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Against the Interests of Peace and Socialism

The leadership of the Italian Communist Party has recently come forth with a number of documents on fundamental questions of present-day social development. In late December 1981, it issued two statements, and in early January 1982, held a plenary meeting of the ICP Central Committee. The meeting endorsed these two statements, and approved a report by ICP General Secretary Enrico Berlinguer.

The decisions of the ICP Central Committee's plenary meeting and the speeches delivered at that meeting by comrades Ingrao, Napolitano and Reichlin contain a platform which opposes on all the major issues the policy of the CPSU, the Soviet Union, the socialist community countries, an overwhelming majority of the communist and the whole of the liberation movement.

As a pretext for setting forth their position, the ICP leaders used the events in Poland. But they dealt with problems which far transcend these events, including the problem of transition from capitalism to socialism and attitude to existing socialism. Without any justification, the ICP leaders have declared the whole of the past experience of the struggle for socialism and socialist construction to be outdated and invalid. The great historic gains of socialism have been criticized without scruple and have been subjected to unjust and inadmissible defamation. In return, the critics have suggested most pretentious and, to put it bluntly, abstract concepts about a "new road to socialism," concepts which are highly reminiscent of those opportunist and revisionist notions which came up before the working-class movement in the past and which had long since been rejected by its revolutionary vanguard.

The ICP documents deal with questions which concern the whole communist and liberation movement. Since these documents refer to our party, our socialist country and the socialist-community as a whole, we should express our views and define our attitude to these positions of the ICP leadership.

The question of war and peace is the crucial question of our day. The ICP leaders apparently recognize this as well. But what are their suggestions for ensuring peace and preventing war?

It is common knowledge — and something that is recognized not only by communists — that the decisive contribution to the anti-war effort is made by the socialist community, by the Soviet Union. It was only recently, during the 26th congress of the CPSU, that the leaders of communist and workers' parties and the governments of dozens of countries once again declared this for all to hear, specially noting the contribution of Leonid Brezhnev, head of our party and state, in the struggle for peace and the security of nations.

The ICP leaders, however, have totally ignored the consistent and successful foreign policy followed by the USSR and other socialist states over the past decades and aimed at strengthening peace and international cooperation, they have ignored the numerous constructive initiatives put forward at

congresses of the CPSU and the fraternal parties of the socialist states, and have in effect denied the socialist community's contribution to the cause of peace. In their opinion, West European foreign policy (that is, the policy of bourgeois states) has done much more for détente than what they described as "East European policy."

The ICP leaders have gone as far as to say that even the Soviet-U.S. talks on medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe (which the USSR is known to have sought since the early 1970s) are an achievement of West European diplomacy.

The Soviet Union led by its Communist Party has been doing its utmost to stop the arms race, prevent the slide into a nuclear arms confrontation, and ensure peace in the world. The peoples of all countries know that the struggle for détente was initiated by the USSR and other socialist countries, that they have carried on this struggle in a resolute and consistent way, and that they have made considerable progress in this direction. The whole system of treaties and agreements constituting the basis of the détente in international law was created on the initiative of the socialist countries and in line with their proposals. Could the ICP leaders have also forgotten the fact that the European Conference in Helsinki was also held on the initiative of the socialist countries? At the ICP Central Committee's plenary meeting, a truly sacrilegious attempt was made to "prove" that the foreign policy of the USSR and the Warsaw Treaty is on the whole no different from the foreign policy of the USA and NATO. Such an assertion is being made when the whole world can see for itself from perfectly obvious, graphic examples that the Warsaw Treaty countries have been following a policy of peace, making dozens of proposals aimed to relax international tension, and putting forward one new idea after another in order to stop the arms race and bring about disarmament, while the NATO bloc has proclaimed a reckless arms build-up to be its main political creed, has been adopting ever new resolutions to promote the arms drive which endangers the whole of mankind, and to aggravate tensions, and has continued its preparations for a nuclear war, especially in Europe. NATO's leading country — the United States of America — seeks to "legalize" not only the nuclear arms race, but the very use of nuclear weapons, on whatever scale, declaring all but the whole world to be a sphere of its "vital interests." So, NATO has increasingly manifested itself as a hotbed of aggression and reaction, posing a threat to peace and the whole of mankind. And the decisions of the ICP Central Committee's meeting whitewash this bloc, obscuring both its anti-popular aggressive substance and the nature of imperialism as a whole. Could it be that the ICP leaders have been trying (for years now) to "appease" NATO?

But it is impossible to "persuade" or "appease" imperialism, just as it is impossible to change its nature. It is clear — and thousands of concrete facts

prove this — that imperialism has been doing and will continue to do its utmost to try and suppress anyone who decides to take a real step toward socialism. The goal of imperialism is plain enough: no socialism at all. And anyone who really wants to fight for socialism, who wants to strengthen its positions in the world should understand this very well. It is also clear that existing socialism is the main barrier to the implementation of imperialism's dangerous plans.

But to whitewash the adversary is to help him at a time when the grim reality makes it necessary to expose NATO's true face before the masses, its endless military preparations fraught with the danger of a thermonuclear catastrophe.

Bourgeois propaganda has long sought to cover up the aggressive, militarist substance of imperialist policy with inventions about a "Soviet military threat." Such slanderous allegations have now turned up in ICP documents.

And, of course, no Soviet citizen — and no honest person anywhere in the world either — can hear without a feeling of indignation the ICP leaders' statements about our country's alleged "hegemonistic intentions" or attempts to impose its will on other peoples.

Something monstrous has happened: while professing a desire to fight for peace, the ICP leaders have in the same breath been slandering the leading force of the peace struggle: the USSR and its socialist allies, the socialist world.

In the present-day world, the stand taken by the ICP leaders in effect amounts to a serious blow at the people's struggle for peace, against the military threat, to an attempt to weaken the influence exerted on the course of international events by the countries of triumphant socialism, the leading force of this struggle.

The ICP leaders' characterization of existing socialism as a whole, including that in the Soviet Union, are equally harmful and go against the interests of the whole communist movement and the liberation movement in general.

Socialism has been in existence for six and a half decades — a historically short period. What did capitalism achieve in the first 65 years of its existence? Only specialized historians can piece together and demonstrate the emerging elements of the new society that was taking shape at that time. Socialism, for its part, has before the very eyes of living generations fundamentally transformed the life of one-third of mankind, solving in the interests of the working masses many of the problems whose solution was inconceivable for centuries.

Power in the socialist countries belongs to the people. All the productive forces — factories, plants, mines, electric power stations and land — belong to the people's state and are used in the interests of the working people, and not for the enrichment of a handful of exploiters.

In spite of what the ICP leaders are now saying, the achievements of socialism are highly meaningful for the working people of all capitalist countries, including Italy. Indeed, it is existing socialism that

has assured every individual — for the first time in history — the right to work, has freed him from unemployment, from lack of confidence in the future. Isn't this a significant circumstance for Italy's working class beset by the crisis and unemployment? Socialism has freed the working people both in town and countryside from poverty, exploitation and oppression. It has ensured actual, genuine equality for all nations and nationalities. There are no longer any backward outskirts or disaster areas in the socialist community countries. Are not all these gains highly relevant to the Italian farmers, especially for the working people in the south? The Italian press often carries reports that young children are obliged to work and have no chance to go to school. It writes of the inequality of women and the privations of old people. Doesn't the reality of the countries of existing socialism, which have long since done away with all these sores, hold an interest for Italian citizens? A fairly long period has gone by since the earthquake in southern Italy, but the Italian press is still writing of the homeless, of those who have been left without a roof over their heads because the money set aside for housing construction has been embezzled by businessmen and others. How can anyone say after this, that the achievements of socialism, of the Soviet Union, where the right to housing has not only been proclaimed, but is actually guaranteed, and where the dwelling space built every six or seven years is enough to house the whole Italian population, are no longer relevant to the working people in the West.

The socialist states provide free medical services for the whole of the population and free education for the young. Pensions are paid to millions of people from state funds. Every year, millions of people go to health resorts and rest homes. Such are the fruits of triumphant socialism. Such are the facts, and if the ICP leaders prefer to shut their eyes to these facts, so much the worse for them and their concepts.

The ICP leaders speak in their documents (as they have been doing for the past few years in a strident way and often using language borrowed from the class enemy) about the shortcomings of socialist democracy. No one in the socialist countries maintains that the ideal here has already been attained. The new constitution of the USSR even contains a special article mapping out the ways for a further improvement of socialist democracy in our country. But there is no getting away from the fact that it is the socialist countries that have eliminated exploitation and have thus created the only reliable basis for genuine democracy, that is, for genuine people's power.

It is socialism that has ensured constant improvement of the forms and methods of genuine democracy by the people and for the people, whose essential purpose is to involve the working people in running the affairs of society and the state on an ever broader scale. And there are clear and simple facts showing that such involvement is a reality. In the USSR for instance, 2.3 million deputies (two-thirds of whom simultaneously work in production in town

or countryside) and more than 30 million activists have been working in the system of Soviets; 5.9 million members of standing production conferences (65 per cent of whom are workers) and 14.5 million trade-union activists are involved in production management; 9.9 million people's inspectors elected by the working people and more than 8 million members of voluntary people's patrols for the protection of public order help to ensure socialist legality in the country. Naturally, there are also other forms of citizens' involvement in running social affairs.

However, the ICP leaders' documents show that democracy for them means something quite different than the people's actual involvement in administration. Judging by the ICP leaders' sympathy for the right-wing extremists from Polish "Solidarity", when speaking of democracy in the socialist countries they do not mean the working people's participation in running the affairs of the socialist society, but something quite different: a free hand for those who trample socialist legality and, relying on assistance from outside, seek to undermine the socialist system. There is indeed no such freedom for these persons in the countries of existing socialism, for it would only have undermined rather than strengthened the foundations of the new, socialist system.

The socialist world is now going through a fruitful, interesting and, at the same time, not uncomplicated period. Leonid Brezhnev said at the 26th congress of the CPSU: "The switch over to intensive economic development, the realization of large-scale social programs, and the formation of a communist mentality — all of this cannot be effected right away, but takes time and calls for a constant creative quest."

Over the past two years, almost all the fraternal parties of the socialist community countries have held their congresses. These were marked by the creative quest that is necessary for the successful development of socialism. The materials of the congresses show that they have made a serious contribution to the elaboration of the most important and complicated economic, social and political problems facing socialist society in its further progress.

And the life of existing socialism is indeed rich, dynamic and oriented toward the future, toward further progress. Breath-taking programs for the development of the productive forces are being elaborated and getting under way. These envisage a radical solution of the most complicated social problems which have long troubled humankind, like energy, raw materials, food, and protection of the environment. Efforts are being made to re-equip whole sections of production on more advanced technical lines and, simultaneously, to restructure the management system. Work is being done to ensure the individual's ever fuller participation in the life of the whole of society in accordance with the people's new intellectual and cultural level, their new demands and possibilities. The party's ideological activity and life in the country is being harmonized with these demands and possibilities. Socialist culture, which is now within the reach of

the whole people, is attaining new heights. In short, life here is truly vibrant and full-blooded. It does not sidestep any new problem, any difficulty or complicated task that may arise, but solves these in the interests of society and the citizen.

And all this is being done by the working people themselves, by the citizens of the socialist society. The communists, the people's forward-looking vanguard, are at the head of this gigantic constructive effort in building developed socialism.

In speaking of the period of socialist construction in our country, Leonid Brezhnev said in his closing speech at the 26th congress of the CPSU: "Time and again our adversaries have predicted our inevitable downfall. Time and again they have tried to make us abandon our goals. Time and again they have sought to convince us that we are mistaken, that ours is a false road. And what of that? Most of these people have long since been forgotten, while socialism lives on. It is developing and steadily advancing."

In the light of all these indisputable facts, the ICP leaders' allegations that the socialist world has exhausted its motive forces and lost its perspectives sound absurd, to say the least. One must indeed lose one's perspectives and one's very sight to assert such things!

The substance of the views formulated in the ICP's recent documents and the very language used at the ICP Central Committee's meeting resemble or even coincide with Alexander Haig's harangues at the Brussels' press center on January 12, 1982, about a "crisis of the Soviet system."

In other words, the ICP leadership seeks to discredit the historic and triumphant road travelled by the Soviet people and the CPSU, ignoring the positions of dozens of communist and workers' parties which justly point to the great importance of the Soviet Union and the socialist community for all the peoples, for their struggle to save humankind from the system of exploitation and oppression, and for averting a world war.

One thing leads to another with inexorable logic: having attacked existing socialism, the ICP leaders immediately went on to say that Marxism-Leninism has also outlived itself. In other words, they have declared invalid the revolutionary theory which for the past century and a half has inspired and continues to inspire the people's struggle for socialism and democracy on a global scale. It is a theory which has made it possible to build socialism in more than a dozen countries, a theory which, incidentally, also guided the Italian communists in their struggle and helped them to achieve successes for more than half a century of their party's existence.

Marxism-Leninism continues to win ever new positions and extend its influence in the present-day world. This is manifested in the emergence of new communist parties. It is manifested in the fact that revolutionary-democratic parties that have their origins in the national liberation movement are increasingly attracted to scientific socialism, and a number of them have proclaimed Marxism-Leninism to be the theoretical basis of their activity. It is also manifested in the fact that for many years now

Lenin's works continue to lead the world in the number of translations into foreign languages, for the interest in his works is increasing rather than waning.

And this is when the leaders of the Italian communists have chosen to renounce the great revolutionary theory. They also declare that the communist movement generally has outlived itself and that from now on they renounce the "old type of ties" with the communist parties and will maintain relations with them "just as with any other socialist, revolutionary and progressive force": without any ideological, political or other commitments.

Over the past few years, the leadership of the Italian Communist Party has repeatedly proclaimed its special positions on a number of problems relating to the international situation, the international communist and working-class movement, and the experience of world socialism. As has now become evident, these positions amounted to a gradual departure from the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary platform. Apparently, all the cleverly contrived theoretical and political "innovations" (like the "third road," "Eurocommunism," "Euroleft alliance," "third phase," and so on) used by ICP representatives were meant to camouflage this departure, to conceal its substance from the working class and communists of their country. The working people were being gradually conditioned to recognize and support the line for a renunciation of Marxism-Leninism, the ICP's own revolutionary traditions, and the friendship and solidarity with the communists and working people of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

The ICP documents adopted in late 1981 and early 1982 signify that its leaders are renouncing all their bonds with the vanguard of the struggle for peace

and socialism in almost 90 countries, and are openly coming out against world socialism, which forward-looking social thinkers have recognized as the highest point reached up to now in the world's social progress in the 20th century.

But what does all this mean? Whose class interests does it serve? *In our day, this means direct assistance to imperialism, which has for decades sought to weaken socialism, to unhinge it, to undermine it ideologically, assistance to anti-communism and all forces hostile to social progress in general.*

Another point to note is that the ICP leaders' present stand is also harmful for the Italian Communist Party itself. It is no secret that the adversaries of communism in Italy have for many years been trying to deflect the ICP from the proletarian class road, to detach it from the rest of the communist movement. And, of course, they are doing this not in order to share power with the Italian communists, but to bring about the party's elimination, to root out the communist movement in Italy. It is therefore no accident that the bourgeoisie in Italy itself, in the United States and in other NATO countries has spared no praise for the ICP leadership's stand. NATO's General Secretary Luns has called it a model for bourgeois governments. What a perfect compliment for communists to receive!

The Italian Communist Party has a long and glorious record. It waged a selfless struggle against fascism and war. The Italian communists, like the communists of other countries, fought for freedom during the Second World War. The turnabout that has now been executed by the ICP leaders is naturally bound to worry any communist, any fighter against imperialism, reaction and war.

The world today is a world of turbulent revolutionary change. At the same time, it is a world of intensive struggle against the threat of a nuclear catastrophe. The future of the revolutionary process and of the whole of humankind depends on the outcome of this struggle, in which the socialist countries are the main factor.

In these conditions, each progressive social and political force, each advanced political party must understandably determine its place in the common front of peace, democracy and socialism. At the same time, it must determine the measure of its responsibility for the solution of the historic problems of our day. But the stand taken by the ICP leaders does not in any way help the Italian communists, the Italian working class, and millions of Italian working people to take a fitting place in this worldwide front of peace and progress, for this stand is at odds with the interests of peace and socialism.

The Italian working class and popular masses face immense problems: to prevent the use of the country and the people for the aggressive purposes of foreign imperialism, to liberate themselves from oppression and exploitation by imperialist monopolies. In solving these problems, their most dependable friends are the Soviet Union, the CPSU, the socialist community, and the world communist movement.

Pravda, January 24, 1982

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On a Slippery Path

Mankind is now witnessing fierce attacks by imperialism against the forces of peace and socialism, the national liberation movement and the communist and workers' parties. Seeking to exact social revenge for its numerous defeats in the recent period, imperialism, U.S. imperialism in the first place, has made a stake on building up military strength, and upsetting the military-strategic equilibrium between the USSR and the United States, between the defensive Warsaw Treaty Organization and NATO. The NATO powers' staffs are working on military plans aimed against the socialist countries, entire regions of the globe are declared to be a "sphere of vital interests" of the United States, and threats are being issued against Cuba, Nicaragua, Libya, Angola and other countries which have broken with the capitalist system.

There is a succession of statements issuing a challenge to the elementary rules of international law and inter-state relations. Attempts to exert crude pressure on the socialist countries and to meddle in their affairs, and overt threats, combined with blackmail and economic pressure, are being made.

The present international situation has caused great concern among millions of people. Many representatives of the most diverse strata of the population who had earlier remained on the sidelines of international politics, now understand where the threat to peace comes from. Action in defense of peace, and against the line aimed at the arms race, at confrontation, which could lead to a world nuclear catastrophe, are becoming ever broader and more powerful.

As always in the past, the communists are in the vanguard in the struggle for peace, for international détente, and for the settlement of controversial problems through negotiation. They have convincingly shown the crucial importance for the cause of peace of the peace-promoting foreign policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and the outstanding contribution of the CPSU, of its Central Committee, and of its General Secretary, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet Leonid Brezhnev, who have come forward with a number of exceptionally important foreign policy initiatives designed to improve the international situation.

In sharp dissonance with all this, have sounded the statements by the leadership of the Italian Communist Party. It recently issued a statement over the events in Poland, and then held a special plenary meeting of the party's Central Committee, at which a report was delivered by comrade Berlinguer. A number of articles have been published by the newspaper *L'Unita*.

At the CC plenary meeting, the world situation and the CPSU's domestic and foreign policy were presented in a distorting mirror. The ICP leaders have repeatedly declared that the preservation and strengthening of peace is the main problem of our day and the prerequisite for humankind's continued

advance. Now, however, they have come forward with documents disparaging existing socialism and the socialist community, which constitute the material and political mainstay for the preservation of world peace, the most important bastion which stands in the way of imperialist moves and any attempts to halt or reverse social progress all over the Earth.

Although the ICP leaders use one or two phrases to say that it is far from their minds to ignore the USSR's international role, they declare in the same breath that "in other cases" the policy of the USSR allegedly contradicts the interests of the peoples. In an editorial article on December 15, 1981, the newspaper *L'Unita*, the central organ of the ICP, directly contrasted the interests of ensuring the security of the USSR and the interests of the peoples of the socialist countries of Eastern Europe, while in his report at the plenary meeting, comrade Berlinguer connected the slow-down of détente and its limited nature with — of all things — the USSR's urge to "defend its spheres of influence."

Such a stand, which is a far cry from an objective assessment of events from the class, communist viewpoint, to say nothing of proletarian internationalism, has unfortunate origins. The thing is that for some time now the foreign policy of the USSR, and world politics as a whole, have been considered and assessed by the ICP leaders — contrary to the facts and in spite of the Italian Communist Party's own traditional assessments and analyses — through the totally false prism of the notorious "bloc politics." And this is a formula which, in effect, puts NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization, the USSR and the United States on the same footing, ascribing to them similar intentions and similar policies. This kind of approach ignores the main thing: the very content and class substance of the foreign policy of states, including the peace-promoting and progressive character of the socialist countries' activity in the international arena.

This kind of approach has done the ICP leaders a bad turn. They declare, in so many words, that social and political changes in the life of the peoples must not be sacrificed to "bloc interests." At the same time, they make so bold as to come out against those acts of the USSR which have served and continue to serve as a guarantee against the export of counter-revolution, and against the crude attempts by the imperialist bloc to break up and change in its favor the balance of forces that has taken shape in the world, and to reverse the process of social and political changes in the life of the peoples.

No, world politics does not fit into the abstract "above-class" scheme of this kind of reasoning. It turns out that this far-fetched scheme, in effect, has no place in an objective and fair assessment of the international role of the Soviet Union and of the whole community of the socialist states. It is clear not only to communists, but also many other pro-

gressive and democratic circles, that the contemporary imperialist bourgeoisie would inevitably have carried the class struggle to a universal rampage by the most barbarous reaction but for the existence of such a "counterweight" to imperialism as the Soviet Union and its socialist allies. It is a sad thing to state, but it is a fact that by its "non-bloc" approach to international affairs, the ICP leadership is effectively adding grist to the mill of one bloc, namely, the imperialist one.

In the latest statements by the ICP leadership and at the plenary meeting, the overall attitude to the socialist community countries and to the Soviet Union as a socialist state was also subjected to revision. Indeed, things came to such a pass that comrades Napolitano, Ingrao and other members of the ICP leadership began to cast doubt altogether on the existence of socialism in the USSR.

The events in Poland were chosen as the pretext for this. However, without regard to the Polish events, the Italian CP leadership has long since tended to depart from the Marxism-Leninism and to switch to positions which are alien and harmful to the cause of socialism and peace. Now, under the pretext of assessing the Polish crisis, the plenary meeting of the ICP CC has completed the tendency which was in evidence in the ICP leadership's previous documents and statements: to come out against the socialist states, and to smear the great historical victories of the CPSU, the Soviet people, and the peoples of other countries of the socialist community.

The authors of the ICP leadership statement, the rapporteur, and to an even greater extent, some of the speakers at the plenary meeting (G. Napolitano, P. Ingrao, and E. Macaluso, among others) made rude attacks against the USSR and other socialist community countries. The things they said! In defiance of the real facts and the opinion of the overwhelming majority of communists in all countries, these speakers asserted that socialism had allegedly lost its motive force and had ceased to develop. The ICP leaders even allowed themselves, making use of the terminology of the enemies of socialism and the Soviet Union, to announce the "degeneration" of the socialist community countries.

By issuing such assertions, they refuse to see, like numerous anti-communists of every stripe, that it is the system existing in these countries that has for the first time embodied in a living reality the ideas of the great theorists of socialism and the long-cherished dreams of the working people.

The working people of the whole world are well aware that it is the victory of the socialist revolution in the USSR and then in a number of other countries that has led to the establishment of a society free from exploitation, that has liberated labor, thereby ensuring true freedom for the development of the individual. Can anything similar be said about Italy and the other capitalist countries which pride themselves on their "democracy," when the whole of their social life continues to be based on the exploitation of millions of working people by a small top

layer of propertied classes boundlessly battenning on the labor of others?

How can one deny that victorious socialism — and it alone — has given people the main thing — the right to work, and freedom from poverty and unemployment — that it has brought about an upswing in vital forces and popular talents which is unprecedented in history, and now safeguards it from the aggressive acts of imperialism?

How is it possible to deny that victorious socialism has replaced — for the first time in history — the power of the exploiters by the power of the working people, that is, by the broadest democracy for masses of people? Of course, this democracy has largely transcended — in form and substance — the framework and schemes of bourgeois democracy. But it is precisely socialist democracy, its material fruits, everything that it has given to the working person, that has ushered in a new epoch in modern history!

And what do we find now, today? Today, the socialist community countries continue their progressive development. This applies to the economy, and to social and cultural life. And of course, it also applies to socialist democracy.

In the socialist countries, there is a constant perfection of the forms and methods by means of which genuine people's power is realized, a democracy whose substance does not consist in abstract criticasterism or in a futile game of opposition, but in the ever broader participation by the working people in the day-to-day management of the affairs of society and the state, in their real political and social freedom.

There are both difficulties and shortcomings in the socialist countries, and that is understandable. After all, they are faced with the problems and tasks of trailblazers. The "birth marks" of capitalism in the minds and mentality of people have not been fully overcome either. A negative effect on the socialist economy is exerted by the arms race which is being spiralled by imperialism and its efforts to shift on socialism the burden of the crisis upheavals in the capitalist economy. The difficulties and shortcomings in the socialist states are discussed openly at party congresses, in the daily press, at meetings and so on. But the main thing is that they are discussed for the purpose of correcting these shortcomings and overcoming these difficulties — all for the people's benefit. To claim that these difficulties spring from the very nature of the socialist countries' political and economic system, as the ICP leadership does, is to turn everything upside down. That is what bourgeois propaganda has long been doing. Representatives of the ICP leadership have now also taken this route.

Here is another thing that should not be forgotten either. Among the causes of the difficulties — and highly important ones they are — in the life of some socialist countries is the most active subversion by the class adversary. It would, of course, be just fine if things like imperialist intervention and constant subversive activity against socialism did not exist. It would be simpler if these forces did not cover up

their activity with high-flown slogans in the hope that some people will succumb to such propaganda. But, unfortunately, all of this will be found in life. The class struggle in the international arena has not ceased. That being so, not only each communist, but every sincere opponent of imperialism and war must take a clear-cut stand in this struggle.

It has to be stated, regrettably, that the ICP leadership has taken a stand such that it effectively finds itself in the same camp with the forces fighting against socialism. That is something to be truly regretted.

Yet another hackneyed assertion about our party is being repeated in various ways in the documents of the ICP leadership. It is the assertion that the CPSU has allegedly tried to impose its "model" of socialism on someone else.

The CPSU resolutely rejects this idea, together with the very notion of such "models." There is no Soviet "model." There is Soviet experience, which, the communist movement believes, has features that are of universal significance and features that are nationally specific — just as does the experience of any other socialist country.

The ICP leaders declare that they want to build in their country "their own socialism" that would be better and more perfect than the socialism existing in other countries. Well, the Soviet communists, as probably many others as well, will only say this: that is your own business, we wish you success. But they will never recognize it as correct and fitting when an attempt is made to back up such an urge to build a future socialism — as the ICP leaders are doing — not with new and truly serious projects in the light of Italy's specific features, but with abstract talk about democracy and unfounded declarations about the "lack of prospects" before the already existing present-day socialist societies, societies which are developing dynamically and whose general historical experience and living practice have to a tremendous extent determined, and continue to determine, the face of the modern world.

It turns out, for all practical purposes, that the new and unknown "model" of socialism, which the ICP leaders clearly want to impose on other communist parties and other countries, has been put forward only for the purpose of smearing and disparaging the socialism which has actually existed for over half a century. This conclusion is also suggested by the stand taken by the leaders of the Italian Communist Party with respect to scientific socialism, with respect to Marxism-Leninism. At the plenary meeting it was dealt with in extremely scornful terms as a set of dogmatic, petrified truths.

Such statements and unfounded attacks on the scientific world view and theoretical weapon of the communists of the whole world can do nothing but disorient the fighters for socialism. They totally distort the role that the Marxist-Leninist theory and its ideas — which have gripped the minds of millions of people and which have become the greatest force in the revolutionary transformation of the world — have played, now play and will continue to play in its future transformation. Like a great many revolu-

tionaries of our epoch who have recognized this great transformative power of Marxism-Leninism, Antonio Gramsci, the founder of the Italian Communist Party, wrote about this vividly and with conviction, and proceeded from this in his revolutionary activity.

Nor is it right, finally, to forget that ideology is a concentrated expression of the class substance of this or that social practice, which means that any weakening of the communists' ideological positions signifies a surrender by them of their class positions.

There is also a need to say frankly the following: against the background of the Italian comrades' persistent statements concerning the Soviet Union's imaginary attempts to foist on other countries a "unitary model" of socialism, an especially strange sight is presented by their own pretensions to the role of mentors, telling the parties which have built socialism how they are to act and in accordance with which models; pretensions to the role of supreme judges of the experience of others, to peremptory assessments cutting across the assessments of the parties on whose activity they pass judgment; pretensions to the "right" to hand out degrading labels and, most importantly, ultimately to foist on others their own conception (or model, if you will) of socialism.

On what grounds? The almost messianic ambitions of the ICP leaders in effect boil down to the old social-democratic idea of "Eurocentrism," which they have, besides, narrowed down to the framework of Western Europe. It is true that in their statements repeated use is made of words about socialism being an "open-ended process," a "historical movement developing on a worldwide scale," and so on. But the unprecedented diversity, versatility, and genuine universality and depth of the contemporary revolutionary process, the indissoluble interconnection of its component parts are, at best, left to provide a background, a sort of ancillary material for the fulfillment of that main mission which the ICP leaders ascribe to the West European "new socialism."

It remains to be said that even within such a framework of a waning "worldwide" revolutionary process, they failed to find a place for the countries where socialism has already been built; according to this whole scheme, it remains for the Soviet Union and the whole socialist community merely to adapt themselves to the "renewal" which Western Europe will bring at some time in the future.

It goes without saying that the CPSU, which has no intention of issuing instructions to other parties, has resolutely rejected and continues to reject any pretensions of this kind, whatever their origin.

The ICP leaders, to use their own formulas, intend to "usher in a new phase in the struggle for peace and socialism." But given their present conception, there is a grave danger that, with this slogan as a cover, they are turning the front precisely against the real forces which are in fact carrying on the struggle for peace and socialism, instead of those from whom the threat to peace and the cause of

social progress stems. That is a very slippery path, indeed.

The error and harm of the latest ICP documents are compounded by the fact that its leaders have published them, as has been said, at the height of a fierce political, economic and ideological campaign mounted by the aggressive circles of imperialism, headed by the United States, precisely against existing socialism.

The purposes of this campaign are all too transparent.

First, it is an effort to thwart détente, to revive the "cold war" and in that atmosphere, behind a loud barrage of cries about "struggle for freedom in Poland," to halt the process of social change, to slow down the peoples' liberation movement and their urge for independence and social progress, and to re-establish and consolidate imperialism's erstwhile domination and unpunished arbitrary action all over the world — in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Second, it is an attempt to discredit and erode the socialist world and the policy of the ruling communist parties, the CPSU in the first place, and to claim that communism, its ideology and practice have been found wanting. The imperialists' rabid efforts to prevent the situation in Poland from being stabilized, to frustrate the efforts aimed at overcoming the crisis situation, and — if possible — to revive it — have also run along the same lines.

One must also draw attention to the fact that this entire campaign tends to become ever sharper and more insolent with the growing clear-cut evidence that People's Poland is ever more confidently moving to overcome the crisis phenomena. As a result of the introduction of martial law, which was a sovereign act by the state power of the Polish People's Republic, the situation in the country is being normalized.

But these facts did not, evidently, get through to the Italian Communist Party leadership. The above-mentioned ICP documents make it perfectly clear that the ICP leadership has not only opposed the measures being effected by the government of Poland, above all the martial law it has introduced; it has in fact taken a stand of solidarity with the line of the opposition, anti-socialist forces, declaring them to be the leading forces of a . . . "democratic renewal of socialism" in Poland.

The ICP leadership completely shuns the class approach to the events in Poland. It has ignored the analysis and the assessment of the situation given by the Polish leadership both before December 13, 1981, and in the subsequent period. The ICP leaders do not want to believe the lawfully elected leader of the PUWP and the Polish state and, in effect, join in the false assertions of the overseas "hawks."

In order to create the necessary psychological climate and to dupe public opinion in their own countries, imperialism's propaganda machine has strained to present the Polish counter-revolution as a force which allegedly stands up for the ideals of democracy, justice and civil rights. Some, including the ICP leadership, have risen to that bait.

The actual facts of the Polish reality are, in effect,

ignored both in the statement of the leadership of the Italian Communist Party and in the documents of the ICP plenary meeting. The ICP leaders oppose the present measures taken to normalize the situation in Poland and have condemned the decision of Poland's State Council, which put an end to the ram-paging counter-revolutionary menace. The facts relating to the imperialist intervention in Poland's internal affairs are also totally ignored.

What is more, the ICP documents contain a highly dangerous statement verging on abandonment of principles which are most fundamental ones for the communists, namely, that the measures taken by the government cannot be justified even by the need to safeguard the socialist system in the country. All of this is being said on the claim of defending "democracy," but the call for democracy turns out to be a screen for the actual refusal to defend socialist gains. How reminiscent this is of what Messrs. Kautsky and Co. advised the Soviet communists to do in 1917-1918!

In a form that is insulting to the Polish communists and patriots, the ICP leaders allowed themselves to issue peremptory criticism about "violations of democracy" in Poland, although in actual fact, democracy was violated a thousand times in the course of a year and a half by the extremist leadership of Solidarity. It is the counter-revolutionary forces, it is precisely the Solidarity bosses that brought about the state of emergency by their anti-democratic acts. The ICP leadership is undoubtedly aware of the relevant facts. However, it has found no place for them in its long-winded reasonings on the Polish crisis, declaring that it cannot be ascribed to the moves of reactionary forces hostile to socialism. On the contrary, the ICP leadership supports the line of the anti-party and anti-state opposition in Poland and even "demands" that it should be given a free hand.

But that is not yet all by far. In the wake of the NATO bloc leadership, the ICP leadership has discovered the chief "culprit" of the Polish crisis in . . . the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Treaty countries.

It is a remarkable fact but the ICP leaders, in casting a shadow on Soviet-Polish relations, have repeated virtually word for word the inventions of Reagan, Weinberger, Haig, Brzezinsky and other imperialist politicians.

One has to state that the ICP leaders, holding forth on the subject of "external pressure" on the Polish leadership, have also — along this line as well — effectively moved in the wake of the anti-socialist propaganda unleashed by the West, which is doing much harm to the cause of détente and the strengthening of peace.

If one is to consider interference in Poland's internal affairs, one could turn for examples to the material of the ICP CC plenary meeting itself. Indeed, such "demands" as the release of persons interned or arrested for resistance to the authorities, and pressure on a sovereign socialist state for the purpose of getting it to make concessions to counter-revolutionary forces cannot be called otherwise than as gross interference in Poland's domestic affairs.

Incidentally, at the plenary meeting, the ICP leaders admitted the fact of intervention on the part of the ICP and even boasted of the fact that the ICP leadership's stand on Poland was "sterner and more inexorable than that of other parties and governments which are not left." In short, they have outdone a part of the bourgeoisie in pressuring socialist Poland — and are proud of it!

And yet this other point. The ICP leaders are evidently not concerned in the least that by actually inciting the anti-socialist forces in Poland to fresh action against the public order in the country and against its foreign policy, they tend to promote developments along a course that could lead to a tragic conflict in the center of Europe, with grave consequences for the cause of world peace.

From all this, it is up to the Italian communists themselves to draw the conclusion. But one thing is clear, and it is that here again the ICP leadership's stand contradicts the interests of socialism and the strengthening of peace.

The ICP leadership's document was published without any preliminary exchange of opinion either with the CPSU or with the PUWP. But, after all, for many years normal comradely relations have existed between them and the Italian Communist Party, there were numerous meetings in the course of which Italian comrades had every opportunity to find out everything they wanted to know, to acquaint themselves with the socialist countries' internal life and foreign policy, frankly to set forth their views, and to have a serious and unbiased discussion of arising questions, without playing into the hands of imperialism.

In a communiqué on his meeting with the General Secretary of the CPSU CC just over two years ago, comrade Berlinguer clearly declared the need to fight against anti-Sovietism and anti-communism. There is now a complete about-turn. But, after all, the nature of the Soviet system, of the Soviet state, has not changed. It is the same as it was two years ago, and as it was many years earlier. This equally applies to the foreign and domestic policy of the other socialist countries. This means that the causes of the ICP leaders' unseemly about-turn — let us say this frankly — will not be found in objective reality, not in the external world, but somewhere in their own midst, in the sphere of their calculations and ambitions. The Italian communists are, of course, themselves more aware of how things actually stand in this regard.

At any rate, the class adversary was quick to appreciate this "qualitative shift in the ICP's policy" (the words of the Political Secretary of Italy's Christian Democratic Party in the newspaper *Il Popolo*). Alarmed by Western Europe's recalcitrance over the acts of the Reagan administration, the official authorities in Washington saw the stand of the ICP leadership as a "ray of light" (from a letter of briefing circulated among Congressmen,

government officials and journalists).

The ICP is being praised, as the bourgeois Italian newspaper *Repubblica* put it, for its "successful heresy," and its "harsh condemnation of existing socialism" and for the "denial of its ideological significance" (*Corriere della sera*), for "a great stride forward" toward a break with the USSR (*La Stampa*). They have not only praised, but also provoked and prodded to take the next steps, demanding that the ICP should put an end to the "mythical notions of the Soviet Union, which, judging by everything, exist at the party grass roots — in contrast to the leadership," and to suppress "the resistance coming from these" (*Il Messaggero*).

By coming out against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, against the overwhelming majority of the communist and workers' parties, with respect to which the ICP declares itself to be free from any "ideological, political and organizational commitments," the leaders of the Italian Communist Party have doomed themselves to an absence of support on the part of the mighty forces of socialism, peace and freedom.

The Soviet communists are aware of the Italian Communist Party's services in the struggle against fascism, for the interests of the working class and the other working people of the country, and in the struggle for the common revolutionary cause.

One must assume that the Italian communists are also aware of the role which the CPSU, the Soviet state and the Soviet people had to play in routing fascism in Europe, including Italy, and know of the invariable solidarity and support on behalf of the CPSU for the emancipation struggle of the Italian working people and their Communist Party. For many years, the communists spread the truth about the Soviet Union in Italy. We believe that in the present international situation this is of great positive significance for everyone, including the Italian people itself and its struggle against capitalist exploitation, against the danger of war, and for the people's vital interests. That is why the stand expressed at the ICP CC plenary meeting is so alien and harmful not only to the cause of peace and socialism as a whole, but also to the interests of the working people of Italy.

There can be no doubt at all that the peoples of the socialist community, successfully tackling their own problems and resolutely beating back the attacks of imperialism in the international arena, will continue to advance confidently along the road of the October Revolution. Indeed, no one will manage to deflect them from this highroad.

There is no doubt at all that the strengthening of the Soviet Union and of the socialist community as a whole, and the further progress of world socialism will continue to strengthen the positions of all the forces taking a stand under the banner of peace, democracy and social progress.

Abridged from *Kommunist*, No. 2, 1982

Why the Applause?

In both bourgeois Italy and other capitalist countries, the leadership of the Italian Communist Party (ICP) has lately been reaping applause. Numerous bourgeois politicians, including leaders of social democratic, opportunist and reformist parties and movements active in the Western political scene as well as extremely reactionary newspapers, lavish praise on it.

What has earned the ICP leadership this sudden approval? The leadership has adopted a document (if not unanimously), taking a stand against the Polish people's efforts to restore order and tranquillity in the country and condemning the actions of the State Council of the PPR in defense of socialism in Poland. *L'Unita* has carried an article from the same position, repeating the ICP leadership's view of the situation in Poland and assailing the CPCz and socialist Czechoslovakia because we are defending principled class positions.

How is one to estimate the attitude of the ICP leadership? One has the impression that it has not been following developments in Poland carefully, has fully ignored the activity of counter-revolutionary forces and is unable to make an objective analysis of problems and hence to draw truly communist conclusions. The ICP leadership has made an obvious mistake and taken a position running counter to reality. After all, the Polish house was on fire and yet the leadership of Italy's communists, rather than offering the owners friendly aid, are telling them not to put out the fire, not to save the house.

not to stop the arsonists but to let it burn "democratically" to the ground.

This is fresh evidence of how very misleading illusions about "Eurocommunism" can be. In estimating events in Poland, the ICP leadership has slid down the slippery path of "Eurocommunism" to the other side, into the camp of the enemies of our common cause, to those who want to use events in Poland at all costs against the Soviet Union, the countries of existing socialism, the international communist movement and Marxism-Leninism generally.

It is not accidental that the step taken by the ICP to meet the enemies of socialism half-way is assessed by the Western press in broader terms and has become a subject of numerous speculations. Those who have always wanted the ICP to lose its significance in Italian politics are all of a sudden busy "forecasting" the contradictions arising within the party itself due to the latest decision of its leadership.

What rejoices enemies is seen with legitimate apprehension and anxiety in the ICP itself. Indeed, even Giorgio Napolitano, member of the ICP leadership, had to admit that "many party members, whatever their age, openly voice their surprise and disagreement" with the ICP leadership's attitude to events in Poland. They are not the only ones to react with pain and perplexity to the ICP leadership's unjustified attacks on fraternal communist parties — attacks both groundless and unwarranted.

Rude Pravo, January 8, 1982

The Greater the Strength of Socialism, the More Durable is Peace

Joint action by those who advocate lasting good-neighborly coexistence of the peoples on our planet is more important now than ever before.

All peace-loving forces derive hope and confidence from the fact that the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community, proceeding in line with their peace program, use their whole strength and prestige to defeat the imperialist policy of confrontation and show a real alternative to a nuclear inferno. On all continents, the peoples who have won freedom are coming out with growing resolve for the consolidation of peace as a most important condition of preserving their independence and durably safeguarding their national interests. Active in the capitalist countries themselves is a powerful peace movement of all classes and social groups, of people of every world-view and every religious conviction. At the same time millions are fighting against mass unemployment and inflation, that is, against the burden of armaments being shifted onto the people's shoulders.

It is all the more incomprehensible that in precisely this situation the January plenary meeting of the leadership of the Italian Communist Party adopted a decision running counter to the policy of the main peace forces on all major issues. Speeches made at the meeting and the decisions adopted by it, virtually deny the peace policy of the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community, a policy to which the peoples of Europe owe in decisive measure the longest peace period on our continent in this century.

Furthermore, the monstrous thesis was formulated at the CC ICP meeting that the policy of the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Treaty states does not differ from the foreign policy of the United States and NATO. A more absurd assertion would be hard to imagine. Thereby, contrary to all facts and the experience of peoples, the peace program of socialism is equated with NATO's long-term arms race program. The Brussels decision of NATO (1979), which lists Italy among the countries to be

used for the deployment of new U.S. medium-range missiles trained on socialist countries, is being put on the same plane as constructive proposals of the Warsaw Treaty countries. No distinction is made between the outspoken U.S. bid for military superiority and the Soviet Union's unrelenting efforts toward maintaining rough military strategic parity on an ever lower level.

The fact that the decisive peace force of today is identified with an aggressive imperialist military bloc is directed against the foundations of the peoples' struggle for international security and peaceful coexistence. This attitude to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries also contradicts the experience of Italy's anti-fascists. To them, it is still a living reality that the Soviet Union made the decisive contribution to the victory over fascism, a contribution exacting great sacrifices.

The pretext used by the ICP leadership for evolving its platform is the tragic events in Poland. But the leadership is now criticizing what it had demanded for the past 18 months, namely, that Poland's problems be solved by the Poles themselves. What is more, it grossly interferes in the affairs of the Polish United Workers' Party by making a number of demands. Yet when it comes to the ICP, its leadership invariably refers to the self-evident right of every party to decide on its policy as it sees fit.

The concept of the decision shows that the ICP sees the situation in Poland as just an excuse for bolstering a policy which has been known for a long time. This is why the decision has blown the situation in Poland to the proportions of a "crisis of the world socialist system." In other words, it artificially uses the steps taken by the PUWP to defend

socialism in People's Poland as evidence in support of the untenable allegation that "the strength of the period of socialist development begun by the Great October Socialist Revolution is spent." This is a strange statement in view of the fact that the ideas of the October Revolution have been at the basis of the three main revolutionary streams of modern times for nearly 65 years.

The question arises: What makes the ICP leadership think that the strength of the great ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin embodied in the October Revolution is "spent"?

What are the workers and other citizens of the GDR to think of this kind of self-conceited assertion which, as they know, is used round the clock by all Western radio and TV stations in an attempt to justify their anti-communist campaigns?

Communists always evaluate social and political decisions from a class position, according to whom they benefit. Under-rating the role of the socialist countries and their unflinching peace policy can only benefit imperialism, which sees its most important objective in weakening existing socialism, the communist parties and the peace movement so as to continue its policy of nuclear arms race and military superiority.

People assess politicians and parties in the present international situation according to their effort for peace and détente, and not their ability to slander the socialist countries. Nothing can shake the conclusion that the greater the strength of socialism, the more durable is peace.

Abridged from *Neues Deutschland*,
January 26, 1982

The ICP Leadership's Position is a Service to the U.S. Warmongers

N.K. Krishnan

The views expressed by the leadership of the Italian Communist Party on the situation in Poland amount to gross interference in the internal affairs of Poland. The charge made by the ICP leadership that the steps taken recently by the Polish party are dictated by pressure exerted by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is entirely unfounded and has no factual basis whatsoever.

The ICP's statements in regard to the Polish situation violate the norms of fraternal conduct that govern relations between different communist parties in the international communist movement.

In the past the ICP had repeatedly emphasized the opinion that there must be no outside interference in the affairs of the Polish people and that the situation inside Poland must be resolved by the Poles themselves. This is exactly what is being done now in Poland by the leadership of the Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP).

The leadership of the Polish party has in a detailed manner refuted false allegations levelled by the Reagan administration and other NATO powers that the recent steps taken in Poland have come as a result of "dictation" by the Soviet Union. It is extremely unfortunate that the ICP leadership should repeat the same slander and bring grist to the mill of the U.S. warmongers.

The leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has again and again emphasized its desire that the affairs of Poland must be settled by the Poles themselves without outside interference.

The Communist Party of India fully understands that the recent steps taken by the leadership of the Polish party are only directed toward putting down the forces of counter-revolution. These forces had made elaborate detailed plans for an armed coup in the latter half of December to overthrow the Polish

government and seize power with disastrous consequences, not only for the Polish people but also for the cause of peace in Europe itself.

The Polish party has also firmly declared that the process of renovation of socialist democracy will continue and the recent steps do not mean

abandonment of this process. The CPI fully supports the steps taken by General Jaruzelski to put down the forces of counter-revolution, which have been supported overtly and covertly by foreign imperialist forces, to restore order in Poland and to defend the socialist system in that country.

The Situation in Poland

Wojciech Jaruzelski's Speech in the Polish Parliament

A session of the Sejm, the Polish Parliament, which was held on January 25, was addressed by Wojciech Jaruzelski, Chairman of the Military Council for National Salvation. He said:

Poland has not perished. Poland cannot perish. Such is the most important truth. It determines the motives and purposes for which the Military Council for National Salvation has been formed.

In its capacity as the administrator of martial law, the Council supports the constitutional authorities of the state and creates for them the necessary conditions for the fulfillment of their functions. Until December 13 of last year, these functions were disastrously disrupted. Stability was upset and the security of the state jeopardized, the national economy was in a state of decline, and there loomed the threat of a fratricidal war. At the last moment, when we were on the very brink, the State Council introduced martial law. The Sejm and the State Council personify the will of the people.

At the moment of supreme necessity, the Armed Forces cannot remain idle. It was their sacred duty with respect to their native land.

Martial law cannot be regarded as an operation for establishing law and order after which things will continue to run their old course. It is, without doubt, not a normal state. But the situation prior to December 13 was even less normal.

The main thing which has been achieved since December 13 is tranquillity. Anarchy has been eliminated. Crime has definitely gone down. The national economy — wherever there are no shortages in supply — is gradually acquiring its normal rhythm. The activity of the organs of administration is being improved. The winter does not spare us. It is impossible to imagine what its effects would have been, if the strikes had continued and the tension had been maintained, if there had not been the organization and discipline of martial law, if the extraction of coal had not been increased.

I have no intention to assert, W. Jaruzelski continued, that a new and better epoch has already begun in Poland. That is still a long way off. Martial law has merely created the potentialities which need to be used in every way. It is a sort of bridge along which it is possible to pass through the critical period.

A frequent question asked is when martial law will be lifted. My answer is: let this happen as soon as possible. But the duration of the martial law does not

depend on our desires alone. It depends solely on the actual conditions, on the fulfillment of the requirements which are to ensure security, normal life, and appropriate functioning of the national economy. The country's future cannot be determined by the calendar, let alone by any kind of external pressure.

Our intentions are based on the following key idea: elements of martial law which curtail civic freedoms and which are burdensome for the whole people are gradually eased or completely lifted as the situation allows.

Poland continues to be a country subjected to many dangers. Broadcasts by subversive radio stations and criminal leaflets contain calls for plots and even for acts of terrorism. The anti-state forces, incited from abroad, threaten to take action. But there must be no vagueness on this score. The only consequence of such acts would be a continuation and tightening up of martial law. There is no point in expecting the power to collapse.

The ordering of the activity of the state and industrial administrations is proceeding. The martial law regime disciplines both those who manage the economy and those who are engaged in production. The switch of some industries to a military footing, and the presence of military commissars at the enterprises turn out to be useful for the normal functioning of industry, commerce and transport.

We have to act in a highly complicated international situation. It was planned to start on Polish soil the process of destroying the postwar pattern of forces in Europe, and thereby also on a world scale. In the urge for destabilization, for achieving a unilateral preponderance, the stake was on destroying the foundations of peace in Europe, which are made up of the Yalta and Potsdam agreements. That was to have occurred at the expense of the Poles. And since that goal proved to be impossible to attain before December 13, efforts are being made to attain it now by means of threats, boycott and so-called sanctions.

We welcome the realistic and far-sighted policy of those governments and those political, financial and economic circles which have resisted the diktat in resolute defense of their right to take sovereign deci-

sions. We are well aware of this today, and we shall remember it in the future as well.

Unfortunately, other states of the North Atlantic bloc are carrying on a psychological offensive and propaganda aggression against Poland. Use has been made of economic weapons, including food. It is asserted that economic sanctions are aimed against the government of the Polish People's Republic, against the Military Council for National Salvation. That is not true. The sanctions are ultimately aimed against the Polish people, against each Pole.

The purpose of the sanctions is clear: it is to paralyze the Polish economy, to make a pull-out from the crisis impossible, to starve out the country, to provoke an internal conflict. That is the measure of the ostensibly humane approach. That is a lesson which we must always remember.

The Poles have never yet submitted to foreign ultimatums. It appears that not everyone abroad has a knowledge of our history, of our sense of pride and dignity. There are contradictions and conflicts in our country. But it is not foreigners who will resolve them.

Similarly, we reject the insinuations that the decision to introduce martial law was allegedly instigated and imposed on us. It is being suggested that a socialist, sovereign country with a thousand-year history of its own statehood and with a strong army at its disposal is an immature child whom someone is leading by the hand. The truth is that the decision to introduce martial law was our own decision, it was taken on the basis of our own appraisals and it is being realized by our own efforts.

We regret that the role of chief organizer of actions against Poland has been assumed by the present government of the United States, a country with which Poland is linked by ties of traditional friendship. We continue to hope that there would be a return to realism in the United States.

The attempts to interfere in Polish internal affairs clearly contradict the UN Charter and the Helsinki Final Act. It must be clear that we have no intention at all of appearing before any self-styled tribunal whatsoever. We shall not take part in any conferences at which Poland would be assigned the role of a defendant. The events in our country did not threaten anyone. On the contrary, it is we who halted the threat of destabilization in Europe. It is we who have helped to preserve peace.

We made a point of broadly explaining the partial restrictions on civil liberties in Poland, which are of a temporary nature. However, these explanations were not brought to the knowledge of world opinion — in its "freedom" of information, a sizable part of the Western press does not go that far. But this "freedom" does include the stuffing of the minds of readers with all kinds of absurd gossip. Most frequently, these are "horror stories" with respect to interned persons. However, a delegation of the International Red Cross was recently able to see for itself how much truth there is in all that.

We have nothing to conceal. Among the interned are those who inspired anti-socialist activity, those

who are to blame for the tense situation in the society, the leaders and members of illegal anti-state organizations. Among them are also persons who have lost their prudence and were mixed up in actions which they did not fully comprehend. It is up to them to think over their own mistakes, and to regain their sense of responsibility and political prudence.

Persons who bear the main responsibility for having carried the country to its deep crisis are also interned.

As of today, there are 4,549 persons in places where the internees are being kept. Up to now, 1,760 persons have been released. Others will subsequently also be released. Those who have been interned under the decree, may return to their families and do work if they renounce activity against the socialist state.

Persons who refuse to renounce underground actions will remain in isolation. They cannot expect to return to anti-state political activity.

Every Pole now asks himself this question: what next? How is the crisis to be overcome? What are the guarantees that the emergency measures will not produce the opposite result, that the mistakes of the past will be truly overcome?

A view widely accepted in our history is that sometimes something can be done for the Poles, but nothing can ever be done with the Poles. But the truth lies elsewhere. Nothing sound can be built despite the will of the people, contrary to the will of the working class, in defiance of the ideas of socialism. A socialist Poland can be built only together with the Poles.

There can be no return to the methods of administration used before August 1980. The distortions, the departures from the ideological and moral principles of socialism have been stringently condemned and rejected by the party.

The army is not and will not be a defense shield for those who had a hand in the present crisis whether maliciously or through incompetence, who have learned nothing from the harsh lesson, and who want to act in the old way.

Emotions can be understood. But social life cannot be based on emotions. We shall fight without compromise against the enemies of the socialist state, those who spread anarchy and acted as initiators. But we resolutely reject revenge and the settling of accounts. In Poland there are already too many conflicts for them to be further multiplied.

We shall not negotiate with the enemies. An understanding must be reached with people who are honest but who were misled and disoriented.

We are getting down to clearing the field for the future and are leaving the past behind us. There have been conflicts, grave errors, and tragedies for many people. But there were above all intransigent values — the great cause of postwar rehabilitation, the historical ascent of the workers and peasants, the country's industrialization and the development of science and culture. It is impossible to write the history of People's Poland in black letters alone.

Today we ask ourselves this question: how did it happen that such a potentially rich country as Po-

land has found itself at the bottom of a humiliating and protracted crisis? Why is it that the other countries of existing socialism have been able, in the same period, to achieve considerable progress, while we have been burdened with difficulties. How is one to explain the fact that with us democracy is so rapidly transformed into anarchy, and a part of the apparatus of power is so easily corrupted?

The mistakes and fault of the ruling groups are there. But that is not the whole truth about Poland.

Power in our country is not confined to a narrow circle of people, to the central leadership. It is exercised in various forms by tens and even hundreds of thousands of people. Offices, shops, hospitals, post offices, schools and enterprises also frequently provide examples of poor civic attitudes and humanism.

However, those who recently set up opposition to the power in the country also displayed, a few months later, rudeness, greediness, dictatorial impulses and hostility to criticism.

It is now time for all, both the authorities and society, to join each other in taking a critical look at everything we have done. If the conclusions drawn on the basis of our hard history are to serve the future, these conclusions need to be drawn just now.

No people can live only by the present day, without any sense of perspective. It is the duty of our generation to make the vision of a socialist Poland contemporary and real.

What must be done above all for the country's successful development?

First, there is a need for strong, honest and far-sighted power, a well-organized state that is strong and just.

Second, there is a need to deepen socialist democracy in all its manifestations.

Third, there is a need to restructure the national economy to make it productive and economical, so that it would serve well the requirements of the working people.

During the martial law period, activity in the sphere of legislation has not been suspended. It has continued and is being carried on in an organized manner. The legislative activity of the Sejm, the State Council and the government has been left intact. This provides incontestable evidence of our genuine intentions in the sphere of reforms.

The Polish United Workers' Party, in accordance with the decision of its ninth extraordinary congress, is the inspirer of such reforms and guarantees provided for by the law. A special type of guarantee will be provided above all by the process of inner-party renewal, the party's re-establishment of its ideological unity, and its truly leading role.

The government has duly assessed the great importance of the program of state reform. This is promoted by the organic cooperation between the PZPR, the United Peasant Party, and the Democratic Party, including cooperation in the Sejm. Their activity as mutual complements in this coalition is also backed up with active participation by representatives of non-party societies, including members of lay Catholic societies.

Wojciech Jaruzelski then dealt with a number of bills on which the Sejm was working, notably the draft law on the people's councils, on the Council of Ministers, a draft statute on employees, and so on.

These lines of work in the sphere of legislation and the consequent measures, Jaruzelski declared, serve yet another exceptionally important matter: the idea of legality. Heavy blows were dealt at this idea twice, and from different sides. Each time this was characterized by a demonstrative neglect of the law. This harmed the social consciousness and weakened the juridical guarantees.

There is a need resolutely to re-establish the authority of the law in the eyes of citizens, and its correspondence with the principles of socialist morality. We must ensure a return to scrupulous submission to law, to the personal responsibility of everyone, without exception, for their illegal acts. For that purpose, the Military Council for National Salvation has put before the High Sejm a proposal to institute a state tribunal.

Wojciech Jaruzelski went on:

Poland's international positions have worsened.

Poland's positions were not shaken now, but before December 13. This may sound like a paradox. However, time will bear out this truth. Poland will return to its fitting place in the socialist community, in Europe and in the world. There are circles which realize this even today. Their number will grow.

The strength or weakness of the Polish state is reflected in the arrangement of forces in Europe. Conversely, Poland's destiny depends on peace, on the stability of political relations on our continent. Our country is and will remain indissolubly linked with the policy of peace and détente. We want to continue making our Polish contribution to it.

Our place — not only geographically — is a place within the socialist community of states, within the Warsaw Treaty, among equal and friendly peoples. All of them, in these days of trial for Poland, have given us internationalist economic assistance, and have treated us with confidence and faith in that we shall be able, through our own exertions, to avert the danger threatening socialism in our country. For this, we are sincerely grateful to them.

The alliance between Poland and the USSR is the basis of our foreign policy. From the USSR have come and continue to come planned and above-planned deliveries for Poland. That has been tremendous assistance measured in rubles and convertible currency. Those were the Soviet "sanctions." We highly appreciate them.

We state with gratitude and satisfaction that the governments advocating an active policy of international agreements have reaffirmed their business-like, realistic attitude to the Polish events. Some of the governments taking a friendly attitude to Poland have also given us assistance. For this we thank them.

Wojciech Jaruzelski then dwelt on the question of socialist democracy. It is not socialism, but a deficiency of socialism that has brought disappointment to Poland. There is a need to re-establish the class character of our state, to strengthen the role of

the workers and peasants as expressed in contemporary organizational and legal forms.

Socialist democracy must be enriched with values which accord with the moral and social substance of socialism. Among these values are attitude to work. Respect for work, a kind of cult of labor, must permeate the whole of our educational system, our personnel policy, the structure of wages, the system of taxes — everything that predetermines the individual's place in society.

The state-guaranteed right to work and the duty to work are indivisible. Martial law, with its strict laws, facilitates the start of a resolute drive against parasitism, against home-grown millionaires, who do not plough or sow, but have a sweet life. We must get rid of more resolutely — drunkenness, hooliganism and stealing. We shall do this while observing the law, but none too gently.

Social justice must become a sound and immutable principle of our social life with deep roots, so that every citizen could declare the superiority of socialism in this sphere.

The future of the trade union movement evokes a vivid interest. There is a growing body of opinion about the need for the political unity of the trade unions on the basis of the constitution and the fundamentals of the foreign policy of the state. Their independent and self-governing character is also emphasized in contrast to bureaucratic practices by the organs of administration, as a guarantee that the everyday interests of the working people are ensured. There are no ready-made solutions at this moment. We do not suggest any centralized model. The trade unions in Poland will be such as the working people will want to see them. There are no obstacles for the trade union movement, based on the ideas of individual occupational groups, gradually revived from below at the enterprises, while being guaranteed against fresh political manipulations by the adversaries of socialism, to resume its activity right away, as soon as the situation in the country ensures its normal functioning. To this, the next few months should provide a concrete answer.

Much has been said about the place of the young generation in the country's social life. The urge of young citizens to take part in the decision-making process about the affairs of state is a valuable and natural phenomenon. Youth, which goes hand in hand with ideological commitments and knowledge, is capital which no people may waste.

Over the past year, a considerable part of the higher schools were in the grip of political tension. The pace of academic work was slowed down. There were marked interruptions in realizing the syllabus. Thanks to the re-establishment of order in the higher schools, conditions are being created for normal work. The society has a right to expect that they will be correctly used.

Socialism has given art access to the broadest strata of the society, and society — access to cultural values.

Every line of aesthetic creativity serving to unite the people and producing significant social values will be given all-round care and will enjoy the pa-

tronage of the state. Only the cynical and mocking attitude to the state and its history, and obvious distortions must evoke protests. Pseudo-culture must disappear from our life.

Public attention is centered on the activity of the mass media. Many journalists and a number of editorial collectives have correctly understood the interests of socialist society. However, a part of the journalists has not displayed sufficient immunity to demagogy and also to arguments from the classical arsenal of Polish reaction.

We do not expect a return either to the "propaganda of success," or to the subsequently so fashionable "propaganda of disaster." Poland needs the truth. Clumsy propaganda does more actual social harm than imaginary good.

Jaruzelski considered the role of the church in the state and emphasized: while creating the possibility for the Catholic Church and other creeds to fulfil their pastoral mission, the government, in accordance with the constitution, retains the secular character of the state.

He went on:

The Military Council for National Salvation welcomes with satisfaction the national salvation committees which have been spontaneously taking shape in various parts of the country. It is good that the new national consensus is taking shape spontaneously in day-to-day practice, among those working at the same enterprise or those living in the same neighborhood. There should be a quest for new forms of concrete interaction by all the patriotic forces for the sake of the common interests — local and also national.

We do not predetermine the future state-wide forms of this new phenomenon in our social life. We want it to create its own regional structures and a representative organ for the country — a front of national consensus.

The Polish economy is laboring in deep crisis. It is rooted in the 1970s. However, it would not have assumed such proportions but for the blows dealt at the national economy after August 1980.

Nature has provided our country with valuable raw materials. We have a sizable industrial potential, adequate land resources, many millions of educated people and good specialists. There are no objective reasons for the Polish people to use charitable assistance as a matter of necessity. We are capable of creating, with our own hands, the material foundations for a better life. Not in the next century, but within the next few years.

With that idea in mind, we adopted, in these so unfavorable conditions, a program for an in-depth restructuring of the economy and a general reform of the economic management system.

Wojciech Jaruzelski then went on to describe the main features of these programs. The main question is to provide food for the people, to increase the funds for the production of foodstuffs, to switch industrial production to the satisfaction of the requirements of agriculture, and to supply agriculture with the means which ensure a rapid and high increase of output.

The second question is to improve the housing conditions in society. Total elimination of the housing shortage, and provision of a separate flat for each family within a short period is impossible. However, it is a fully realistic prospect for at least two million Poles to move into new flats within the next three years.

The third problem is to regain our economic sovereignty. We cannot endlessly live on credit. We must pull out of the situation in which the rhythm of production, the supply of the economy and even deliveries of ordinary spare parts depend on the extension of credit. The main way to this is an increase in export and a rise in its economic effectiveness.

The country's payments position in trade with capitalist countries has markedly worsened in the recent period. Credits for the purchase of material and components required for the supply of industry had been suspended. The U.S. government has not agreed even to the purchase on credit of the farm produce we traditionally import from the United States.

In this situation, there is an especially clear view of what economic cooperation with the Soviet Union and other CMEA countries — stable, long-term cooperation based on equitable principles — is for Poland. In this period of trial for us, the socialist community countries show understanding and have been giving us invaluable internationalist assistance.

Poland's international economic ties should be oriented toward our reliable partners, our closest neighbors, the whole CMEA system. Here, there are tremendous potentialities for our economy.

I have characterized three important economic goals. It will not be easy to achieve them. However, these goals are within the compass of our real potentialities. A cardinal condition for their attainment is a growth of production and a revival of the economy. Otherwise, we shall not increase our exports or improve the supply of the market. In this, we must be helped by an economic reform based on the autonomy of enterprises and self-management of collectives, on the principle of central planning of the lines of economic development.

Considering the forthcoming reform of prices,

Jaruzelski said: the reform of retail prices will not at once solve the problem of the market and will not fill the shelves all at once, but without it the market equilibrium and the links between town and country cannot be re-established.

The apprehensions over the planned reform of prices are quite understandable. That is why so much importance is attached to the fairest possible system of compensation.

No one is free to choose the history of one's country. It can not be changed for another. The people inherit their history with everything that is good and bad in it. But from the historical legacy there is a need to select and preserve everything that has promoted the successful development of the state and the people and to reject everything that has led to disorganization and catastrophe.

We have radiant traditions and fine pages in the history of progressive social thought. Today we are carrying on the same struggle which our predecessors had to carry on against the forces of reaction, anarchy and the provincial mentality.

We shall make extensive use of the traditional patriotic and civic values which are a solid element of the Polish consciousness. In the history of Poland, above all in that history with which our young generation is being acquainted, there must be no room for subterfuge and hushing up. We do not fear the truth — our truth has been demonstrated by history.

A hard and harsh time has come, a time of privation and toil, Jaruzelski said. We cannot afford to mark time, to wallow in disputes, when other peoples are moving forward. The distance has been growing, instead of being reduced. It is all the more important for us to understand each other and to reach agreement. The stake is tremendous: consolidation of independence and sovereignty, strengthening of the socialist state and re-establishment of Poland's positions in Europe.

In conclusion Wojciech Jaruzelski declared: At this historical moment we are faced simultaneously with danger and with hope. We have to make a choice. I trust that we shall cope with our task, that we shall save Poland, our homeland.

Abridged from *Trybuna Ludu*, January 26, 1982

Those Who Are Putting Spokes in our Wheel

A strident propaganda campaign misrepresenting the developments in Poland is continuing in various Western capitals, notably Washington. Its aim is obviously to find the pretext for continued political interference in our internal affairs and justify the economic "sanctions" and pressure on Poland, and thereby compel it to return to the situation prior to December 13 of last year, a situation that was imperilling national and state interests. They want to see a return to the period when counter-revolutionary forces were making ready for a bloody confrontation and the seizure of power.

The same aim is served by the allegations being made in the West that the situation in Poland is steadily deteriorating, allegations belied by facts indicating that life and work are returning to normal. One of these allegations was made on January 19 by President Reagan, who declared that the USA would not wait "endlessly" for the situation in Poland to improve and threatened further sanctions against Poland and the USSR.

This is evidence that in Washington they have no intention of abandoning their hostile policies toward Poland and are considering the ways to make it more

difficult to end the economic and social crisis in Poland.

Further, the USA is continuing to pressure its NATO allies to join in the Reagan "sanctions" and approve Washington's intention to internationalize the "Polish question" by placing it on the agenda of, for example, the Madrid session of the Conference on European Security.

THE POLISH SCREEN

The "Polish question" is, unquestionably, no more than a screen for the doctrine of a global confrontation of the U.S.-led West with the USSR and the rest of the socialist community.

Western assessments of the situation in Poland are given the lie by what has been accomplished during the past month by the Military Council for National Salvation to restore public order and calm and reorganize our economy. These assessments are propaganda pure and simple, spelling out deliberate misinformation. Dissident organizations and opinion-making agencies are spreading the same sort of misinformation by alleging that there is a military dictatorship in Poland and by their hypocritical concern for the destiny of the Polish United Workers' Party, as though the communists in the Polish Army belong to some abstract party or "junta."

Putting it mildly, the West is misleading public opinion with its claims that economic sanctions and the suspension of international trade and scientific-technological agreements with Poland are aimed "solely" against the Polish government, that they serve Polish society's interests and are helping to resume the national dialogue in our country.

The Joint Commission of the Government and the Episcopate of January 18 has challenged these hypocritical claims. The Commission's communiqué says: "It has been unanimously declared that in this extremely difficult situation the people need economic assistance. The economic sanctions are a serious hindrance to the surmounting of the crisis, to the process of renewal in the spirit of social agreements." On the next day, knowing the content of this communiqué, Reagan spoke of the possibility of further "sanctions" against our people.

AN UNPRINCIPLED INTERPRETATION

In the West, especially in the USA, an unprincipled interpretation is put on the program aims of the Military Council for National Salvation and the reasons that led to the introduction of martial law. Responsible quarters in the West, notably most of the heads of state and government, received in writing a full and authoritative explanation of the aims of the Military Council from the Prime Minister, General Wojciech Jaruzelski. Earlier, on December 13 and 24 of last year, General Jaruzelski had publicly explained the program line of action to take Poland out of the crisis.

He declared without beating around the bush: "We do not want a military coup, a military dictatorship. The people have the strength and wisdom to develop an effective, democratic system of socialist

administration." And further: "The Military Council for National Salvation is not supplanting the constitutional organs of power. The sole purpose for which it has been set up is to protect law and order in the nation, to create the guarantees making it possible to restore social tranquility and discipline."

And, lastly, the underlying program statement: "Much as there is no way back from socialism, there can be no return to the misconceived methods and practices that were in existence prior to August 1980. All major reforms will be continued under conditions of order and discipline. This also concerns the economic reform."

What the USA and its allies want is not a continuation of socialist renewal but a return to the situation prior to December 13 of last year, when the extremist section of Solidarity and its adventurist "advisers" from KOR and KOS had, in the course of 16 months with Western backing, sought to trigger a fratricidal confrontation in Poland and in fact provoke an internationalization of our internal problems.

Hence the continued attempts to obstruct a stabilization of the situation on the Vistula and the calls for a "resistance movement" or even, as the U.S.-operated Radio Free Europe recommends, for a "centrally ruled underground state." In their blatant interference in the internal affairs of a nation of 36 million people living in the heartland of Europe, the Atlantic strategists and propaganda-makers are not disturbed by the fact that Poland is a signatory of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference on European Security. It will be recalled that the Final Act commits all the signatory states, which include the USA and its NATO partners and the EEC countries, to refrain from interfering in the internal affairs of all other countries that participated in the conference, to refrain from using threats, pressure, or economic sanctions against them.

Economic and political pressure on Poland from the USA and other NATO states is accompanied by high-handed demands. These amount to an attempt to dictate how, in the view of the West, our socialist country, which is a member of the Warsaw Treaty Organization and the CMEA, should resolve its internal problems notwithstanding our ideology and allied commitments.

The same interpretation must be put on the USA's demands, repeated by its allies, for the immediate lifting of martial law, the release of interned extremists, and their admission to talks with the government on vital national problems which they had — without a twinge of conscience — been ignoring and prejudicing for a year and a half. Without seeing the difference between Poland and, say, the states of Ohio or Texas, the U.S. government tells us when and how to resume the national dialogue, who should participate in it, and what its end result should be. Not content with this, it adds the slander that the Soviet Union is at the back of our efforts to restore order and tranquility in the country. In Washington or Bonn they can rest assured that no foreign encouragement is needed for such efforts.

UNWANTED SERMONS

Poland stands in no need of the West's pompous verbiage about the need for dialogue and reforms, which we ourselves started long ago. At the moment — with no outside assistance — we are removing the obstacles that had been piled up in their way by anarchists and the enemies of renewal. American and Atlantic "sanctions," hostility for our way of restoring order, continuing reforms, and normalizing the situation in the republic, and the propaganda campaign against the constitutional system in Poland can make it more difficult to end the crisis (economic sanctions will be particularly painful for our citizens) but the West will not halt the process.

The actions of the West, particularly of the USA, to bring back the cold war and the language of the days of Dulles and Adenauer, conflict with our national and state interests and are similarly destruc-

tive. We are convinced that this will also be surmounted, but it is no longer possible to forget entirely who in the West (and their motivations) sought to prevent us from correcting the situation in our republic, who was guided by shortsighted policy and erected political and economic hindrances. This policy is at variance with European realities and the correctly understood interests of the peoples of our continent.

It is high time that in the West, especially in Western Europe, they realized that there is little point in using the artificially magnified "Polish question," which is Poland's internal affair, for the transient aims of unity and tighter discipline in NATO, or for giving satisfaction to the hegemonistic ally across the ocean. Poland is no toy for the attainment of some goal.

Trybuna Ludu, January 27, 1982

Leonid Brezhnev receives Representatives of the Socialist International's Consultative Council on Disarmament

On February 3, Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, received a delegation of the Socialist International's Consultative Council on Disarmament, including K. Sorsa, Vice-Chairman of the Socialist International, Chairman of its Consultative Council on Disarmament, and Chairman of the Social-Democratic Party of Finland; W. Hacker, Secretary of the Consultative Council and Secretary for International Affairs of the Board of the Socialist Party of Austria; and S. Taguti, member of the Foreign Policy Committee of the Central Executive, Democratic Socialist Party of Japan.

Leonid Brezhnev called their attention to the dangerous consequences for the cause of universal peace inherent in the present line followed by NATO and, primarily, by the USA, its leading force. Never since the Second World War has the situation been as serious as it is today.

As for the Soviet Union and its leadership, Leonid Brezhnev emphasized, we are firmly convinced that it is madness for any state to stake its policy on nuclear war, on a victory in such a war, that it is an irresponsible, adventurist gamble involving the future of mankind. The main thing now is to eliminate the threat of war, and the Soviet Union's foreign policy efforts are directed toward this goal.

What diplomacy needs is not "linkages" but "unravelings." The tangled skein of conflict situations and disputes in today's world cannot be cut through by any sword. The only way is that of patient constructive talks, such talks as would ensure real cutbacks in armaments and their destruction.

In speaking of the Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear

arms limitation in Europe that are now in progress in Geneva, Leonid Brezhnev noted that their initial stage is somewhat disquieting in view of the USA's obvious reluctance to look for a basis for a mutually acceptable understanding. Washington's so-called "zero option," according to which the Soviet Union should unilaterally dismantle all its medium-range missiles, cannot be seen as a serious proposal in any way. Both NATO's decision of December 1979 and the "Reagan plan" cut right across the principle of equality and equal security. They are aimed to upset the present military equilibrium in Europe and the world in order to harm the security of the USSR and its allies.

By contrast, the Soviet Union is even now prepared to negotiate a total renunciation by both sides — the East and the West — of all types of medium-range weapons targeted on Europe. We could go even farther and negotiate a total withdrawal from Europe both of medium-range and tactical nuclear weapons. This would be a real "zero option," and the Soviet Union is prepared for it. If the NATO countries agree to such a truly zero solution, the cause of peace in Europe (and, possibly, in the whole world) will be put on an unprecedentedly solid basis.

If, on the other hand, the West is still not ready for radical solutions, Leonid Brezhnev said, we are prepared to start out by negotiating big cutbacks by the two sides of their medium-range nuclear weapons. Very big cutbacks: hundreds of units. Thus, by 1990, each side could reduce the number of its medium-range nuclear missiles to one-third or even less of the present total, doing this stage by stage: over the next few years, these arsenals could be reduced

by about one-third, with further reductions in the future. In the process, the total quantity of such weapons at the disposal of the NATO powers and the Soviet Union would, of course, continue to be equal at every stage.

It is also well known that in order to facilitate an understanding, the USSR has proposed that for the period of the talks, both sides should freeze their medium-range weapons in Europe, both in quantitative and qualitative terms. During such a moratorium, we would already be prepared to reduce on a unilateral basis a certain amount of our medium-range weapons deployed in the European part of the USSR.

Such, in brief, is our position on the question of reducing nuclear weapons aimed at targets in Europe. We are prepared at any time to translate it into appropriate agreements or, to begin with, into a common statement of principle by the two sides, and continue to hope for a positive response from the USA.

A Soviet-U.S. understanding on another crucial problem of our day — limitation of strategic arms — would be equally important. The U.S. administration has been declaring from time to time that it is allegedly interested in radical cutbacks in strategic arms. In practice, however, Washington has been doing nothing toward this goal and, on various artificial pretexts, has been trying to avoid even a resumption of the talks.

The Soviet Union's principled line formulated by the 26th congress of the CPSU, Leonid Brezhnev emphasized, is resolute defense of peace. The Soviet Union will continue filling out the provisions of the Peace Program adopted by the congress with new and concrete initiatives, seeking to reduce the threat of war, to strengthen peace and deepen détente.

The CPSU, Leonid Brezhnev noted, intends to follow consistently its line, reaffirmed by the 26th congress of the CPSU, in its relations with the Socialist International and its member-parties, which the CPSU sees as a most influential socio-political force. This is a line of dialogue and cooperation. Considerable potentialities still exist for extending cooperation in the struggle to maintain and strengthen détente. The most important global problem of our day — that of preventing the world from sliding toward a thermonuclear catastrophe — makes it necessary to find a common language and, most important of all, common solutions in spite of all the differences and disagreements.

Kalevi Sorsa thanked Leonid Brezhnev for a detailed account of the Soviet Union's positions on the most burning problems of the present international situation. He stressed the importance of Leonid Brezhnev's personal contribution to the efforts aimed at promoting the cause of détente and disarmament.

Kalevi Sorsa noted that soon after the visit to Moscow in 1979 by a working group of the Socialist International, international events took a negative turn. The Socialist International and its parties have repeatedly expressed their profound concern over

these events and, at the same time, their firm resolve not to relax their efforts in order to continue the dialogue, détente and disarmament.

In the present situation, he said, the spiralling arms race presents the greatest danger for the whole of humankind.

In September 1981, the Bureau of the Socialist International adopted a resolution on disarmament submitted by the Consultative Council. In December 1981, the Socialist International's Presidium appealed to "all those whom it may concern not to use the crisis in Poland as a pretext for relaxing efforts in matters of détente and arms control."

The Socialist International's Bureau believes that the most important concrete proposals on practical measures to develop the disarmament process are those aimed at resuming strategic arms limitation talks, at an effective reduction of medium-range nuclear forces in Europe, prohibition of the neutron bombs, convocation of a conference on disarmament in Europe, establishment of nuclear-free zones, and limitation of the international arms traffic.

The meeting was held in a friendly, businesslike atmosphere.

Pravda, February 4, 1982

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On the Formation of the Palestinian Communist Party

Resolution of CC Plenary Meeting, Jordanian Communist Party

The Central Committee of the Jordanian Communist Party met in plenary session in late December 1981. The meeting resolved:

1. To authorize the leadership of the Palestinian communist organization in the West Bank of the river Jordan and the Gaza Strip, with the participation of the leadership of the Palestinian communist organization in Lebanon, to carry out all the preparatory work for the proclamation of an independent Palestinian Communist Party (PCP). The latter is to operate in all spheres relating to Palestine and will include Palestinians living outside Jordan (the East Bank of the river Jordan), with the exception of Palestinians who are citizens of Jordan, for work among the latter lies exclusively within the competence of the Jordanian Communist Party.

2. Palestinians who are members of the party and who live abroad (except for citizens of Jordan) automatically join the Palestinian Communist Party.

3. The JCP Central Committee wishes the fraternal PCP and its new leadership every success. It will go on striving for international comradely cooperation with the new party. In accordance with its national and international duty, the JCP will continue fighting against imperialism, Zionism and the occupation, for the Palestinian people's inalienable rights to return to their homeland, to self-determination, and the formation under PLO leadership of an independent national state on their own land liberated from the occupation forces, regarding this as one of the main tasks facing the Jordanian Communist Party and the fraternal Jordanian and Palestinian peoples.

The Mass Upsurge and the Party's Policy with a view to the 1982 Elections

Below are excerpts from a report by Gus Hall, General Secretary, CPUSA, at a Central Committee plenary meeting, held on December 12-13, 1981.

Resistance to the policies of the Reagan administration continues to build up. As the impact of the cutbacks which have become the biggest take-backs in history takes hold, ever new sectors of the population are moving into the arena of fightback.

There is a changing mood in the rank and file as well as in different levels of leadership. Not only in Philadelphia, but increasingly in many places, there are discussions and resolutions on the need to use the powerful working-class weapon — a general strike.

In fact, there were a number of resolutions passed by trade union locals proposing a one-day general strike for the September 19 Solidarity Day March. These are noteworthy straws in the wind.

September 19 was a high point in the fightback so far, both in size and composition. It was a perfect example of our multiracial, multinational, young and old working class united in struggle.

It was the best example of a mass action initiated, organized and largely led by the working class, together in unity with the racially oppressed Afro-American community, the Chicano, Puerto Rican and other Spanish-speaking communities, as well as Asian and Native American Indian peoples.

Even more significant than the massiveness of the September 19 march were the dynamics and forces that gave rise to this mass protest action. Our study of these dynamics must include the new level in the process of radicalization, the new level of Black-white unity, the new level of class and political consciousness, the new level of the anti-monopoly sentiment, the nature of the response of the non-working-class sectors of the people — farmers, professionals, intellectuals, small business people, artists, writers — to a working-class, labor-led call for action.

Another very important feature of the mass upsurge is the explosive response and participation in recent conferences such as the Conference in Solidarity with the Liberation Struggles of the People of Southern Africa, the Writers Congress, the numerous peace gatherings, the teach-ins against nuclear war and draft registration that took place on campuses throughout the country.

A noteworthy element of these actions has been the spontaneous response factor. In most cases, when hundreds were expected thousands showed up. Another important element is that while the spontaneous element was exceptional, these con-

ferences succeeded in adopting rather advanced positions on most issues. And the opposition to these advanced positions was, in most cases, ineffective.

These two elements together — spontaneous response and high political level — point to the progressive trends in the mass movements on a larger scale than ever before. These elements, more than anything else, are reflections of the breadth and depth of the militant fightback mood that lies just beneath the surface and which is erupting every time a realistic opportunity is presented.

This is clear proof that with the proper bold and creative initiatives and organization there can be popular mass response on most important issues. It is crucial for us to digest the fact that while movements do not flow from one mass action directly to another, this ferment and anger have by no means subsided. The spirit of September 19 has not dissipated. The new levels of thinking that propelled people to Washington, if tapped, will become the basis for a continuing process of mass actions.

Today the issues and problems are more critical. If anything, people are becoming angrier and more radicalized daily. They are becoming more and more ready to move into action and respond to calls for action.

This process will continue to build a head of steam. This is a most important fact we must take into consideration when we discuss tactics, strategy, demands and levels of struggle in the coming period.

The working class and trade union movement face some very serious and in many ways unique challenges. The ruthless anti-people, anti-working-class, anti-union offensive mounted by state-monopoly capital in collusion with the Reagan administration has succeeded in putting the working class and the trade union movement on the defensive.

The reality and level of the mass upsurge are not debatable. However, to this point it is taking place within the context of defensive struggles. The concept of mass upsurge and militant fightback struggles in the context of defense is not a contradiction. In fact, in such a period as this, it is inevitable that the upsurge begins from a position of defending and protecting past gains.

All levels of movements and struggles must take into consideration the defensive features of the upsurge. Simultaneously, it is necessary for the more advanced forces to keep testing the waters by trail-blazing projections of issues, slogans and demands that would call for offensive struggles.

Generally, it is a lesson of history that to move on to the offensive in struggles, there is a need to build some movements and struggles that are broad and national in scope.

While it is clear there have been some very significant shifts and changes in the outlook, statements and actions of all layers of trade union leadership, for this process to continue there is an even greater need for rank-and-file formations. And, as in the past, this stimulus must come from the ranks.

The state-monopoly capital offensive against the people continues along three fronts — economic, political and ideological. The role of the state-monopoly government is being constantly upgraded. It is becoming an ever bigger factor on all three fronts. It increasingly assumes the role of coordinator and enforcer of the monopoly offensive, with a \$2 billion per day budget at its disposal to carry out these activities.

As the role of this state-monopoly government increases, the struggles in the electoral arena become a more intense and a more decisive area of struggle.

Taking into consideration the political composition of Congress, it is difficult if not impossible to think in terms of making any qualitative changes in the struggle on any front — for peace, restoration of funds to social programs, against racism — without radically changing the makeup of Congress.

I think we can assume the upsurge against the Reagan policies will continue to grow. As a result, tens of millions will be seeking ways to express their protest and demands through the ballot. And, I think it is safe to predict that the mass upsurge has the potential of giving rise to an anti-Reagan electoral wave and that every electoral race — national, state and local — will be greatly influenced by the candidates' positions on Reaganomics and the Reaganites.

This anti-Reagan mood will mount as the crisis deepens and the effects of the Reagan hatchet hits ever wider sectors of the population.

The situation today is radically different than it was a year ago. Today, virtually the entire labor movement is openly anti-Reagan. AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland now refers to Election Day 1982 as Solidarity Day II.

The Afro-American people's movement, which was never in the Reagan camp, is today even more aggressively anti-Reagan. The same is true regarding all the other nationally oppressed peoples' movements.

The senior citizens movement, which showed its power most recently even within the rigged White House Conference on Aging, is clearly united against Reagan.

The same holds true for the movements of women, youth, farmers, intellectuals and professionals.

In many parts of the country there are some new strains of bourgeois politics that we have to include in our assessment of the anti-Reagan wave. They are strains that try to straddle Reaganomics and Keynes. In Texas they are referred to as "the new progressives." They are generally young and tend toward coalition politics. They have elected the mayors of San Antonio and Houston. This new strain does not fit into the old lesser-evil framework.

We also have to take a look at the election of new Black mayors and a socialist mayor in Burlington, Vermont.

In the Senate races it will be an uphill battle because only 13 Republican seats will be open, while 20 Democratic seats will be up for grabs. In Con-

gressional and state elections the campaigns can be quite different because all 435 Congressional seats are up for grabs.

Based on past experience we can take for granted that every politician running for office is going to try to ride the anti-Reagan wave. There will be a lot of Democratic Party tweedle-dummers and even some Republicans who will demagogically use the anti-Reagan popular sentiment to gain favor with the voters.

The truth is that anyone who is at all serious about 1982 electoral politics will have to ride that very wave — whether labor, farmer, Afro-American, senior, youth or women candidates, whether they are political independents, progressive, left or communist candidates.

All tactical questions must now be synchronized with the overall objective of defeating Reagan and all the Reaganite politicians.

We will be working with all kinds of people who because of the upsurge will also be a part of the electoral wave.

The time element calls for broad-based ad hoc electoral coalitions, coalitions that will work to run and elect anti-Reagan candidates, starting with the Democratic primaries, especially in the race for House and Senate seats, but also for statewide posts.

I speak about the concept of ad hoc coalitions because in most areas where there are no independent forms there is not enough time for long drawn-out organizational work. Is this emphasis a shift in our electoral tactics? It definitely is.

We must tailor our tactics to fit the challenge of this moment, which is the 1982 elections. This

means that our policy of left-center unity, for the running of working-class candidates, our policy of electoral fronts all must be tailored to fit the urgent electoral challenge of the moment.

Our tactical shift does not in any way minimize the need for political independence. It does not minimize the need for communist election campaigns.

However, it must be emphasized that for the 1982 elections all candidates and electoral platforms must be examined in the context of how best to support and elect candidates who will take a position against the Reagan policies.

Is this tactical emphasis in contradiction with our understanding and emphasis on running communists for public office? It would be in contradiction only if we separate such campaigns from the mass upsurge and anti-Reagan wave.

As always, we make our most significant and unique contribution in explaining the relationship of the Reagan war policies to corporate profits, the racist Reagan policies to the overall corporate offensive against the people's living standards and democratic rights generally.

What we must do — concretely:

— After making assessments nationally, in the districts and in each club, we must put on paper an election campaign plan, one that has as its point of departure the concepts discussed in this report.

— The plan must include working with broad fronts, helping to set up ad hoc committees and communist participation.

Daily World
December 17, 1981

24th Congress of the French Communist Party

The 24th congress of the French Communist Party was held in the Paris suburb of Saint-Ouen from February 3 to 7, 1982. It was attended by 2,006 delegates from all the departmental federations of the party.

The participants in the congress discussed the tasks facing the French communists in their struggle at the present stage.

Georges Marchais, General Secretary of the FCP, delivered a report of the FCP Central Committee on the party's tasks and activity. Below is a summary of his report.

Report by Georges Marchais

The 24th congress of the French Communist Party is meeting in a totally new political situation, and the responsibility now falling on us largely did not exist earlier. This responsibility springs from the very role of our party, because we are a working people's party, the party of those for whom social transformations are a vital matter. We are the party of socialism for France.

Today we see with greater clarity that since the 1950s, our country and the whole world have gone through a profound transformation which has brought out one reality: the incapacity of capitalism to respond to the new problems raised by social development; the depth of the crisis through which

capitalism is going; the necessity of replacing this system and establishing socialism in accordance with France's conditions. Thus, the question of changing society has been put directly on the agenda as a "concrete answer to the burning problems of society." Socialist transformations in France have become a vital issue, the pivot of the entire social movement. However, it took us 20 years to define in concrete terms what socialism is in the French manner and the way to attain this goal.

Georges Marchais then dealt with matters relating to France's advance toward socialism. He emphasized that a clear-cut answer to this question is contained in the draft resolution of the 24th congress

of the FCP. It is socialism in the French manner, socialism that is democratic, socialism that is self-managing. It goes without saying, he went on, that socialism everywhere has fundamental general criteria. These are socialization of the basic means of production, working people's power with the leading role of the working class, progressive satisfaction of the growing material and cultural requirements of society, and profound transformation of social relations.

The society which we propose is above all a society of justice, Marchais said. Naturally, we do not raise the question of justice in abstract terms, outside the actual conditions of our country and our time.

He characterized the development of French society over the past few decades and said that more than 80 per cent of the country's active population now consisted of wage-workers. The unquestionable scientific and technical advances did not bring relief to the working people, but, on the contrary, led to a massive loss of skills. Instead of an improvement of working conditions the growth of production and labor productivity has, as a rule, led to more intensive exploitation. The mass media, television in particular, have largely become an instrument for the manipulation of public opinion, the spread of obscurantism, standardization of thinking and the spread of human alienation. One-half of the French do not read any books or read very little. Just now, 10 per cent of French families own 60 per cent of the national wealth, while one-half of French families have only 5.5 per cent of the national wealth. In France, poverty has not disappeared at all, and social inequality has become even sharper. Such is the reality of the crisis through which the French society is passing.

This is a crisis of the capitalist system, and one of its important causes is the urge of big capital to increase its profits, the very nature of capitalist society, which generates growing unemployment, mounting inflation, deepening monetary crisis, intensification and worsening of working conditions and a waste of natural resources. Capitalist society has displayed a total incapacity to solve the burning problems of social development. That is the gist of the crisis of French society. It is a general crisis which has simultaneously encompassed the economic, social and political spheres of life, ideology, culture and morality. The only way to break out of this vicious circle is by building a different society. That is why the establishment of a just society is the priority requirement of our day.

A society of justice is above all a society of full employment. The right to work, the right of everyone to have a reliable job — that is the prime distinctive feature of socialism. A society of justice also provides for rising purchasing power, a substantial improvement of working conditions, access and equal rights for all to health protection, to education, to sports, and communion with cultural values.

Marchais then set forth the FCP's stand on the problems of the country's economic development and on the question of nationalization. France needs

a new type of economic development, and this implies the transfer of the large-scale means of production and exchange into the property of society as a whole, and requires the development of the social sector of the economy to ensure its leading role.

We believe, Marchais said, that nationalization is a vital matter precisely because it fully meets the present requirements of a country like ours. It is absurd to assume that it is possible to ensure new economic growth with big capital at the controls. But at the same time socialism in the French manner is inconceivable without the existence, alongside the state sector, of other forms of social property, and also of a sector of the economy based on private property. This kind of economic system implies broad participation by the working people in the management of enterprises.

In the conditions of our country and our epoch, he went on, France's advance toward socialism has been and continues to be the cause of the majority of the people, and the creation of such a majority with clear-cut goals and tasks must be effected in a democratic way. But this way should not produce any illusions in anyone's mind. Our goal is the transformation of society, the liquidation of exploitive capital in every sphere. This means, consequently, a bitter class struggle, a clash in which the opponents of change will do everything to deceive, to confuse, to threaten, and to spread division.

Our strategy has nothing in common with the lulling conception of a gradual evolution in the course of which the only thing is to wait for the voters to go to the polls every five or seven years. Indeed, we do not contemplate the prospect of the French bourgeoisie breaking with its established authoritarian traditions. To assert that the advance toward socialism must proceed in a democratic, peaceful way, simply means that these changes in France can be effected at any given moment only under a balance of forces that will not allow the bourgeoisie to resort to force and coercion.

Is it possible to create such a popular majority? With whom are we to advance today toward the necessary changes? It is the wage-workers of whom there are now 18 million in France, a sizable section of the intelligentsia, the masses of peasants, the numerous merchants, artisans and petty entrepreneurs. In short, the great majority of our people, all those whose social condition, whose living and working conditions, and whose most vital requirements and interests dictate the need to transform society. And the party still has to do a great deal to extend the present boundaries of the popular movement created through its efforts.

It is the working class that must and can be involved in the battle for the necessary changes in the first place. The primary task we have set ourselves is to promote the recognition of its role and place in the life of the country. That is a difficult task. The composition of the working class has markedly changed. As a result of the new forms of exploitation practised by the employers, new strata of working people have joined the working class. The bourgeoisie seeks to use these changes to split the

working-class ranks, and this confronts the party with new and complicated problems.

Justice, freedom brotherhood and peace — those are the distinctive features of the new society for which we strive, and they meet the cherished aspirations of the overwhelming majority of our people and make it possible to envisage a popular association on a broad scale that would far transcend the limits of any political majority of the past. That is precisely the kind of association we want to create.

Our way of struggle is also the way of an alliance of left-wing forces, of agreement between our party and the Socialist Party. As it was already emphasized at the 23rd congress, we favor agreements preserving autonomy of action for each of our two parties, according with the actual level of the popular movement, and confirming that which unites us, without obscuring our differences, agreements conducive to alliance and struggle.

That is precisely the substance of the agreements we concluded with the Socialist Party the day after the presidential and parliamentary elections and in the subsequent period. They made it possible to establish and then to assert cooperation between our two parties in the government on the basis of the solidarity of its members and within the framework of the governmental majority. We seek an honest and effective alliance of left-wing forces that would help to maintain, in an atmosphere of complete clarity, the necessary coordination of action between the two parties in line with the country's expectations.

That is the strategy which has determined all the actions of our party since the victory of the left-wing forces in the election. We made a full contribution to that victory by centering the electoral struggle on the issue of a change of political power, and then by calling for the unification of all the popular forces in order to ensure Francois Mitterrand's victory in the presidential elections and to secure a left majority in the National Assembly.

The communists seek to make a similar contribution through their participation in the new government and the new parliamentary majority. We are doing this so as to meet the country's expectations as expressed during last year's elections. However, there are many obstacles in this way. Big capital has not resigned itself to its defeat.

From the outset, the capitalists began to exert fresh economic, financial, political and ideological pressure and have opposed the extension of the working people's rights, against the measures being taken by the government to reduce unemployment, and have staged an "investment strike." Their purpose is clear: it is to slow down to the utmost the implementation of social and democratic reforms.

Taking, as a whole, the initial measures put through by the government in France and those which are in the making, one can say that they run in the right direction. But one must not close one's eyes to the existence of very difficult problems ahead. They are unemployment, which now involves over two million persons, inflation which erodes the purchasing power of working families, and the violations of democratic rights at enterprises

and elsewhere. In order to solve these problems, there is a need for constant mobilization of masses of people. It is on the way these problems are solved that we shall be judged by the French.

The FCP is striving to promote their solution through its participation in the government. We seek to do the same thing in parliament and all over the country. The same task has been set by all the organizations of the party, by all its members, by all its elected officials, by the communist ministers. But while working for the concrete tasks which the FCP has now set itself, the communists do not lose sight of their long-term goal: democratic self-governing socialism.

Speaking of France's foreign policy, Marchais said that it must be based on the principles of peace, independence, security, democracy and justice for all states.

France lies in the western part of Europe. In many spheres, it has close ties with its neighbors within the framework of the European Economic Community. Today, there are blocs in the world. France is a member of the Atlantic alliance. We reckon with these circumstances in our assessment of the present and the future.

At the same time, we believe, the existence of blocs does not accord either with the interests of the peoples of the world, or with our country's interests. That is why we advocate their simultaneous dissolution.

Our fundamental principle is refusal to have France subordinated to anyone whomsoever in any form whatsoever, whether today or tomorrow. To assume the opposite is simply to insult us. In any case, we have defended and will continue to defend resolutely the independence and sovereignty of France. In the present international situation, while recognizing the responsibility which flows from its alliances, France must retain complete freedom of action for itself in any conditions. This will provide France with the opportunities for extending its international ties, and cooperating with "third world" and socialist countries.

While working to enable France to play a fitting role, we find ourselves at the center of a battle which acquires its true meaning with the active participation in it of all the communists: it is the battle for the emancipation of humankind.

We are all the more resolved to invest this battle with the necessary scope and strength in view of the fact that in the recent period imperialism has started a powerful international campaign of lies and machinations. I want to consider the campaign on the subject of "human rights."

You will justly tell me: the spokesmen of the capitalist system have enough cynicism to strike the pose of defenders of human rights! They are spokesmen for the system which throughout the world has killed, tortured, imprisoned, humiliated, placed under arms, deported, persecuted, exiled, profaned, exploited, and expropriated, and which continues to do all this wherever possible. On capitalism falls the responsibility for two world wars, for the colonial wars, and for the countless

civil wars and repression. It continues to spiral the arms race.

Consequently, the sponsors of the campaign in "defense" of human rights have not pursued either humanistic or moral, but political goals, because capitalism is incapable of destroying existing socialism by military means, and is trying to erode faith in it by its propaganda (and here the French mass media are doing their bit). At the same time, imperialism has tried to "destabilize" this or that socialist country.

It stands to reason that there is nothing of greater value than every human being's right to live in peace. Thirty-seven years without a world war is a great gain. But it should not be forgotten that the arms race imposed by imperialism poses a grave threat to the security of the peoples and the future of humankind. Think of the vast amounts of money being wasted on it at a time when this money could promote worldwide progress and development!

Consequently, it is necessary that in France and in Europe there should be an even stronger popular movement, which has already attained unprecedented scope and which is now developing in numerous forms so as to halt the arms race, and to find a political settlement for all conflicts at the negotiating table.

There is an urgent need to take real steps for disarmament: under the existing equilibrium of forces, there is a need to limit and reduce the number of medium-range missiles and of all nuclear weapons. The neutron bomb should be banned in all countries.

The French communists are at one with all the forces in the world acting for peace, progress, social justice, democratic freedoms, national independence and socialism. The communist parties have a leading place among these forces.

Marchais dealt in particular detail with the FCP's solidarity with the communist parties of the socialist countries. He said that the French communists' world-view and struggle are stimulated and enriched in every way by the experience of socialist construction in various countries of the world. In the complicated reality of our day, socialism is the system which provides the answers to the basic demands of the epoch.

There should be no oversimplification of the reality of socialist construction or efforts either to embellish or disparage it. History shows that no social transformation has been easy, without clashes and contradictions, without struggle. To build socialism and in effect to change the life of millions, and even of billions of people is to move mountains.

In view of what has been said, there is no "model" of socialism, scientifically speaking, for every occasion — and there can be none. The socialist countries' achievements were effected despite the civil wars, interventions, external threats, despite the Second World War and the burden of the arms race imposed by the policy of imperialism.

Marchais resolutely rebuffed the apologists of capitalism who pretend to shed tears over the lot of the working people building socialism, and of the

fortunes of the peoples who have thrown off the colonial yoke, while keeping silent about the fact that the development of capitalism now in the throes of a crisis leaves everywhere behind it a trail of indescribable crimes.

Marchais gave an in-depth critique of the views of those who seek to smear socialism by claiming that the construction of the new society is "too costly" for the peoples, and that its construction in the existing socialist countries has some kind of organic defects. He said that such defects were intrinsic only to capitalism, while the mistakes and their consequences which occur under socialism are departures from the rule, from normal development.

There is nothing, absolutely nothing to warrant the assertion that the peoples building socialism have run into a dead-end, that they are incapable of continuing their advance, and that they are powerless to solve the existing problems through their own efforts, in accordance with their own views. That is an idea whose absurdity leaps to the eye even when one considers no more than the conclusion which it suggests. Indeed, were the peoples of the socialist countries not right in choosing their way? And is thinking about a return to the past, to capitalism indeed the only thing left for them now?

Whether one likes it or not, the class struggle proceeds on a worldwide scale, and in it the socialist countries have the primary role to play. Their weight and influence in the world has prevented the warmongers from undertaking a nuclear gamble. They have secured — not without efforts — the establishment of peaceful coexistence in international relations. Consequently, they are the guarantee of peace. At the same time, the peoples only stand to gain from the development of economic, trade, scientific and cultural ties and cooperation with the socialist countries. Finally, these states are the mainstay in the liberation struggle under way on the globe, notably the struggle for national liberation.

Our stand of solidarity with the fraternal parties in power does not rule out the possibility of some differences. In the course of frank discussions we, as a party with a sense of responsibility, say what we have to say, without in any way setting up our policy as a "model," or laying claims to giving instruction to anyone.

Speaking of the FCP's solidarity with the struggle of the communist parties in other capitalist countries, Marchais said, in particular, that the struggle for social transformations in these countries led by the communists has been ever more frequently directly linked up with the struggle against the arms race.

International solidarity is acquiring the broadest scope, and we believe it to be necessary to extend it not only to relations with communist parties, but also with all the forces striving for democracy, peace and the freedom of the peoples, above all with national liberation and progressive movements in developing countries.

The FCP, Marchais declared, is also prepared to define all the potentialities for joint action with

socialist and social-democratic parties, especially in Europe, action which meets the interests of the peoples, like the struggle of peace and the struggle for disarmament.

He then dealt with the tasks of inner-party work. The FCP has succeeded and will succeed — in the most difficult conditions — in remaining true to its revolutionary choice of 1920. We have been doing this because the party unites men and women who come from various strata of the society, in short, the world of labor. For the communists, carrying on party work does not mean confining themselves to regularly casting their votes at elections or occasionally taking part in action sponsored by the party. The main thing is a growth of the party's influence and cohesion of its ranks, and simultaneous work among the masses, in the midst of the working people.

The communists' entry into the government and switch from the opposition to the ruling majority faces the FCP with the task of working out new

tactics. For this, we have no a priori recipes, that is a matter for collective creativity by all the communists, who must be the vanguard of the working masses.

The whole of our activity must naturally lead to a growth of party ranks. At the end of 1981, the FCP had over 710,000 members, the largest figure since the liberation period. We must constantly carry on our work among millions of men and women who, in the spring of last year, were given hope, and to convince them that they can realize it by joining our ranks.

In concluding his report, the FCP General Secretary said: "Our congress is being held under the slogan 'Build Socialism in the Colors of France.' Yes, we mean build! We want to unite all the viable forces of our people to enable it to obtain a socialist society that is more just, that is more free, and is in line with the imperative of our time."

Summarized from *L'Humanité*, February 4, 1982

Speech by Konstantin Chernenko, head of the CPSU delegation, at an international solidarity rally in Paris.

Dear comrade Marchais,
Dear comrades, friends,

I want to tell you that our delegation — the delegation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union — is taking part in this meeting with a feeling of sincere satisfaction. There is long-standing friendship between our two parties. For six decades now we have been fighting shoulder to shoulder, side by side with the capitalist world — where social programs are being cut back and the working people's living

Today, we are happy to note once again that the French communists have not wasted any time. Your road has not been easy, and it remains so today. But the party has been advancing. It is an active spokesman of the working class, the working masses, and the whole French people, voicing their urge for profound democratic changes. Your activists have been working precisely in this spirit. Just as before, your party is carrying on a resolute struggle for the fundamental interests of the working class, of the working masses. Just as before, it is tirelessly working to strengthen its own positions, realizing that this is a guarantee of successes in the advance to democracy and socialism.

Comrades,

You are now holding your 24th congress, and we are marking the first anniversary of our 26th congress.

The tasks formulated by the 26th congress of the CPSU are indeed large-scale. Here is one example. The increase in our production capacities over the five-year period alone, is to exceed the potential of a medium-sized European country.

Of course, scale is not the only thing that matters. The conditions in which we have to work are far from simple. It is not so much objective factors that I have in mind, factors connected, for instance, with such specific features of our climate as recurrent droughts.

Take the international situation. Imperialism has

challenged us. The USA wants to upset the existing balance of forces, to attain military superiority over the Soviet Union.

In spite of what is being said about us in the West, we have never sought and will never seek military superiority. We have never initiated new twists in the arms spiral, and will never do so in the future. In spite of what is being loudly alleged in Washington, there has never been and will never be any Soviet military threat.

But, of course, we are obliged to strengthen our defense capability. And this, as you understand, requires definite resources and efforts.

We have to help our numerous friends. Take Poland. We believe that true friends of the Polish people should now take practical steps to help it overcome the crisis. Only those who want to obstruct normalization in Poland can create impediments and even use diverse "sanctions" to undermine economic ties with it. I want to tell you that the Soviet Union has markedly increased its political support and economic assistance to the Polish People's Republic. We see this as our internationalist duty, and we shall fulfil this duty.

But whatever the conditions, you can be quite sure, comrades, that our party has never deviated and will never deviate from its principles, from its main slogan: "Everything for the sake of man!"

There are now so many countries in the world — I mean the capitalist world — where social programs are being cut back and the working people's living standards are going down. And this is being done at the bidding of the governments, and of the arms monopolies in the first place.

We in the Soviet Union are going in exactly the opposite direction. Our party has maintained and continues to maintain that social programs should be scrupulously fulfilled, and that is what we have been doing.

Since the 26th congress held a year ago, measures

have been taken in our country which have improved the material condition of 4.5 million large families; 14 million pensioners have had their pensions increased, and two million flats have been built, which means that 10 million citizens have moved into new flats. Real incomes per head of population have gone up by 3.3 per cent.

As you know, much is now being said across the world about triumphant socialism and, of course, in different ways. Our adversaries allege, as they have often done in the past, that socialism is in crisis. Unfortunately, some believe this allegation. It is also being said that socialism is in an impasse. And some responsible leaders in America even assert that the days of communism are numbered.

We can assure you: they are in for yet another disappointment. Socialism is advancing, it is growing stronger and developing. Ours is a time when it is confidently gaining new strength for a further advance. And this naturally engenders new and large-scale theoretical and practical problems, which are far from simple, but are most interesting. The CPSU has been working on them, looking for and finding optimal solutions which ensure the growth of socialism on a new level and scale.

I understand, of course, that serious argument with those who are impatient to see an end to communism is just a waste of time. Life itself has proved that we are right. And we are deeply convinced that socialism — naturally, in forms which suit each people's circumstances and traditions — will continue gaining new ground. The future belongs to the society which serves the working people.

The current attempt on the part of the most aggressive imperialist forces to bar the way to social progress with the use of force, through military pressure, is fraught with the danger of a new world war. Today, this danger is, perhaps, even more real than in the past. Why do we say so?

First of all, it is known that the quantity of arms which has already been produced by imperialism and which exists on the planet as a whole has long exceeded all reasonable levels. Meanwhile, the West has continued its arms drive. This does not simply amount to a further stockpiling of mass destruction weapons, but involves the development of ever more dangerous and barbarous weapons, whose use could jeopardize everything humankind has achieved throughout its conscious history.

Another point is that while plans for a nuclear-missile war have long existed in U.S. and NATO staffs, these have never been proclaimed so openly, so loudly as today. U.S. generals and politicians have never in the past talked with such cynicism about the possibility of a limited nuclear war in Europe, about inflicting the first, or pre-emptive strike on socialism. And this means that the militarization process in the West has entered a new and much more dangerous phase.

We see that imperialism is not only preparing for a major, global conflict, but has also been making ever wider use of the "big stick" policy in its everyday practice, primarily in its attempts to suppress the fighters for national liberation by force of arms.

Yet another new element of the present situation which aggravates the danger of war is the massive anti-Soviet and anti-communist campaign mounted not only by the mass media, but also by the ruling circles of the USA and some other NATO countries. The systematic and crafty attempts to stir up hatred for the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are meant to hurl mankind back to the climate of the cold war.

Imperialist policy must be rebuffed. It is necessary to stop the erosion of the foundations of détente, the efforts to undermine the peaceful ties between peoples. It is necessary once again to achieve a turn toward détente, towards lasting peaceful coexistence.

The 26th congress of the CPSU and the Peace Program for the 1980s it adopted, orient us Soviet communists precisely toward these goals. The far-reaching proposals on matters of ending the nuclear arms race in Europe formulated by Leonid Brezhnev in Bonn have the same aims in view.

We are convinced that the communist movement has a special place in the common front of peace fighters in world politics as a whole. We reject the view that the international communist movement has had its day. No, comrades, humankind's present need for the communist movement is as great as before.

The communist movement is necessary as the most consistent and resolute force in the struggle for peace. The 1980 Paris Meeting of European Communist Parties reaffirmed this once again.

The communist movement is necessary as the most consistent and resolute force in the struggle for the fundamental rights and interests of the working masses.

The communist movement is necessary as the most consistent and resolute force in the struggle for social progress in all its forms, in the struggle for socialism.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union stands for the friendship, fraternity and cohesion of the communist parties. In this we maintain that their cooperation should be based on a solid foundation of the norms and principles jointly worked out by the fraternal parties and clearly formulated in the communiqué on the 1980 meeting between Leonid Brezhnev and Georges Marchais.

And your congress, comrades, forcefully reaffirms the vital power of international solidarity, the strength and diversity of the communist, revolutionary and liberation movement.

We are convinced that there are solid objective prerequisites for further cooperation between France and the USSR for the sake of averting a nuclear war and strengthening the peaceful cooperation between our countries and peoples. This is also evident from the successfully developing mutually advantageous contacts between our countries in the economy, science and culture. And we are convinced that no artificial obstacles should hinder the fruitful development of Soviet-French relations.

The solidarity and cooperation between French

and Soviet communists, between the French Communist Party and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union are a major factor of friendship between our peoples. Lasting cooperation and a comradely exchange of views between our parties are useful for both parties, and also for our two peoples.

Long live the friendship and solidarity between the CPSU and the FCP!

Long live the friendship between the Soviet and French peoples!

Long live peace and socialism!

Pravda, February 7, 1982

statements & speeches

How to Overcome the Difficulties of Defending, Strengthening and Expanding Our Glorious Revolution

Joint statement by the People's Party of Iran and the Organization of the People's Fedayeen of Iran (Majority).

A distinctive feature of the present stage of our revolution is that although the conspiracy of the liberal conciliators and capitulators, and also the misled left-extremist forces has been crushed, and a major obstacle to the deepening of the revolution and the attainment of its two basic goals (anti-imperialist and popular) has thus been removed, the enemies and traitors of the revolution are intensifying their ferocious resistance. The enemies of the Iranian Revolution, led by U.S. imperialism, seek to undermine the structure of the Islamic Republic of Iran to such an extent as to make it possible to overthrow it with a single blow, either from within or from abroad, or with the help of some traitor like Sadat or Amin.

Realizing their responsibility to the revolution, the People's Party of Iran and the Organization of the People's Fedayeen of Iran (Majority) believe that the only way to thwart the dangerous conspiracy of the enemies of the revolution, to advance the attainment of its goals, and ensure the further development of the republic's social system and defense of its fundamentally popular nature against any possible intrigues by the enemies of the revolution in the future is to muster and unite all the forces loyal to its goals.

Being firmly convinced of the historical need for unity among all the forces loyal to the goals of our revolution, the People's Party of Iran and the Organization of the People's Fedayeen of Iran (Majority) are taking the first step to laying the foundations of such unity. In publishing this joint analysis of the current situation, of the difficulties and the ways to overcome them, they call on all truly revolutionary forces, regardless of ideological and religious distinctions, to do their utmost to translate their broad unity into reality . . .

THE REVOLUTION'S DIFFICULTIES

Generally speaking, these difficulties have two sources:

1. The ceaseless and wide-ranging plots by the

united front of the internal and external enemies of the Iranian revolution.

2. The shortcomings and negative phenomena stemming from inexperience, mistakes, narrow-mindedness, subjectivism and misjudgment on the part of a sizable section of the pro-revolutionary forces and responsible leaders of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

The revolutions that have taken place since the Second World War show that owing to the qualitative changes in the balance of political, military and economic forces in favor of the national liberation movement and states that have thrown off the fetters of old and new colonialism, the leaders of anti-imperialist and popular revolutions can frustrate any plots hatched by their enemies. In spite of some mistakes caused by inexperience, they can defend the revolution, strengthen and develop it along progressive lines if they manage to muster the whole potential of the pro-revolutionary forces.

The history of triumphant and defeated revolutions shows that to overcome the consequences of mistakes and inexperience and, what is even more important, to surmount the difficulties engendered by the aggressive activities and plottings of the counter-revolution, the decisive forces, the revolutionary power above all, should primarily be able to live down the tendencies toward subjectivism and narrow-mindedness, the misjudgments and preconceptions in their own ranks.

HOW TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN TRUE FRIENDS AND SWORN ENEMIES

In our opinion, the revolutionary forces' mistakes in identifying their true friends and sworn enemies are among the major factors that compound the difficulties engendered by counter-revolutionary influences in the power apparatus and the revolutionary institutions.

As a result of such serious shortcomings, in the

first two years after the revolution its enemies managed to inflict grave damage on the revolution by infiltrating their agents into the organs of revolutionary power, such mercenary elements as Ghotbzadeh, Bani-Sadr and others, some of whom have yet to be exposed and may still be occupying important posts. It is too early to say that the conspiracy aimed to divert the revolution from its course has been defeated once and for all. It would be a mistake to deny that this conspiracy, as Imam Khomeini reminded us, was the result of omissions on the part of the revolutionary authorities of the Islamic Republic of Iran, which has cost our country a great deal. Let us recall in this context that all the elements whose treachery is now indisputable, displayed hostility and hatred for a definite section of the revolution's true supporters, especially the People's Party of Iran, while showing tolerance, friendship and support for the former members of SAVAK, monarchists, counter-revolutionaries, Maoists and other henchmen of the USA; they showed unbridled hostility to the socialist countries, especially to the Soviet Union, while turning a friendly face and showing a readiness to cooperate with the USA: they defended the interests of big capitalists, rich landowners, and other parasitic exploiters while obstructing the revolution's popular line, the efforts to realize those articles of the constitution which meet the interests of the dispossessed and are meant to bridle the plunderers.

That is why the revolutionary forces should be guided by correct criteria in identifying the true friends and enemies of the revolution.

The most reliable criterion is loyalty to the goals that inspired the struggle of millions of working people, patriots and true fighters for freedom and independence, whose unparalleled courage led to the victory of the revolution. Here are its goals, enshrined in the constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran:

— total elimination of the oppressive plunderous rule of the imperialists, attainment of broad national independence;

— overthrow of the dictatorial regime of lawlessness, attainment of individual and social freedom for the deprived masses;

— an end to the unrestrained plunder of social wealth, attainment of social justice for the deprived and exploited masses.

The constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran is a major gain of the Iranian Revolution. In spite of some omissions and inadequacies, it lays down the basic guidelines for the development of the anti-dictatorial, anti-imperialist and popular revolution in Iran and to a large extent creates the necessary prerequisites for the attainment of its goals, those of "independence, freedom and social justice." An honest pledge to fulfil the demands of the basic law without any reservations is the first indicator of support for our people's glorious revolution and should become a true criterion for the revolutionary forces who want to distinguish the friends of the revolution from its enemies.

NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

In the two and a half years since the victory of our revolution, some indisputable successes have been achieved in the sphere of national independence. Nevertheless, it would be thoughtless to maintain that the Iranian revolution has attained all its goals in this sphere. Throughout this period, U.S.-led world imperialism has been using the elements it had infiltrated into our revolutionary institutions as powerful strongholds throughout the whole sphere of active policy and as effective instruments in influencing the formation of the external and internal policy of the Republic's government.

The Iranian people and all the genuine revolutionary forces note with satisfaction that shortly before Bani-Sadr's removal and especially since the exposure and defeat of the capitulationist line of reconciliation with the USA some measures have been taken to rectify the harmful tendencies in Iran's foreign policy. One would like to hope that these measures will mark the beginning of a historic turn toward a correct identification of the friends and enemies of the Iranian revolution in the great arena of international struggle.

In our opinion, *genuine independence and sovereignty* in the present world cannot be attained without *solidarity* with the powerful international anti-imperialist front. This front is an integral whole and includes the socialist countries, the truly revolutionary working-class movement in the developed capitalist countries, and the anti-imperialist and popular national liberation movements, both those that have already won through to victory in their countries and formed anti-imperialist popular governments, and those that are still fighting for freedom and independence.

The hard facts of our day show that irreconcilable enemies of solidarity and friendship with this international anti-imperialist front, whatever their mask, are ultimately bound to surrender to imperialism, just as did Ghotbzadeh and Bani-Sadr.

NATIONAL DEFENSE

The Islamic Republic of Iran is undoubtedly one of imperialism's major military targets in the Middle East. To defend itself against imperialism and its armed plots, it needs a strong people's revolutionary army. The country's armed forces should be quantitatively and qualitatively prepared to rebuff any aggression. The quality of the armed forces depends on their unconditional loyalty to the goals and principles of the revolution, on the availability of modern arms and military hardware, on their combat efficiency and preparedness.

As the two and a half years of the revolution have shown, the first and essential condition for the formation of such an army is to purge the organs of defense, security and law enforcement of all hostile elements. At the same time, any attempt to bar truly revolutionary forces from participation in national defense is a service — witting or unwitting, intentional or unintentional — to the counter-revolutionary forces.

ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE: A NECESSARY GUARANTEE OF POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE

One of the revolution's most valuable gains in this sphere is the elimination of the plunderous rule of world imperialism over Iran's rich oil deposits. But in spite of this and other gains, our economy is still heavily dependent on predatory imperialism.

If our country is to attain economic independence, we must develop industry and build steel works, engineering and petrochemical enterprises, and get down to this task as soon as possible. Such an industry can be created only on the basis of equitable cooperation with the industrialized socialist countries. Those who oppose such a line for our country's economic development as the basic factor in maintaining the political independence we have won, consciously or unconsciously help to undermine it and to restore the colonial dependence of the old days under the Shah's regime.

Economic independence is impossible unless the influence of plunderous internal capitalism dependent on the imperialist economy is eliminated from foreign trade and from the key sphere of the distribution of necessary goods. The state and cooperative sectors of the economy should play a paramount role in this respect. This is the only way for society to gain control over the activity of the private sector and curb the unrestrained plunder of the working people by capitalists, speculators, and big parasitic middlemen.

Economic independence cannot be attained without planning and organizing a self-sufficient agricultural sector on the basis of the latest scientific achievements and the social experience of the revolutionary countries.

The first step along this road is to eliminate the criminal system of landowner holdings which drains the resources of rural working people and is a major obstacle to freedom in the countryside and the development of agriculture as a whole.

The only way to develop agricultural production in our country, whose farmers are short of the simplest implements and whose agriculture does not have a modern organizational structure, is to set up crop-growing and cattle-breeding cooperatives on the basis of the farmers' voluntary participation and with state support.

CULTURAL INDEPENDENCE

One of the crucial and most imperative tasks put by the revolution before the power it has established is to overcome the dependence on decaying Western culture and bring about a renaissance of national culture.

Shortcomings, mistakes, sabotage, and so on, in this sphere have become one of the main obstacles in the way of progress.

The society's present and future development is inconceivable without all-round development in the scientific, technical, literary, artistic and other fields. Of course, the society's natural cultural progress can for a time be slowed down through the

imposition of rigid restrictions. But such a policy has no future.

On the strength of this conviction, the People's Party of Iran and the Organization of the People's Fedayeen of Iran (Majority) demand that the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran should not allow provocations by anti-revolutionary elements, on the one hand, and practical moves by ignorant, subjectivist, narrow-minded and backward elements, on the other, to deflect the development of the cultural revolution from the correct road. We want to ensure broad and free development of the popular and progressive culture, with the inclusion of the major values of world culture.

FREEDOM

Freedom is one of the three main slogans of our great revolution. The genuine revolutionary forces, both among the fighting Moslems and among the true advocates of scientific socialism, spell this out as the freedom which the masses demanded and fought to attain: freedom from plunder, from political and cultural oppression by a dictatorship dependent on neocolonialism, from the constant fear of being persecuted for their political views, freedom from slavery and bondage, from hunger, disease, homelessness, lack of culture and national discrimination.

We are convinced that an extension of genuine liberties to millions of working people automatically implies a limitation of the "liberties" of those classes whose existence is based on the privations of the masses. The exploited masses cannot be emancipated without a curb on the plunderers.

That is why the struggle to ensure freedom for the millions implies an irreconcilable struggle to defeat the counter-revolution, eliminate all the political, economic and cultural roots of domination by foreign oppressors, that is, by international imperialism, to limit the arbitrary rule of narrow-minded subjectivist forces, which deny rights to all other revolutionaries and seek to install a coercive regime in place of freedom for the masses.

Unfortunately, as a result of the developments in our country, many constitutional provisions on individual and social freedoms have turned out to be ineffectual. A sizable section of the truly revolutionary circles, which have carried on a selfless struggle to strengthen and extend our glorious revolution, to defeat the various plottings of its enemies led by the USA, and to unite all genuine supporters of the revolution, does not enjoy many of the freedoms guaranteed by law.

The People's Party of Iran and the Organization of the People's Fedayeen of Iran (Majority) believe that the responsibility for such a course of development, which has put in serious jeopardy the strengthening and extension of the revolution, primarily lies with the broad and united front of the counter-revolution, with the extreme right-wing elements and groupings represented in the state apparatus or siding with the authorities of the Islamic Republic of Iran, and also the left-extremist elements and groupings in society.

The counter-revolution's united front is pursuing

two purposes in resorting to its swindling tactics, which is, on the one hand, to shout about "freedom," and on the other, to try to destabilize the situation by stooping to every possible crime: assassinating officials, burning peasants' crops in the fields, organizing subversion at enterprises, making efforts to paralyze the country's economic life, pushing up the cost of living, sowing mistrust, and so on. The first is to erode the capability for action on the part of the power of the Islamic Republic of Iran so as to overthrow it and pave the way for a "moderate government" acceptable to the United States, while the other — if that goal cannot be attained in a short time — to pave the way, through the assassination of realistically-minded representatives of the government, for a takeover by right-extremist circles. The counter-revolution's united front hopes that the acts by right-wing extremists will soon cause discontent among the people, thus indirectly creating a situation favorable for the enemies of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

The leadership of the Organization of People's Mujahedin and other left-extremist groupings, whose spokesmen used to talk about freedom for the masses, about the need to break the chains of national and class oppression, have in effect joined the hated camp of "champions of freedom" who are in fact the gravediggers of freedom, have turned their misled supporters into an instrument of the conspiracies being woven by the counter-revolution's united front.

We emphasize once again that in the interests of the revolution and the Islamic Republic, there is a need to draw a distinction between the leaders of these organizations and their young supporters whom they have misled.

The People's Party of Iran and the Organization of the People's Fedayeen of Iran (Majority) urge the supporters of the People's Mujahedin and similar organizations who still sincerely accept the anti-imperialist, freedom-loving and popular principles of our revolution, to recall their historical responsibility and immediately make the utmost efforts to neutralize their leaders' betrayal.

The experience of all the revolutionary movements shows that the fanning of hostility with respect to forces fighting against imperialism has always and inevitably ended up with aiding and abetting imperialism. The greater the hatred with which this hostility is permeated, the more inexorable and simultaneously more slavish this complicity. Isn't the sad lot of Mao and his clique an instructive one for us?

The People's Party of Iran and the Organization of the People's Fedayeen of Iran (Majority) call on all true revolutionaries to do their utmost to put an end to this sanguinary catastrophe which has been undoubtedly imposed on our long-suffering society by the enemies of the Iranian Revolution headed by U.S. imperialism. We believe that the only way to overcome this fatal situation is to restore peace in society on the basis of legality and social justice.

SOCIAL JUSTICE

Two and a half years after the victory of the revolution, one has to state that, despite the considerable successes in limiting the monstrous plunder on the part of the imperialists and local bandits, no effective or radical steps to improve the life of millions of working people have been taken.

In order to thwart the conspiracies of the counter-revolution's united front, which seeks to spread a mood of disappointment with the revolution among millions of working people, the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran must fulfil the just demands of the dispossessed, that is, to translate into life the articles of the constitution bearing on social justice.

There is a need to transform radically the economic system of the Shah era by wresting the economic instruments from the hands of the capitalist plunderers and transferring them to the state and cooperative sector, that is, to realize this through the utmost consolidation of the state and cooperative sectors and limitation of and stringent control over the activity of the private sector.

SOCIAL JUSTICE AND THE RIGHTS OF WOMEN

In our country, women are subjected to discrimination in addition to the social oppression which falls on the working people generally. In many juridical, family and occupational respects they are regarded as "inferior" persons, having to carry the burden of outdated conventions and traditions and diverse rules denying the principle of equality of men and women in social life. This prevents them from taking an active part in every sphere of constructive social activity.

The People's Party of Iran and the Organization of the People's Fedayeen of Iran (Majority) demand that the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran, guided by the constitutional principles oriented toward the assurance of justice, should use every opportunity to enable women to exercise all the rights based on social justice in every sphere of life — occupation, social activity, and families held together by love and mutual respect.

SOCIAL JUSTICE AND THE NATIONAL RIGHTS OF NON-PERSIAN PEOPLES

The People's Party of Iran and the Organization of the People's Fedayeen of Iran (Majority) believe that the only way to deprive the enemies of the revolution of their instruments for spreading disorder and provocation and create a voluntary and sincere unity of all Iran's peoples on the basis of friendship and national equality is to do away with the national oppression to which the non-Persian peoples have been subjected for centuries, and to extend to them guaranteed rights within the framework of cultural and administrative "self-determination" or "autonomy." Such a unity is undoubtedly one of the most important factors in the stability of our revolutionary society and its successes in the struggle against the internal and exter-

nal enemies headed by criminal U.S. imperialism.

A look at the situation which has taken shape in our society shows that we are confronted with a great many difficulties slowing down the process of strengthening and spread of our glorious revolution. It is, of course, no simple matter to overcome these difficulties.

It is necessary for us to learn from the valuable experience of other peoples in every sphere of struggle, especially in the struggle to realize the radical transformations for the benefit of the oppressed. History has repeatedly confirmed the fact that it is much more complicated and difficult to build a new social system based on social justice than to overthrow the old regime.

OUR CALL TO ALL THE TRUE SUPPORTERS OF THE REVOLUTION

Our Fellow Fighters, Brothers and Sisters!

Let us unite to rout the greatest conspiracy of the enemies of the Iranian Revolution aimed to intensify strife and spread division in our ranks, let us set up a united front in defense of our glorious revolution, bringing together in it all the forces which stand for independence, freedom and social justice!

The experience of defeated revolutions shows that any limitations, subjectivism and claims to a monopoly right to take part in the patriotic struggle against the enemies of independence, freedom and social justice have disastrous consequences and create an atmosphere conducive to strife, fratricide and eventually the defeat of the revolution.

The People's Party of Iran and the Organization of the People's Fedayeen of Iran (Majority) are convinced of the need to unite all the forces — on the scale of one country and the whole world — fighting against imperialism and injustice.

Let us mobilize all our forces to ensure a great historical unity! Do not let us forget that unity is our sharpest weapon in the struggle against the enemies of the revolution, which is precisely why the latter make use of all their criminal means to prevent it from being brought about.

Long live the great unity of all the forces fighting for independence, freedom and social justice!

Long live the victory of the great anti-dictatorship, anti-imperialist and people's revolution of Iran!

November 1981
Abridged

from the press

South Africa and the Reagan Doctrine

It is 15 years since the United Nations called for an end to the illegal occupation of Namibia. It is an occupation that has gone on for a century. The first occupying power was German colonialism. After World War I, the victors in this war among imperialist powers transferred the occupation of South West Africa, as Namibia was then known, from German to apartheid South African domination.

Since the UN resolution in 1966 against the occupation of Namibia, the South African fascists — with the support of the United States and NATO — have intensified their war against the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO), the Namibian liberation organization. These powers are continuing, in contemporary forms, the attack on Namibia that began in the 1880s. At that time, the German colonialists used genocidal measures — a forerunner of the 20th century crimes in places ranging from Guernica, Lidice and Hitler's ovens to Vietnam and Pol Pot's Kampuchea — to overcome the heroic resistance of the unarmed Namibians. After the domination of Namibia was attained, the first colonial commissioner to be installed there was, appropriately enough, the father of Herman Goering.

One hundred years after these events, the Reagan administration has taken our country into open partnership with South Africa, with the purpose of carrying out a joint strategy in all of Southern Africa.

This strategy calls for strengthening South Afri-

ca's minority rule against the South African people's struggle for majority rule and an end to apartheid fascism; for circumventing the UN demand for an end to the illegal occupation of Namibia; and to reverse the independence won by Angola and the other frontline states from 400 years of Portuguese colonialism.

Following Reagan's open alignment with the Botha regime, the apartheid racist South African rulers launched brutal attacks to reinforce apartheid in Capetown and throughout South Africa, and invaded and occupied southern Angola.

This latest South African attack on southern Angola "has turned the region into a wasteland," reported *Washington Post* correspondent Jay Ross in a recent dispatch. The area he referred to is the size of New York State. "Angola," he stated, "is a country living through a nightmare."

AIM: PERMANENT SOUTH AFRICAN PRESENCE

There is a widespread belief, Ross also reported, that South Africa aims to establish a permanent presence, or base, in southern Angola. Such a base would be used for attacks against the Namibian liberation fighters and for expanding support to the activities of Jonas Savimbi's mercenaries against Angola's Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) government, a government rec-

ognized by the UN and the Organization of African Unity.

Thus, at a time when the majority of UN members demand collective action in the form of mandatory sanctions against the South African regime, the Reagan administration moves in an opposite direction — giving its open military support to apartheid fascism's military "sanctions" against Angola and the Namibian liberation struggles.

Unless the Reagan-supported actions against Angola and SWAPO are reversed — unless the racist South African aggressor is quarantined — our own country will be pushed further and further down a path that could lead it to a closer and closer semblance to apartheid-fascist South Africa.

Obviously, this would immeasurably increase the danger of World War III and nuclear disaster. To appreciate the necessity of quarantining the South African aggressor, one need only recall what happened after the struggle for a quarantine to block Hitler and the Axis aggression against the Spanish Republic was sabotaged by the USA and other Western powers.

THE REGIONAL PARTNERSHIP

One of the main Reagan-Haig objectives in Southern Africa is to develop a "realistic strategy, one that assures our credibility as a regional partner," asserted Under-Secretary of State for African Affairs Chester A. Crocker in his policy speech. Elaborating on the reasons for the administration's "realistic strategy" for Southern Africa, Crocker said, "U.S. economic interests are heavily concentrated in the southern third of the continent . . . This concentration of our interests reflects Southern Africa's tremendous mineral wealth." In case this left any doubt as to the reasons for U.S. imperialism's desire to be a "regional partner" in Southern Africa, Crocker went on to say that the area "contains immense deposits of strategic materials."

That these strategic materials belong to no one but the African peoples is of no concern to the Reaganites. Far from seeing these resources as strategic for overcoming Africa's colonial heritage of underdevelopment, hunger, poverty and disease, the Reaganites see them as strategic for continuing the enrichment of the multinationals.

The U.S. Bureau of Mines reports that a third of its ferrochromium, a fifth of its vanadium, and almost a third of its ferromanganese come from Angola and Namibia. In addition, South Africa has two-thirds of the world's chromium, over a third of its magnesium, and three-fourths of the world's platinum metals.

In short, these are examples of the "tremendous wealth" the Reagan Doctrine declares to be the property of neocolonialism, and not of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia.

"SHARED INTERESTS"

Continuing to expound on the "realistic strategy" of the Reagan Doctrine, Crocker said, "It does not serve our interests to walk away from South Africa . . ." Instead of turning its back on apartheid

fascism, the administration "seeks to build a more constructive relationship with South Africa," one based on "shared interests."

Those who have "shared interests" with the South African regime are understandably hostile to those who have shared interests with the South African majority. Alexander Haig, for example, exhibited this ceaseless hostility when he asserted, in a recent speech, that the Soviet Union and Cuba were "aggravating tensions from Central America to Southern Africa." He then asked, "Can there be a greater contrast between their efforts and those of the West in trying to solve the political, economic and security problems of these regions?"

Absolutely not, General Haig. There can be no greater contrast than that between the actions of the neocolonialists in trying to solve their "political, economic and security problems" in Southern Africa, and the actions of the Soviet Union and Cuba in support of the South African peoples' efforts to solve their political, economic and security problems.

In its solidarity with the struggles of the South African peoples, the Soviet Union is carrying on the tradition of the anti-fascist alliance of World War II. U.S. imperialism long ago decided that it was in its interests to "walk away" from anti-fascism — a walk that has brought it to the side of apartheid fascism.

CONTESTED ARENA

In his comments on the administration's "realistic strategy," Crocker also stated that Southern Africa is an "increasingly contested arena in global politics. The worldwide significance of the region," he asserted, "derives from its potential to become a cockpit of mounting East-West tensions."

Crocker attempts to divert attention from the fact that this region is already a critical battleground for the Black majority's struggle for a genuinely independent Namibia, and for social and economic progress throughout the area, including majority rule and an end to apartheid fascism in South Africa.

In order to hide the real nature of the battle in this area, Crocker declares that Southern Africa is a potential cockpit of "mounting East-West tensions." In other words, he and the other Reaganites draw the old anti-communist curtain across the area with the aim of depriving the Southern African peoples of the socialist countries' solidarity in order to render these Black majorities defenseless against the plunder, atrocities and expansionism of South Africa, U.S. and NATO imperialism.

At the same time that Washington and Pretoria collaborate on a global anti-Soviet campaign aimed at cutting off assistance to the African struggles against neocolonialism, Crocker extols the intensified militarization of the apartheid fascists. Due to a "sustained self-sufficient drive," he states, South Africa "is now an important regional power. It has clearly signalled its determination to resist guerrilla encroachments and strike at countries giving sanctuary."

As the peoples of South Africa and Namibia

struggle to liberate themselves from domination by South Africa's white minority rulers, Crocker encourages this regime to "strike" at those who support the liberation struggles by claiming the regime is being "encroached" upon!

Further, according to Crocker, South Africa has become a regional military power through a "sustained self-sufficiency drive," when in fact it has been sustained by decades of support from Western imperialism.

Moreover, if the South African regime were capable of sustaining itself as a military power in the region, there would be no need for the Reaganites to invent a "Soviet threat" in order to justify their stepped-up military assistance to South Africa, and their campaign against sanctions. The fact is that apartheid fascism and classical colonialism still survive in South Africa and Namibia only because of their place in neocolonialism's global operations.

THE TIME FOR TOTAL SANCTIONS

In his application of the Reagan Doctrine to Southern Africa, Crocker also stated that "Warsaw Pact countries have arms agreements with four nations of the area and provide the bulk of external military support to guerrilla groups aimed at Namibia and South Africa."

As Crocker perceives it, the danger in Southern Africa is not, of course, to the Black majorities, but to apartheid fascism. But to divert attention from his actual concern, he superimposes a portrait of "outside intervention" over the real situation in that region.

As the Reaganites are only too well aware, the barriers to independence and socio-economic progress faced by countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America would be infinitely greater without the solidarity of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

In his same remarks, Crocker makes peculiar use of the usually innocuous word "at." According to

him, the Warsaw Pact countries have proxies in Southern Africa who aim "at" Namibia and South Africa. This is the way Crocker speaks of SWAPO of Namibia, led by Sam Nujoma, and the ANC of South Africa, led by Oliver Tambo. That SWAPO and the ANC are indigenous movements is confirmed day after day in the struggle.

In South Africa, the ANC is on every front of the struggle for majority rule and to end apartheid fascism. It is recognized by the world community as the organization most representative of the South African people as a whole. The South African Communist Party is a vital component of the wide alliance for liberation headed by the ANC.

As for SWAPO: while Crocker alleges that it aims "at" Namibia, SWAPO has been recognized by the UN as the sole representative of the Namibian people.

SOUTH AFRICAN FASCISM

At the same time that the Reaganites speak of "shared interests" with South Africa, they speak of "reforming apartheid." They do this to counter the worldwide demand for sanctions against South Africa, and to conceal the minority regime's fascist character — which is expressed internally via its brutal suppression of the majority and externally via its illegal occupation of Namibia.

According to Crocker, apartheid is "legally entrenched" in South Africa. This is the Reagan Doctrine's way of attempting to legitimize the fascist regime's total denial of rights to the majority. But apartheid is legal only to the South African regime and its supporters — and even they are well aware that it is not securely entrenched. That is why Washington and Pretoria dread sanctions.

What has kept the fascist regime in power is certainly not its base in the narrow white minority, but its coexistence inside South Africa and in Namibia with the multinationals — backed by the military, political and economic power of U.S. and Western imperialism.

Now the U.S. and its Western allies have formed the "Contact Group." At a time when the pivot of the struggle to end apartheid fascism, colonialism and neocolonialism throughout Southern Africa is the Namibian liberation movement, the Contact Group maneuvers to circumvent the UN decision to end the illegal occupation of Namibia through a plan for "constitutional" measures to "protect" the "white minority" in Namibia. "White minority" is, of course, but a code phrase for those in the structures for maintaining apartheid fascism and colonialist control in Namibia. The Contact Group's maneuvers must be countered.

The time has come for coordinating the most comprehensive campaign for total sanctions to quarantine apartheid fascism. Total sanctions are the key to ending the illegal occupation of Namibia, and to opening a new stage in Africa's struggles against neocolonialism.

Henry Winston
Abridged from *Political Affairs*,
No. 10, 1981

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In Defiance of Fact and Logic

Zivot strany, a journal of the CP Czechoslovakia, has published a reply to a letter from Antonin Hlavin, a member of the CPCz since 1935, concerning the demand made by the Communist Party of Japan that the publication of the international journal of the communist and workers' parties, *World Marxist Review* (*Problems of Peace and Socialism*), should be terminated.

The author writes that he has learned about this by chance and asks, "Is it true? If it is, how do the Japanese comrades substantiate their strange proposal? In general, how is one to understand all this?"

In view of the fact that the CPJ has widely circulated its standpoint and that such questions are of interest to communists in various countries and to international opinion, we reproduce below a shortened version of an article by Pavel Auersperg, Executive Editor of *WMR*, which appeared in the Nov. 4 issue of *Zivot strany* for 1982.

Indeed, the Standing Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan did publish in the newspaper *Akahata* its resolution of December 11, 1981, entitled "Continued Publication of Distorted *Problems of Peace and Socialism* Will Do Harm to the International Communist Movement" and proposed that its publication should cease.

Of course, in accordance with the norms and principles accepted in the international communist movement, each party is free to pass its own resolution on any matter. No one has ever forced, nor is anyone forcing the Communist Party of Japan to cooperate on the journal *World Marxist Review*. Indeed, there would have been no issue if the whole thing were confined to a decision by the CPJ on whether or not to participate in the publication of the journal. But regrettably, following the publication of the resolution, a number of articles appeared in *Akahata* and in the bulletin *Japan Press Service* containing direct accusations addressed to the journal. The CPJ also circulated these accusations to many fraternal parties, with a distortion of many facts in its resolution of December 11, 1981. That is the kind of action that goes beyond the framework of a purely inner-party problem, and it contradicts friendly relations between fraternal parties.

Let us take a closer look at the substance of the matter. It is already known from press reports that a regular Meeting of Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties on the work of the journal *World Marxist Review* was held in Prague from November 24 to 26, 1981, and was attended by delegations from 90 parties. They gave, on the whole, a positive assessment of the journal's activity, spoke of its tasks, made critical remarks, and put forward a number of proposals and wishes aimed to improve further its multifaceted activity.

A delegation of the Communist Party of Japan also took part in the meeting. I think I will make no mistake in saying that its statement was a disappointment for the participants in the meeting. I, personally, got the impression, for instance, that the Japanese comrades had decided to use the rostrum of the meeting so as to test in advance the response of the fraternal parties to some of the theses and "accusations" which subsequently became the basis for the resolution on the Standing Presidium of the CPJ CC. One has to say that for the Japanese representatives, this test proved to be a fiasco. In

their speeches, a number of delegates resolutely rejected the Japanese comrades' insinuations. Nevertheless, the December 11 resolution not only reiterates these points, but also adds to them some "new" substantiations, some "new" elements.

What are they?

In qualifying the journal as "distorted" and "harmful," the CPJ resolution says that it "has tended to become a propaganda publication justifying the hegemonism of a particular party." Such charges have been made by the CPJ against the journal in the past as well, but without being specifically addressed. Now this "particular party" is designated by name. The resolution says that it means "Soviet hegemonistic intervention," "Soviet hegemonistic foreign policy." This is also the first time that the CPJ leadership has so frankly voiced its objection to the fact that in the ideological battle the journal is oriented toward a struggle against anti-Sovietism.

These "accusations" cannot be qualified otherwise than as a clear attempt to impose on the journal a line that is absolutely unacceptable to the fraternal parties. The statements by a number of delegations emphasized, on the contrary, that in the struggle against anti-Sovietism the journal should be even more consistent and resolute in playing its principled role. To act otherwise would be tantamount to acting counter to the document adopted by the 1974 meeting, which, alongside other tasks, specifically emphasized that the journal should concentrate on "the exposure of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism." This demand relating to the work of the journal has never been rescinded by anyone, and it continues to be its fundamental principle in the future as well. The parties cooperating on the journal regard anti-Sovietism as an insidious weapon of anti-communism, an instrument of the aggressive policy of imperialism aimed against all the peoples of the world.

The Japanese articles contain "criticism" of Soviet foreign policy, of its alleged "hegemonism" and "interference." All progressive forces are well aware that for nearly four decades now this policy has effectively helped to preserve peace, to strengthen international security, and promote the people's struggle for freedom, national independence and social progress.

The Japanese comrades accuse the journal of supporting this policy. But, one may ask, what other

policy can and must be supported by a journal of the communist and workers' parties? Is it perhaps the policy of imperialism? Should it embellish this policy? Should it not oppose the doctrine of "limited nuclear war," and so on?

The CPJ resolution once again objects to criticism of the Communist Party of China in the pages of the journal. A comparison of these objections with the statement by the CPJ representative at the meeting will clearly reveal a new anti-Soviet element: this criticism is directly connected with "antagonism between the USSR and China." But any serious and unbiased reader of *World Marxist Review* will confirm that the articles by authors from fraternal parties criticize only those aspects of Peking's foreign policy line which directly affect the interests of these parties. No one has the right to prohibit the fraternal parties from taking such a stand in defense of their vital interests.

Furthermore, the CPJ demands the unconditional application of the principle of so-called "consensus" in accordance with which the approval of the content of the journal and the adoption of decisions on its individual organs should be based on the rule of complete unanimity. In other words, only one vote against would suffice to prevent the realization of conclusions or the publication of articles accepted by the representatives of all other fraternal parties on the journal. This goes hand in hand with the demand to not publish articles in the journal whose authors may be writing on their own parties' problems but on which there are differences of views. For instance, the CPJ takes a different stand on a set of problems than a fraternal party which these problems immediately concern. What this amounts to, consequently, is, in effect, an attempt to deny each fraternal party its sovereign right to explain on the pages of the journal even its own internal policy. Let me illustrate this. For instance, with regard to the problems tackled by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, only those authors who are members of our party may express their views on the pages of the journal, but on no account Japanese representatives, even if they wished to do so.

The Japanese comrades kept insisting on a change in the composition of the *WMR* Editorial Board. This and similar other proposals were also contained in the several letters which the CPJ CC had earlier addressed to the journal. The Editorial Board discussed these in detail, despite the fact that the CPJ CC made public this internal correspondence immediately and one-sidedly. The conclusion was straightforward: a decision on this matter does not fall within the competence of the Editorial Board, it is "a prerogative of the Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties on the work of the journal." The meeting assembled, and a constructive discussion was held in the course of it. The exception was provided by the statement of the Japanese delegation, whose "projects" were not supported by anyone, as the minutes of the meeting confirm. The Japanese delegation was left virtually in isolation with its "projects" and "demands."

It is appropriate in this context to ask this ques-

tion: was it not perhaps disappointment over this fact that was the main motive for the unfounded assertion which is contained in the CPJ resolution, which says: "The proceedings and the results of the conference clearly demonstrated that the journal has been misdirected away from the principles of its founding."

Is that so? Let us turn to the facts, to the documents. The *WMR* founding parties characterized its principles as follows: "the journal must not be a directive organ; it must engage in the propaganda and elaboration of questions of Marxist-Leninist theory, extensively and comprehensively inform the international working-class movement on the activity of the communist parties and provide an international rostrum for an exchange of experience between the fraternal parties. With that end in view, the editors may also provide space in the journal for statements, by way of a comradely exchange of opinion and views, which within the framework of the general principles of the Marxist-Leninist theory reflect some differences in the position of their authors; the editors of the journal also have the possibility of expressing their own view on the matters discussed. If disagreements of principle should arise between the members of the Editorial Board in the process, and also in the publication of material which is of great political importance and which defines the positions of the parties taking part in the publication of the journal, the question of publication shall be decided by way of agreement with the Central Committees of the parties concerned."

In 1958, when this was formulated, there was, apart from the 12 members of the Editorial Board, only a small number of correspondents from other fraternal parties in the editorial office. Subsequently, the number of fraternal party representatives on the journal was markedly increased. The 1969 meeting on the work of the journal decided to set up an "Editorial Council on which all the representatives of the fraternal parties shall take part on an equal footing." That was also when the rule on the publication of material on which there were different views was also specified. It was established that their agreement with the Central Committees of the parties concerned was to be effected through the party representatives on the journal.

Time naturally introduced adjustments into other provisions as well. Some of them became obsolete and ceased to meet the requirements of life. Thus, the further correction of the rules of editorial work was effected at the 1974 meeting on the work of the journal. The resolution of that meeting says that "it expresses the wish that the Editorial Board and Editorial Council attach even greater importance to having the questions introduced for their consideration decided collectively and any possible divergencies of standpoints overcome in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, in a democratic way, on the basis of a comradely discussion, equality, and attentive and utmost consideration of the opinions of the representatives of all the fraternal parties."

The Communist Party of Japan says nothing about all this, despite the fact that it involved not

only an addition of new elements to the rules governing the work of the journal, but also the adjustment of the rules of editorial work in accordance with the changes which had taken place in relations between the fraternal parties. For instance, the proposition that the journal should "independently deal with the elaboration of questions of Marxist-Leninist theory" was deleted. It was recognized that that is the exclusive prerogative of the fraternal parties themselves. The postulate that the editors should have the right to voice their own opinion on the matters being discussed was also abandoned. Retention of these rules could be interpreted in such a way as if the journal to some extent set itself above the parties and acted as a directive organ, which it is not, which it cannot and does not want to be. Those are precisely the charges which the CPJ leadership has laid before the journal, without providing any evidence and attempting to expose the editors of having intentions which they simply do not have.

The CPJ documents also accuse the editors of violating the organizational principles established at the founding of the journal, and claim that the structure of the editorial apparatus is "undemocratic." But what is the actual state of affairs?

The structure of the editorial apparatus was also shaped and developed with an eye to the actual situation. In the early years, the whole activity of the journal was directed by the Editorial Board, consisting of the representatives of the 12 parties which had founded the journal. In 1969, owing to the increase in the number of parties involved in the publication, a permanent Editorial Council was set up and a number of the Editorial Board's functions were transferred to it. The 1974 meeting decided, with a view to ensuring a more uniform regional representation of the parties on the Editorial Board, to include on it the representatives of three parties, namely, the Iraqi Communist Party, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, and the Communist Party USA.

Finally, at the meeting in November 1981, which did not adopt any resolutions, virtually all the 90 parties attending, with the exception of the CP Japan, supported the proposals contained in the report of the Editorial Board and Editorial Council: to enhance the role of the Editorial Council and to extend its functions; to establish an International Collective Secretariat to include the executive editors of *WMR* and the chairpeople of the regional and thematic commissions of the journal. This organ is already in operation, and is engaged in the planning and preparation of the content of forthcoming issues, all of which is subsequently approved by the Editorial Council.

All changes of this kind indicate a ceaseless process of democratization of the journal's editorial work, an enhancement of the principle of collective leadership, and the involvement of all the parties represented on the journal — on the basis of complete equality — in active participation in deciding on all the matters relating to the publication and activity of the journal.

Consequently, there is absolutely no ground for

the CPJ assertions that the proposals for democratizing the methods of the journal's work, including those which came from the CPJ, were allegedly ignored. These proposals were considered and relevant decisions were taken on them, in the form which commanded the utmost possible support of the parties involved in the work of the journal.

The other CPJ accusations are equally problematic, to put it no stronger than that. They merely show that the Japanese comrades have displayed a lack of knowledge of some matters or an unwillingness to put an objective interpretation on them. They have alleged, for instance, that the Editorial Board is not "elected according to criteria which should be confirmed by the conference of party representatives" and is "composed arbitrarily." In actual fact, however, as has been said, it is made up by the fraternal parties. The proposal of the CPJ that it, too, should become a member of the Editorial Board was not supported either at the 1977 meeting to discuss the work of the journal or at the latest meeting.

The Japanese comrades further assert that the post of Editor-in-Chief has been "monopolized" by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. But the truth is that the Editor-in-Chief fulfils his duties under an agreement reached between the representatives of the fraternal parties at the founding of the journal, and that he fulfils these duties as the first among equals.

It was also alleged that "the right to take decisions belongs to the Editorial Board" on all the fundamental questions of the content of the journal. That again is wrong. Such decisions are actually taken by the Editorial Council, and not by the Editorial Board.

The CPJ resolution groundlessly asserts that "the Editorial Office of the journal is directed mainly by the CPSU." The truth once again is quite different. The editorial apparatus is directed by the Editorial Council, on which 63 fraternal parties involved in the work of the journal are represented, while the Editorial Board handles operational and administrative problems and ensures communication with the parties.

Finally, the Japanese comrades declare that the recently established International Collective Secretariat is directed by the Soviet Editor-in-Chief. That, too, is not in accord with reality: the Editor-in-Chief is not a member of the International Secretariat at all.

The CPJ resolution resents that "representatives of new parties were brought into the Editorial Office, . . . without reference to any regular organ." In its letter to the Editorial Board of December 27, 1980, the CPJ CC explained this pretension and the term "regular organ" as follows: "Representatives of parties, neither the process of their founding, nor their character being made clear" have joined the Editorial Council. "With regard to the affiliation of a new party, a democratic procedure should be taken, with consultations to be made with the participating parties and decisions to be taken with their approval."

This demand once again clashes with the principle laid down at the founding of the journal in 1958: "All the fraternal parties which did not participate in this meeting shall have the opportunity to join, with equal rights, the founding parties of the journal, or to take part in its publication in any form convenient to them."

One cannot help asking how it is possible to make such serious accusations, while making such light treatment of the facts?

The Japanese comrades' document also gives a distorted picture of the course of the November meeting on the work of the journal. They seek to create the impression that at the meeting there was neither equality among its participants, nor observance of democratic norms. The impression is created that the meeting allegedly discussed the "report of the Editor-in-Chief," while the CPJ representatives were subjected to discrimination in the sense that their proposals were "evasively rejected." It is also said that "a number of other parties" (besides the CPJ) "expressed objections to the communiqué," but that all of this was allegedly ignored by someone.

Once again, the picture was totally different.

The participants in the meeting were given a detailed report by the Editorial Board and Editorial Council (running to 35 pages with 55 pages of supplements) which had been approved by these democratic organs of the journal. The Editor-in-Chief did not deliver the report, but merely made some brief introductory remarks on it. The fraternal parties' delegations were given every opportunity to speak out on a broad range of matters relating to the work of the journal, above all, substantive ones, to make critical remarks and introduce proposals. The agenda was determined by the meeting itself. In the process, the Japanese comrades were not in any way discriminated by anyone. The head of the CPJ delegation delivered a speech in which he dealt very briefly with the activity of the journal proper, but criticized at length and specifically the stand and policy of a number of fraternal parties, so naturally breaching the established procedure of the discussion. It is quite natural that many delegates who spoke after him replied to that tendentious criticism. What is more, contrary to the procedure approved by the meeting, at the closing sitting the CPJ delegation insistently demanded the right to speak again, and — the only one of the participating delegations — was given the floor the second time.

I cannot but express my surprise over the way in which the December 11, 1981, resolution exaggerates the "positive support" for the "solidarity" with the proposals of the Japanese delegation on the part of participants in the meeting. The resolution even mentions some kind of "opposition to the report." Indeed, some aspects of the CPJ view were echoed by two or three speakers. But all the other participants in the meeting, which was addressed by 80 delegations, expressed fundamentally different, not to say opposite views, or directly polemicized with the stand of the Japanese delegation both on

substantive and on organizational matters in the work of the journal.

There is also a distortion in the CPJ resolution of the question of some "communiqué" of the November meeting. First, this so-called "communiqué" was no more than a press release: it contained no assessments, no instructions. Besides, to say that a "number of other parties" objected to the communiqué is to present the whole course of the discussion in a false light. Apart from the CPJ delegation, only one other delegation expressed such objections at the meeting, it was the delegation of the Italian Communist Party.

The CPJ resolution voices a sharp protest against "a systematic campaign" which was allegedly conducted in the course of the meeting for the convocation of an international meeting of the communist and workers' parties. What are the actual facts? They are only that in their speeches some participants in the meeting expressed the idea about the convocation of an international meeting. Can that be called a "campaign"? Was there anyone who could deprive the comrades of their right to voice such an idea? Was there anyone there who could or wished to act as censor or judge?

It has always been and continues to be an imperative for the communists to treat the facts seriously and with respect. In this case, the CPJ has evidently departed from this principle. Having presented a distorted picture of the activity of our international publication, and not paying too much attention to logic and ethics, it has unhesitatingly drawn this rash conclusion: the continued publication of the journal "would do great harm" and so there is "no way but to cease publication of the journal and dissolve the Editorial Office." In this connection, the Japanese comrades warn, the CPJ CC "will take whatever measures are necessary from now on in the international communist movement."

So, without being authorized by anyone to do so, the CPJ has set itself up as some supreme judge who decides on what accords with the interests of our movement, that is, of all the parties, and what harms them. In so doing, the Japanese comrades are silent on or distort the diametrically opposite positions of the other fraternal parties with respect to the journal, as expressed at the November meeting. In this way, the CPJ leadership seeks to invalidate the results and significance of the exchange of opinion that has been held, and to erode the broad accord reached at the November meeting on the tasks of the journal.

The demand to liquidate the journal together with its more than 60 national editions published by communist and workers' parties in 37 languages and circulated in 145 countries of the world can hardly be assessed otherwise than as an ultimatum-like attempt on the part of the CPJ to impose its line, its distorted notions, on other fraternal parties, in defiance of their clearly expressed will to give all-round support to the activity of the international journal *World Marxist Review (Problems of Peace and Socialism)*.

Let us recall that in summing up the results of the meeting on the work of *World Marxist Review*, the governing bodies of the overwhelming majority of the communist and workers' parties of the world gave a high assessment of its activity and role. That is why the journal will continue to be published and circulated all over the world, because such are the

interests and requirements of the international communist movement, the interests of the struggle against imperialism, and for peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism.

Abridged from *Zivot strany*,
No. 4, 1982

We Shall Not Allow the Dark Night to Envelop Our Country Again

Kampuchea's Public Education Minister Pen Navuth on the problems of forming a new, national and popular culture.

Once Kampuchea was liberated, everything had to be started from scratch. It was necessary to put in order not only the towns and the villages, the roads, railway stations and ports, but primarily the minds of the people. The human-hating ideology advocated by Pol Pot and his clique had to give way to reason. That is why the country was in need of teachers, but there were only a few of them.

In 1979, almost one in three Kampuchean who should have had their schooling was illiterate. One half of all children had lost at least one of their parents. Of the 23,000 teachers, only about 5,000 had survived the genocide. But the Pol Pot regime's anti-education policy was not the only reason for the illiteracy.

In the past, most children had no access to education. True, some peasant children attended pagoda schools, but girls were not admitted. In other words, when Pol Pot came to power, the number of illiterates in the country was already high, but his tyranny totally obliterated all spiritual values.

Some intellectuals, including teachers, managed to survive, but only by pretending to be illiterate. It sometimes took as little as a pair of eyeglasses to be branded a "scholar" and "unfit to live."

Right after the country's liberation in January 1979, the struggle against illiteracy became one of the most urgent tasks of the people's power. The 11-point program adopted at the constituent meeting of the United Front for the National Salvation of Kampuchea, held in the jungle of Kratie Province on December 2, 1978, already contained these tasks: "To create a new — national and popular — culture. To overcome illiteracy and build schools, technical trades' schools and institutes."

A three-year plan for combating illiteracy has been elaborated. It is to be put into effect by a national committee headed by Heng Samrin, Chairman of the State Council. The Committee includes representatives of all central institutions, and corresponding bodies have also been set up in provinces and regions. These are mostly run by representatives of social organizations: trade unions, youth and women's associations. Some progress has already been made: roughly 400,000 Khmers are now attending schools, and 140,000 of these have

already learned to read, write and do simple sums in arithmetic.

In each province, there are two types of schools for wiping out illiteracy among adults. Some provide full time courses for the best workers, and in others workers study half a day and then work in production. Night schools have also been set up. Apart from that, classes are also held during the lunch break, which in Kampuchea's tropical climate usually lasts from 11.00 a.m. to 2.00 p.m., and one or two hours of this lunch break may be spent in devotion to study. At present, 146,200 working men and women attend such courses. But such courses and classes are not held in school-buildings in the European sense of the word. They are held in the open air, under shady trees, in private homes, and in the paddy-fields. Fishermen study right in their boats, and lumber-men, whose shift in the jungle lasts up to one month, put in a few days of intensive study upon their return home.

All these are encouraging results, especially if one recalls where we started out two years ago. In the early days after liberation, we had virtually nothing for tackling illiteracy. It takes a lot to organize real studies. We used all the means at our disposal. So as not to forget what they had just learned, peasants working in the paddy-fields wrote the words in chalk on the flank of buffalo.

After the physical repression and spiritual impoverishment of the past years, the thirst for knowledge is so great that the state does not have to urge the people to study. About 1.3 million children now go to school, and half a million adults attend literacy courses. Where does Kampuchea get so many teachers? It needs many more, but those who survived the brutalities of the Pol Pot regime have been very active in spreading the new way of life. Men and women who have knowledge teach others. Of course, not all of them have the necessary skills. Some former teachers require occupational and ideological refresher training, after which they go out into the provinces to train young teachers in the localities. Such courses usually last one or two months. With this aim in view, we have set up 24 educational centers. The Phnom Penh Teacher Training Institute was among the first educational

establishments to resume its activity after the overthrow of the Pol Pot regime. Four hundred students have been enrolled at the institute.

The Ministry of Public Education has many active allies among the Buddhist priests. In Kampuchea's history, Buddhist priests have often played a positive role in spreading progressive patriotic ideas. They were among the first to put forward revolutionary ideas of expelling the French colonialists. Up to 1979, they had also been persecuted. Today, many of them have been collecting funds for building schools, and in some villages they also teach children. As representatives of the people's power, we respect the freedom of religion, but the priests who are helping us to wipe out illiteracy must also implement the program of the Ministry of Public Education and have no right to confine themselves to religious instruction.

As for those young people — or even children — who served as tools in the hands of the Pol Pot murderers and who did not even stop at condemning to death their own parents, we are very much concerned for their future. Yes, we have 10-year-old children who took part in the extermination of hundreds of men and women. We divide them into two groups. First, those who were active members of Pol Pot gangs and had in effect become criminals. Those we have sent to re-education camps for long periods of time. But there are also some young boys and girls who only blindly submitted to the Pol Pot regime. Their life should be filled with new content. After a two or three-week stay at educational schools, we sent them home. Of course, members of the youth organization in the villages look after their further development. This, we believe, is the only correct way. There is no sense in hatred.

The fourth congress of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea held in Phnom Penh in May 1981 devoted the utmost attention to education in the country. It instructed the Public Education Ministry to bring education within the reach of all Kampuchean children in the shortest possible period. Today, 15 per cent of the country's children still do not go to school. The second major task is to realize the above-mentioned three-year plan for wip-

ing out illiteracy, under which 1.5 million men and women should learn to read and write by the 1982-1983 academic year. The congress also took a decision on raising the educational level of teachers and senior pupils. Teachers should be acquainted with the propositions of Marxist-Leninist science concerning education, and should be regularly informed about the situation in the country and the world. This is the only way to fulfil the extremely difficult task of setting up a socialist education system, which is totally new for Kampuchea.

Broad international solidarity, primarily on the part of friendly socialist countries, helps us to advance toward this goal. Thus, we need many new textbooks, but we are still short of people who could write them. Our Vietnamese friends have been helping us in this endeavor, providing us with model textbooks of their own.

We are also short of paper and printing facilities, but some of these problems are being gradually resolved: the Soviet Union supplies us with paper, and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam helps to print books. Vietnamese provinces have taken Kampuchean provinces under their patronage. Vietnamese specialists together with their Kampuchean colleagues have drawn up new curricula. Without Vietnam, our successes in education would have been impossible. Soviet specialists have been helping us to restore the Higher Technical School, and also to build a technical trades' school. Specialists from the German Democratic Republic are also helping us in various ways. 200 young Khmers are enrolled at technical trades' schools and institutions of higher learning in the GDR.

We are proud to have seen for ourselves how our friends in the socialist states, including the GDR, have set up an education system like the one we envisage for our own country. This gives us confidence in the future. As for those who tormented our people, they have no future. We shall not allow the dark night to envelop our country again. Their attempts to crush the people's will are doomed to failure.

Abridged from *Horizont*, No. 50, 1981

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