jastrzebieu, Wojciech Jaruzelski, Chairman of the PPR Council of Ministers, said: "The impression is that the present U.S. administration has been blinded by hatred for Poland. Of late, not a day passes without some administration official making new demands and threats against Poland." This assessment is still relevant two years later.

The Reagan administration's actions were characterized in detail in a PPR government note of November 3, 1983, in a lengthy document known as a "White Paper" and in the Polish government's statement of August 16, 1984. There is no need to recall facts that are common knowledge. However, the foregoing documents do not include many other examples of the unprecedented ferocity and singular resourcefulness of the U.S. authorities in knocking together an "anti-Polish front." Today the details are known of perfidious attempts to exclude Poland fully from some international coal markets and of attempts, little known to the Polish public, that are linked with anti-Polish actions on the copper market.

Everyone knows of the repeated and eventually successful solicitations by the U.S. embassy in Oslo to some Norwegian members of the Nobel Peace Prize Committee. The Washington administration played a decisive role in the award of a Harvard University honorary doctorate to Lech Walesa. This institution of higher learning, which has been in existence since 1636, has never before made this award to any Pole. No outstanding Polish scientist, artist, painter or public figure that has made a valuable

contribution to the development of Polish-U.S. friendship has ever received such an award. Only a political order from the White House made the luminaries of "free and independent" science choose Walesa from among the Poles.

In recent months and weeks we have again encountered a series of facts from which only one conclusion can be drawn: Washington's policy toward Poland is today determined not by the proponents of pragmatic realism but by those who want U.S.-Polish relations to be worse than they now are.

All the important U.S. sanctions against Poland remain in force and the hostile acts against Poland continue at the pre-election party conventions. What is more, new aggressive and even insulting formulations have been creeping into the latest statements by U.S. politicians. This refers above all to President Reagan's August 17, 1984 White House speech at a meeting with a group of Polish Americans. The main propositions of this speech were expanded in his next, even more insulting speech on September 9 in Doylestown. Both speeches are a kind of synthesis of the present U.S. administration's views on current and future relations with Poland.

So the U.S. "desire for improvement" did not last even a few months. And the progress in stabilizing the situation in Poland is of no importance whatsoever; quite the contrary: the U.S. conception is that Poland must remain a "boy who should be flogged" even if there is an improvement in other areas of international politics.

Europe and the world are passing through a dangerous period in their history. The doctrine of a "global confrontation with communism" and the attempts to gain absolute military superiority have now slowed down the development of international relations as a whole. The United States has managed to undermine the basis of the policy of peaceful coexistence substantially and to bring to nought many earlier achievements that are of value to all humanity, but they could not propose any reasonable and rational alternative to the policy of peaceful coexistence.

The present U.S. administration has decided to do no less than reverse world history to the pre-1917 period. It turns out that, particularly in the postwar period, all U.S. leaders were "too soft on communism" and made unpardonable mistakes, for example, Roosevelt in Yalta, Truman in Potsdam, Eisenhower in Geneva, Kennedy in Vienna, Nixon in Moscow, Ford in Vladivostok, and Carter in Warsaw. Only Reagan and his loyal pupils have shown the sole correct way of dealing with the "Reds" after a 40-year period of "errors and distortions." Only they can ensure a "Pax Americana" for all the world's peoples, without asking for their consent. This is not a metaphor but a quotation from a Voice of America Polish language broadcast which in July 1984 described the 20th century as "American." Fifty years ago Alfred Rosenberg, an ideologist of Hitlerism, gave assurances in his book that the 20th century would be the "German century." And it is this viewpoint, reminiscent of the John Birch Society's provincial "anti-communism training" pamphlets, which today represents the U.S. government's official philosophy.

U.S. attacks on the postwar structure of Europe have sharply intensified in the past few weeks. The peoples of our continent paid for this structure with tens of millions of lives. This slanderous campaign is being carried out under the slogan of a "review of the Yalta agreements."

It is necessary to state resolutely and with no reservations whatsoever that this activity is directly or indirectly aimed against the integrity of the Polish state. A "review of Yalta" is nothing but the undermining of the foundation of Poland's security and peaceful existence. The Yalta-Potsdam agreements are the international and legal basis for the existence of our borders, a basis thrice ratified by signatures in Yalta, Potsdam and Helsinki. If the present U.S. administration really intends to renege on the commitments assumed by its former presidents, Poland will be forced to consider this an extremely hostile act, one directed against its people's vital interests.

The Polish People's Republic, the sole state of all Poles, still expects that there will be a self-critical sobering in official Washington. The PPR believes that differences in socio-political systems, ideas and views should not overshadow sober and logical thought.

The USA has lately been making another very serious mistake. It wants to take a differentiated approach to the socialist countries, using the "carrot and stick" policy. In this area, too, wishful thinking is being substituted for reality. The hopes of directly or indirectly "singling out" individual countries under the pretext of "special relations" or "prizes for good behavior" are not being realized. Poland's position on this question stems not only from our understanding of the political principles of the community but also from bitter experience. The consistent activity of the European countries of the socialist community to cut short the attempts to revive the so-called "German problem" could be an instructive example for the USA.

Discourses by U.S. politicians have of late been assigning an important place to the question of "Poland's belonging to the West." For example, Kenneth Dam has stated that Poland has a common border with the Soviet Union but its heart is in the West. It should be recalled in this connection that "Poland's heart was in the West" half a century ago as well. We all know how that ended.

As soon as leading politicians of the Washington administration considered Poland a "part of the West," they felt they had the right to employ in relation to our country what is now the most widely used instrument of U.S. diplomacy, that is, direct interference in our internal affairs. Every now and again U.S. officials with no right to do so give Poland a "mark" and lecture, support or condemn it. Some U.S. diplomats in Poland secretly meet with individuals who have no other claim to fame than Radio Free Europe. As a rule, these meetings, of which the PPR authorities are well aware, are not private but deal with intelligence and are instructional in character.

Washington must realize once and for all that continuation of direct interference and the use of methods that are inadmissible from the viewpoint of

international law can only further worsen mutual relations and not improve them in any way.

The White House treats Poland as a country which needs to be weakened and disunited by all means fair or foul. They keep referring to "human rights." This is the usual deception. Not one of the U.S. speakers so much as mentioned his country's dishonorable "alliances," the sheltering of a criminal against humankind like Pol Pot, friendship and cooperation with the racists of Pretoria, the magnanimity toward the Israeli outrages against the Palestinian refugees, or the symbiosis of many years with the fascist regimes of Spain, Greece and Portugal. What "human rights" were the U.S. militarists upholding in Vietnam? What "freedoms" did America ensure in the Shah's Iran?

U.S. politicians state, for example, that Central America lives in "terror and fear." Apparently it did not do so before under Batista and Somoza. Apparently the Washington-financed and appointed murderers and tyrants like Pinochet, Stroessner and Duvalier cause no suffering or fear. Apparently the crimes against humanity committed in Guatemala by U.S. appointees are compatible with Washington's understanding of human rights.

It is no news that various things in Poland are objectionable for the United States. We have had 40 years to get accustomed to this. For example, the U.S. did not want the agrarian reform and nationalization of industry, but this in no way affected the process of revolutionary transformations in our country. Shortly after the Potsdam conference, the U.S. objected to the Polish western border, but, as is common knowledge, that border has not disappeared as a result of the U.S. protest. The United States also did not want the defeat of the pro-U.S. group in the leadership of the Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe (Polish People's Party), but they had to take the leader of this party out of Poland in the U.S. embassy's diplomatic luggage.

The Reagan administration's present "desires" have no greater possibility of being realized. The same applies to the desire to restore in Poland the situation that obtained prior to December 13, 1981.

Poland is not the first instance in the history of the 20th century in which U.S. plans and hopes have been dashed. But in the past a rational analysis and sober tallying of the losses and gains eventually prevailed in U.S. policy. Unfortunately, the present U.S. administration has chosen in relation to Poland the road of agitated revanchism and not of the pragmatic analysis for which Americans as a people have long had a reputation.

The history of postwar Poland did not begin in August 1980 and did not end in December 1981. Poland has been and will continue to be a socialist country with a clearly defined system of alliances and state principles.

The U.S. administration has suddenly become interested in a "truly national consensus in Poland." There is no evidence that it was interested in this in 1981. It turns out that for Washington "consensus" now means a reanimation of the political groups of people who have already compromised themselves, and not a real stabilization of the situation in Poland.

U.S. diplomats used to visit leaders of the



people's unity front. Today they "take no notice" of the Patriotic National Regeneration Movement, though it is a new and important political factor for many other countries. The U.S. readily cooperated with the forces that organized the crisis in Poland but refuses to cooperate with those who want to take the country out of the crisis. Washington repeatedly declared its support for Poland in the years of the erroneous political and economic conception that was later rejected by the ninth congress of the PUWP. At the same time, Washington "has not noticed" the socialist renewal and profound reforms currently under way in Poland.

U.S. diplomacy has not yet noticed such phenomena in Poland as the development of the trade union movement, progress in the normalization of public life and the improvement in supplies of which every Pole is aware. It has not been able to draw conclusions from the 1984 May Day demonstrations or from the results of the elections to the people's councils. The better and calmer it is in Poland, the worse it is for Washington.

Washington has been fighting with redoubled energy against the course of reforms and consensus in Poland since this course runs counter to the ideological designs of the "crusade against communism." It does not care about any reforms whatsoever in Poland or in any other socialist country. Washington is bent on political and economic destabilization and wants to deprive the working class of influence on socio-economic policy, as is the case in the USA.

Speaking in the Europe and the Mideast subcommittee of the foreign affairs commission of the U.S. House of Representatives on March 29, 1984, Allen W. Wallis formulated a new thesis about the "transfer of U.S. technology." He described all exchange of technological information as dangerous for U.S. security. This in fact means a U.S. cancellation of forms of economic and technical cooperation, for example, cooperation with Polish electronic industry enterprises, which in the past were of mutual advantage. The U.S. perhaps overestimates its role as a very important partner in the area of science and technology. There are now many more exporters of advanced technology in the world. Poland has suffered most of all from the caprices of the White House. Not only the central political leadership but also thousands of managers, directors, engineers and industry executives will now think twice before concluding an agreement with a U.S. partner.

Our economy's vulnerability, for which we ourselves are to blame, but which the U.S. side has skilfully used, enabled the United States to deal well-aimed and effective blows at Poland. It is possible to cite many examples of "Poland's economic and technical colonization." The cessation of deliveries of materials and components because of the sanctions has affected almost a thousand Polish industrial enterprises. Washington's "war against the Polish chickens" caused a temporary shutdown of entire branches of production.

The prolonged crisis in bilateral relations means that for Poland economic relations with the USA have recently begun to take a backseat.

In May 1984 Wojciech Jaruzelski paid an impor-

tant visit to the Soviet Union. It was an important step in the process of reorienting the country's economy. A carefully analysis of the speeches made during this visit and of the documents adopted should cause the thoughtful observer to draw appropriate conclusions. Poland's close fraternal ties with its Soviet ally and the unity of our Marxist-Leninist parties were reaffirmed, deepened and placed on a long-term basis.

A comparison of the facts is convincing for every thinking Pole. The USSR has again reiterated its alliance guarantee for Poland and its confidence in our independent decisions, while the United States has again brought into question our sovereign right to act in keeping with the historical interests of our people and state.

It is not Poland that has brought about the present fall in the level of bilateral relations with the USA and it is not the Polish government that is to blame for their deplorable state.

So long as the USA does not get rid of its illusions about the "temporary character" of today's Poland it will not be possible truly to normalize relations. Only recognition of the objectively existing facts can be the basis of any reasonable policy.

Poland has been through worse. It is returning to its proper place in the world. It will undoubtedly stand all other tests as well. No one in Vistula or Oder is going to shed any tears if in this situation the United States forsakes its place on the list of Poland's partners.

But Poland still advocates an end to the further worsening of relations with the USA and even a raising of their importance and protocol level, on condition that the United States recognizes the Polish realities, observes the principle of equality and the universally recognized norms, drops its policy of interference and propaganda aggression, ends the unwarranted economic sanctions and gives suitable compensation for damage and losses.

This is the sole, constructive way.

Abridged from *Trybuna Ludu*,  
September 20, 1984

## One is Not Born a Personality

K. Levitin

The formative years of Soviet  
psychology and education.  
cloth 323 pp \$6.95

**PROGRESS BOOKS**

71 Bathurst St.

Toronto, Ont. M5V 2P6

# communist viewpoint

There is a connection between theory and action. If you're interested in Canadian politics, you'll find the connection in Communist Viewpoint.

— a unique, critical look at every aspect of Canadian life in articles written by some of Canada's leading Marxists

— a refreshing perspective: the need for social change in Canada and how this can be achieved

By subscribing to Communist Viewpoint you're not only doing yourself a favor, you're helping to build the socialist journal Canada needs today.

Subscriptions — 1 year:

Canada: \$6.00 USA and foreign: \$9.00

**PROGRESS BOOKS, 71 Bathurst St. Toronto M5V 2P6**

## political affairs

Theoretical Journal of the Communist Party, USA

from a working-class point of view.

Political Affairs tells you what's happening—and why—  
And, just as important, it shows what to do.

PA has articles which lay bare the real causes of the economic crisis.

PA has unmatched coverage of major labor developments.

PA consistently campaigns for Black equality and Black-white unity

.....

● Save 37.5% of the cover price of Political Affairs. Offer only  
● valid with this special certificate. (Not valid for renewals)

● Send me:  
●  3 years for \$22.50    2 years for \$15.00    1 year for \$7.50  
● (For foreign countries add \$1/year postage.)

● Mr./Ms.  
● Name \_\_\_\_\_

● Address \_\_\_\_\_

● City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

● Please return this bill with your check or money order to:  
● POLITICAL AFFAIRS PUBLISHERS, INC.,  
● 235 West 23 St., New York, N. Y. 10011

.....

Keep up with our fast-moving world —

## **New Times**

**NEW TIMES** offers a weekly update on the news of the world you won't find in **Time** or **Newsweek**. Soviet correspondents from the capitals of the world keep you informed on international events and new developments.

52 issues a year \$18.00

## **International Affairs**

A journal presenting the fundamentals of Soviet foreign policy and carrying vast informative and reference material on international politics.

12 issues a year \$22.00

Subscribe today!

Write for our complete list of Soviet magazines and newspapers available in English.

**PROGRESS BOOKS,**  
**71 Bathurst Street,**  
**Toronto, Ontario M5V 2P6**

# New Books

**The Scientific and Technological Revolution: Its Role in Today's World** N. Dryakhlov

Preconditions, characteristics, role.

Paper 264pp \$4.50

**The Teaching of Political Economy**

A critique of non-Marxian theories of U.S., Canadian and European academics.

Cloth 334pp \$7.95

**Alexandra Kollontai: Selected Articles and Speeches**

A long-awaited selection from the renowned communist, Soviet government member and diplomat; on women, peace and Lenin.

Cloth 215pp \$6.95

**Populism: Its Past, Present and Future** V. Khoros

Theoretical and historical analysis with focus on developing societies.

Cloth 294pp \$7.50

**Terrorism and International Law** I. Blishchenko, N. Zhdanov

A scientific approach, includes international agreements and documents.

Cloth 287pp \$5.95

**Manzhou Rule in China** S. L. Tikhvinsky, ed.

Scholarly articles on Manzhou rule (17th - early 20th century).

Cloth 358pp \$5.95

## **PROGRESS BOOKS**

71 Bathurst Street,  
Toronto, Ontario M5V 2P6