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information bulletin

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From the CC of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the USSR Council of Ministers

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers deeply regret to inform the party and the entire Soviet people that Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, died at 7:20 p.m. on March 10, 1985, after a

grave illness.

The name of Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko, an outstanding leader of the Communist Party and the Soviet state and a staunch fighter for the ideas of communism and for peace, will remain forever in the hearts of the Soviet people and of the whole of progressive humanity.

Address by the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers to the Communist Party and the Soviet People

Dear Comrades,

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Soviet state, and all Soviet people have suffered a grave loss. Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko, an outstanding party and state figure, patriot and internationalist, consistent fighter for the triumph of the ideals of communism and peace on earth, has died.

All of Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko's life was devoted to the cause of the Leninist Party, to the interests of the Soviet people. Whatever the post to which the party assigned him, he invariably fought with characteristic selflessness to implement the policy of the CPSU, of which he was a member for more than 50 years.

From Komsomol leader and party organizer at a frontier post to General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet — such was the life of Konstantin Chernenko. In the highest party and state posts, his talent as an organizer and leader of the Leninist type fully revealed itself. The party Central Committee and the CPSU CC Political Bureau led by Konstantin Chernenko did great and fruitful work to mobilize the working people to fulfil the resolutions of the 26th CPSU congress and subsequent plenary meetings of the CPSU Central Committee.

The course of improving developed socialism, tackling the major tasks of economic and social development, raising the well-being of the Soviet people, further encouraging the masses' creative activity and improving ideological work was consistently pursued. The party constantly focused its attention on enhancing discipline, law and order, on its cadre policy, on invigorating the activity of the Soviets, the Komsomol and people's control, on the education reform, and on raising the role of literature and art in society. Active work is being done to prepare for the regular 27th CPSU congress and to produce a new edition of the party program.

The party's efforts on the international scene were concentrated on further developing all-round co-

operation with the fraternal socialist countries. The transition to a new stage of socialist economic integration and the strengthening of the positions of the socialist community are associated with the activities of Konstantin Chernenko.

The CPSU CC and the Soviet state firmly and consistently pursued the principle of peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems, resolutely countered the aggressive designs and strivings of imperialism's most reactionary forces and tirelessly struggled to end the arms race imposed by imperialism, remove the threat of nuclear war and ensure dependable security for the peoples.

In this hour of grief the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers appeal to the communists and the other Soviet people to rally even closer behind the Leninist Central Committee of the party and its Political Bureau. The working people of our country have every reason to regard the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as the leading and guiding force of Soviet society. All the party's deeds and plans are directed toward dedicated service to the basic interests of the Soviet people and to the cause of communism.

The CPSU is armed with the immortal revolutionary Marxist-Leninist teaching. It unswervingly follows Lenin's road and will never deviate from it.

The party will continue to pursue a course toward the all-round improvement of developed socialism. It regards as the supreme goal of its activity a further rise in the people's material and cultural living standards by making the economy intensive and accelerating scientific and technological progress in every possible way. The principle of social justice inherent in socialism will be persistently implemented to an ever fuller extent in all spheres of our life, and the line to enhance discipline, order and organization, which has been approved and backed by the country's working people, will be unfailingly followed. The party will continue to strengthen the

alliance between the working class, the collective farm peasantry, and the intelligentsia, and the fraternal friendship of the Soviet peoples, which constitute the basis of the vital activity of our society, and will develop socialist democracy. The party has always regarded as the supreme intellectual values of the Soviet people Marxist-Leninist conviction, collectivism, patriotism, and proletarian socialist internationalism.

The CPSU and the Soviet state have been doing everything possible and necessary to strengthen the socialist community, consolidate the positions of socialism in the world arena, avert a nuclear catastrophe and ensure lasting peace. We are for an end to the arms race and the non-militarization of outer space and are working perseveringly to achieve that goal. Our ultimate objective is the complete elimination of nuclear weapons everywhere in the world, the complete removal of the threat of nuclear war. The Soviet Union has always advocated constructive dialogue and practical measures to lessen international tension and establish an atmosphere of trust, cooperation and mutual understanding among all peoples and states.

The Soviet Union threatens no one and does not seek military superiority. But it will not allow any other country or coalition of states to gain such superiority. That is why we will continue tirelessly to raise our vigilance and strengthen the defenses of

our socialist homeland.

Our sympathies and our support are with the peoples fighting for freedom and national independence. In the struggle for peace and social progress, the CPSU is always true to the consistent course toward worldwide unity of the forces of the international communist and workers' movement.

The party's objectives are clear and noble. They have enabled the CPSU to win the infinite confidence of the working people. The party's strength is in unity with the people. The people's strength is in unity with the party, in its leadership.

Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko, who devoted his entire life to loyal service to the party and the Soviet people, will remain forever in the memory of the communists and all Soviet people. He will remain in our memory as a fiery propagandist of Marxist-Leninist ideas, as a responsive and demanding leader, as a person who was sensitive and attentive to the needs and concerns of the working people.

The CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers are fully confident that, displaying a high degree of conscientiousness and organization, the communists and all Soviet people will work with even greater enthusiasm and dedication, strengthen the economic and defense might of our homeland and bear with honor the banner of the Great October Revolution.

Report on a Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee

An extraordinary plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was held on March 11, 1985.

Mikhail Gorbachev, member of the Political Bureau, Secretary of the CPSU CC, opened the plenary meeting on behalf of the CC Political Bureau.

In connection with the death of Konstantin Chernenko, General Secretary of the CPSU CC, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the participants in the meeting paid tribute to his memory with a minute's silence.

The plenary meeting noted that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the whole Soviet people have suffered a grave loss. An outstanding party and state leader, patriot and internationalist, consistent fighter for the triumph of the ideals of communism and peace on earth has passed away.

Konstantin Chernenko devoted his entire life to the cause of the Leninist party, to the interests of the Soviet people. Whatever the post to which the party assigned him, he invariably fought with characteristic selflessness to implement the CPSU's policy.

Konstantin Chernenko paid much attention to consistent realization of the course towards improving developed socialism, tackling the major tasks of economic and social development, raising the well-being and cultural standard of the Soviet people, further enhancing the masses' creative activity, improving ideological work, and strengthening discipline and law and order.

Konstantin Chernenko made a great contribution to further developing all-round cooperation with the fraternal countries of socialism, effecting socialist economic integration, and strengthening the positions of the socialist community. Under his leadership, the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems were firmly and consistently put into practice, a resolute rebuff was given to imperialism's aggressive designs and a tireless struggle was waged to end the imperialist-imposed arms race, avert the threat of nuclear war, and ensure reliable security for the peoples.

Konstantin Chernenko cherished the unity of our Communist Party and the collective character of the activity of the Central Committee and its Political Bureau. He always sought to ensure that the party worked at all levels as a united, well-coordinated and spirited organism. He regarded the Communists' unity of thought and deed as a guarantee of all our successes, of the surmounting of shortcomings, a guarantee of steady advance.

The plenary meeting stressed that in these sorrowful days the communists and the whole Soviet people are rallying even closer round the party's Central Committee and its Political Bureau. The Soviet people have every reason to regard the party as the leading and guiding force of society and are fully determined to work selflessly to realize the CPSU's Leninist home and foreign policies.

The participants in the meeting expressed deep

condolences to the family and relatives of the deceased.

The CC plenary meeting considered the question of electing a General Secretary of the CPSU CC.

Comrade Andrei Gromyko, member of the Political Bureau, spoke on this question on behalf of the Political Bureau. He proposed that comrade Mikhail Gorbachev be elected CPSU CC General Secretary.

The meeting unanimously elected comrade Mikhail Gorbachev General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The plenary meeting was then addressed by comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, CPSU CC General Secretary. (His speech is published below.) He expressed profound gratitude for the high trust placed

in him by the CPSU Central Committee, and pointed out that he is well aware of the magnitude of the responsibility connected with this.

Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev assured the CPSU Central Committee that he will do his utmost to serve faithfully our party, our people and the great Leninist cause, and to ensure that the CPSU's programmatic guidelines are unswervingly implemented, that there is continuity in the tasks to further enhance the USSR's economic and defense might, raise the well-being of the Soviet people and strengthen peace, and that the Leninist home and foreign policy of the Communist Party and the Soviet state is persistently put into practice.

At this point the CC plenary meeting ended its work.

Pravda, March 12, 1985

Speech by Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU CC, at the Plenary Meeting of the CPSU CC on March 11, 1985

Dear comrades,

All of us, our party and country are deeply grieved. Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko, a true Leninist, an outstanding figure in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet state, in the international communist movement, a man with a responsive heart and great organizational talent, has passed away.

Konstantin Ustinovich traversed a long and glorious road. Every post to which he was assigned by the party more fully revealed his talent, his ability to work with people. As General Secretary of the CPSU CC, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko devoted all his efforts and knowledge to developing the country's economy, raising the well-being and culture of the people, ensuring the security of our homeland, and preserving and strengthening peace on Earth.

Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko cherished the unity of the Communist Party and the collective activity of the Central Committee and its Political Bureau. He always sought to ensure that the party worked at all levels as a united, well-coordinated and spirited organism. He regarded the communists' unity of thought and deed as a guarantee of success, of the overcoming of shortcomings, as a guarantee of steady advance.

The strategic line worked out at the 26th congress and at the subsequent CC plenary meetings in which Yuri Vladimirovich Andropov and Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko took an active part, has remained unchanged. It is a line toward speeding up the country's social and economic development and improving all aspects of the life of society. This means transforming the material and technical base of production. This means upgrading the system of social relations, above all in the economic sphere. This means developing the individual and qualitatively improving the material conditions in which he lives and works and his spiritual make-up.

We face the job of making a decisive breakthrough in placing our national economy on a footing of intensive development. We must, we are duty bound to attain in a very brief period the most advanced positions in science and technology, the highest world level in the productivity of social labour.

In order to achieve this with greater success and speed, we must persist in improving the economic mechanism and the entire management system. In following this way and choosing the optimal solutions, it is important to apply creatively the fundamental principles of socialist management. This means constantly implementing planned development of the economy, strengthening socialist property, expanding the rights and enhancing the independence and responsibility of enterprises, and heightening their interest in the end product of their work. This means eventually making all economic development subject to the interests of Soviet people.

The party will unswervingly pursue its social policy. Everything in the name of people, for the benefit of people — this programmatic provision must be given ever deeper and more concrete content. Naturally, improvement of a person's living conditions must be based on his or her growing contribution to the common cause. Wherever deviations from this principle occur, social justice, which is a major factor of unity and stability in a socialist society, is inevitably infringed.

The party regards it as a basic task of domestic policy to continue to improve and develop democracy and the entire system of socialist self-government by the people. The tasks here are many-sided. Much is being done in this respect. What is meant is enhancement of the role of Soviets and invigoration of the trade unions, the Komsomol, the people's control and the work collectives. Ahead lies persistent work in the directions already outlined and in new ones.

The deepening of socialist democracy is inseparable

ably linked with the raising of social consciousness. The effectiveness of educational work is primarily manifested in how workers, collective farmers and intellectuals participate in resolving problems big and small, in how they work, in how they combat shortcomings. Raising the work and social activity of Soviet people, strengthening discipline, and fostering patriotism and internationalism are important tasks of all ideological activity.

Resolute measures will at the same time be continued to put things in good order, rid our life of all alien phenomena and all encroachments on the interests of society and its citizens, and to strengthen socialist legality.

We are duty bound to continue to give greater publicity to the work of party, state, government and social organizations. Lenin used to say that a state is made strong by the masses' social awareness. Our practice has fully corroborated that conclusion. The better people are informed, the more consciously they act, the more actively they support the party, its plans and programmatic objectives.

In the area of foreign policy, our course is clear and consistent. It is a course of peace and progress.

The first precept of the party and state is to preserve and strengthen in every way the fraternal friendship with our closest comrades and allies — the countries of the great socialist community. We will do everything in our power to expand cooperation with socialist states and enhance socialism's role and influence in world affairs. We would like to see serious improvement in relations with the People's Republic of China and believe that this is quite possible if there is reciprocity.

The Soviet Union has always supported the peoples' fight for the liberation from colonial oppression. And today our sympathies lie with the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America which are following a path of strengthening independence and effecting social renovation. For us they are friends and partners in the fight for lasting peace and for better and just relations between peoples.

As to relations with capitalist states, I would like to say the following. We will firmly follow the Leninist course of peace and peaceful coexistence. The Soviet Union will always respond to good will with good will, and to trust with trust. But everyone should know that we will never waive the interests of our homeland and those of its allies.

We value the successes of the relaxation of international tension achieved in the 1970s and are ready to take part in continuing the process of establishing peaceful mutually beneficial cooperation between states on the basis of the principles of equality, mutual respect and non-interference in internal affairs. The 40th anniversary of the great victory over Hitler fascism and Japanese militarism could be fittingly marked with new steps in this direction.

Never before has so terrible a threat loomed over humanity as it does today. The only reasonable way out of the existing situation is agreement by the confronting forces immediately to terminate the arms race, above all the nuclear arms race, on Earth, and to prevent one in outer space; agreement on an honest and equitable basis without attempts to

"outplay" the other side and dictate terms to it; agreement which would help all to advance toward the desired goal of completely eliminating and prohibiting nuclear weapons for good, toward the complete removal of the threat of nuclear war. This is our firm conviction.

Negotiations between the Soviet Union and the United States of America will open tomorrow in Geneva. The USSR's approach to these negotiations is well known. I can only reaffirm that we do not seek unilateral advantages over the United States and NATO countries or military superiority over them; we want to end and not continue the arms race and therefore propose a freeze in nuclear arsenals and an end to the deployment of missiles; we want a real and major reduction in the arms stockpiles, and not development of ever newer weapon systems, be it in space or on Earth.

We would like our partners in the Geneva talks to understand the Soviet Union's position and to respond in kind. Agreement will then become possible and the peoples of the world would sigh with relief.

The CPSU is by its very nature an internationalist party. People who share our views may rest assured that in the struggle for peace and social progress the party of Lenin will, as always, closely cooperate with the fraternal communist, workers' and revolutionary-democratic parties, and will advocate unity and active cooperation among all revolutionary forces.

Comrades, the solution of the complex tasks which face us calls for further strengthening of the party and enhancement of its organizing and guiding role. The CPSU has always proceeded from Lenin's idea that principled policy is the only correct policy. Such a policy, worked out collectively, will be implemented consistently and undeviatingly. The party is the force which is able to take into consideration the interests of all classes and social groups, all national groups and nationalities in our country, unite them and mobilize the people's energies for the common cause of communist construction.

The party's policy has always been and will continue to be directed toward consolidating the alliance of the working class, the collective farm peasantry and the intelligentsia, and toward steadily strengthening the friendship between the peoples of our great country of many nationalities.

The CPSU will develop in every way the creative initiative of the young, work to improve the working and living conditions of women, and see to it that the needs and requirements of war veterans and veteran workers are met.

In the complex international situation, it is more important than ever before to maintain our homeland's defenses at a level that will make potential aggressors aware that encroachment on the security of the Land of the Soviets and its allies, on the peaceful life of Soviet people will meet with a crushing counter-strike. Our glorious armed forces will continue to have everything necessary for that.

Preparations for the 27th congress of the CPSU are in full swing. A revised edition of the party program is to be considered at the congress and the

prospects for the country's development during the next five-year plan period and over the period to the year 2000 are to be determined.

The times call for intense and creative work by all party organizations from top to bottom. The communists must in all places be exemplary in their civic duty and conscientiously work for the good of society, and must firmly establish everywhere the Leninist style of work. This applies first of all to party cadre and party and state leaders. The CPSU will undeviatingly pursue a line toward greater exactingness and increased responsibility for tasks assigned. At the end of this plenary meeting, the members of the Central Committee, the First Secretaries of Regional Committees, and all other participants will return to the localities to get down to work with fresh vigor. And there is much to be done. First of all, it is necessary to complete successfully the work of fulfilling this year's economic and social development plans, thereby ensuring a confident start to the next five-year plan period.

The severe winter has somewhat slowed down the attainment of plan targets in a number of areas. This means that we must now muster our energies, tap the reserves and apply every effort to make up for what has not yet been done and reach the plan targets by the end of the year.

Comrades, these days we feel even more keenly the might and monolithic character of the communists' ranks and the unity of our Soviet people. At the recent elections Soviet people again expressed unanimous support for the course of our party and state. This support is both inspiring and binding.

Today the plenary meeting of the Central Committee has invested me with the great and complex duties of CPSU CC General Secretary. I am aware of the magnitude of the trust placed in me and of the great responsibility this entails. In the work that lies ahead I count on the support and active help of the members of the Political Bureau, alternate members of the Political Bureau and Secretaries of the Central Committee, and the party's Central Committee as a whole. Your many-sided experience is a concentration of our people's historical experience. I promise you, comrades, that I will do my utmost to serve faithfully our party, our people, and the great Leninist cause.

Allow me to express confidence that, in the run-up to the 27th congress of the CPSU, the people and the party, united round the Central Committee, will do everything to make our Soviet land even richer and more powerful and to more fully reveal the creative forces of socialism.

Pravda, March 12, 1985

Communists & the Struggle for Peace

Canada Must Withdraw Support of the U.S. Militarization of Space Program

Statement by William Kashtan,
General Secretary of the Communist Party of Canada

In response to widespread public concern External Affairs Minister Clark has assured Canadians that the U.S. government is not pressing Canada to accept nuclear arms. He also declared that Canada will not have nuclear weapons on its territory.

Mr. Clark is not being truthful with the Canadian people.

The fact is that as far back as 1957 the then Canadian government agreed to a U.S. contingency plan to place nuclear weapons on Canadian soil in the event of an emergency.

Was this debated in parliament? Were the Canadian people involved in this fateful decision?

Today, by denying that the U.S. administration is now demanding that U.S. nuclear weapons be deployed on Canadian territory, Mr. Clark covers up the following:

Canada as a member of NATO is presently committed to the first use of nuclear weapons, and this despite the fact that the USSR has pledged never to be the first to use such weapons.

Canada is committed to having nuclear weapons on Canadian soil. This commitment made in 1957 still holds.

The Mulroney government has endorsed the Reagan Star War program of space militarization and

once again U.S. imperialism is dangerously escalating the arms race. The U.S. Star War program is neither a research nor a defense program. It is part of the U.S. first-strike nuclear strategy. With the modernization of the Dew Line under U.S. pressure Canada is being further tied to this U.S. nuclear war strategy.

Thus, when Mr. Clark tells Canadians that the U.S. government is not pressing Canada to accept nuclear weapons today, he hides the fact that Canada has been locked into a U.S. first-strike nuclear strategy through its membership in NATO and NORAD.

Canadians must demand a reversal of the present pro-U.S. policies of the Mulroney government which could lead to the total destruction of this country.

If New Zealand can tell the U.S. administration it will not allow U.S. ships with nuclear weapons entry into New Zealand waters; if the Australian government can tell the U.S. administration it will not permit MX testing in Australian territory; if West European countries that are members of NATO can tell the Reagan administration they oppose the Star War program, why can't the Mulroney government stand up to U.S. pressure also?

The Canadian government has embarked on a dangerous course, a course that imperils the security of our country and people. That pro-U.S. course must be reversed by massive public pressure. The Canadian government must withdraw support of the U.S. administration militarization of space program,

which threatens Canada and humankind. What Canada needs today is an independent foreign policy that strengthens the security of the country and peace in the world.

February 18, 1985

Eliminate War Danger

Mikhail Gorbachev Meets the Socialist International's Consultative Council on Disarmament

Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU CC, met with the Socialist International's Consultative Council on Disarmament on March 22 in the Kremlin. Constituting the Council are:

Kalevi Sorsa, Vice Chairman of the Socialist International and Chairman of the Consultative Council on Disarmament, Pentti Vaananen, General Secretary of the Socialist International, Walter Hacker (Austria), Secretary of the Socialist International's Consultative Council on Disarmament, Robin Sears (Canada), Deputy General Secretary of the Socialist International, Jenny Little, International Secretary of the Labour Party of Great Britain, Andreas von Buelow, Chairman of the Security Commission under the Board of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, Heinrich Buchbinder, Chairman of the Security Commission of the Social Democratic Party of Switzerland, Chisato Tatebayashi, member of the Central Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of Japan, Francois Gaudement of the French Socialist Party, Antonio Garcia Pagan, Representative of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party and member of the Foreign Policy and Defense Commissions of the Congress of Deputies of the Spanish Parliament, Satiko Taguchi, Secretary of the International Bureau and member of the Foreign Policy Committee of the Party of Democratic Socialism of Japan, Lauri Kangas, International Secretary of the Social Democratic Party of Finland, Allan Rosas, Disarmament Expert of the Social Democratic Party of Finland, Riitta Korhunen, editor of *Suomen Sosialidemokraatti* newspaper.

Present at the meeting was Boris Ponomarev, Alternate Member of the CPSU CC Political Bureau, Secretary of the CPSU CC.

Kalevi Sorsa congratulated Mikhail Gorbachev on his election as CPSU CC General Secretary. Sorsa reported on the Council's work to attain limitation and discontinuation of the arms race. He said that after the meetings in Moscow the Consultative Council would visit Washington for talks with representatives of the U.S. administration. The parties in the Socialist International are concerned about the situation in the world, especially the continual arms build-up. The Consultative Council of the Socialist International is, among other things, opposed to the militarization of outer space. The hope was expressed that the Soviet Union and the United States would make every effort not only to limit but also to end the arms race. Sorsa said that the

Socialist and Social-Democratic Parties in the Socialist International would help to bring that about. He noted that the limitation of the arms race affects not only the USSR and the USA but the whole of humanity and added that small countries and neutral and non-aligned states could and should also contribute to that cause. The desire was voiced that the participants in the present Soviet-U.S. talks in Geneva would do all in their power to check the slide toward nuclear disaster. The year 1985, Sorsa stressed, is a crucial one in which every possible measure should be taken to curb the arms race. In conclusion Kalevi Sorsa thanked the CPSU leadership for the welcome extended to the Consultative Council in Moscow and for the fruitful talks that had taken place.

Mikhail Gorbachev stressed that the foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state remains unchanged, and that this had been confirmed at the March 1985 plenary meeting of the CPSU CC. The Soviet Union will unflinchingly follow a course of peace and progress.

It was noted in the course of the meeting that a very alarming situation has taken shape in the world. The threat of nuclear war is growing. If it is not curbed now the arms race could enter a qualitatively new phase in which uncontrollable processes would begin. The situation is compounded by deliberate actions to undermine international trust and heighten confrontation in every sphere. Threats to use armed force and open intervention in the affairs of sovereign states are being used merely because some people do not like the realities of today's world.

The peace-loving public of the entire world is calling for an end to the dangerous arms race and removal of the threat of war. Great hopes are pinned in this regard on the new Soviet-U.S. talks in Geneva.

It is crucial that the objective of the talks should be, as recorded in the joint Soviet-U.S. statement, to draw up effective accords to prevent an arms race in space and end the one on Earth, freeze and reduce nuclear arms, and strengthen strategic stability. It is the opinion of the parties that the talks should lead eventually to the elimination of all nuclear weapons everywhere.

Progress and results at Geneva, Mikhail Gorbachev emphasized, are going to depend primarily on whether both sides abide strictly by their agreement on the subject and objectives of the talks in every area. For its part the Soviet Union will do everything in its power to fulfil this agreement. We

will judge the intentions of the U.S. side by its actions. It is essential for each side to display good will and readiness for reasonable compromises and, most important of all, for the principles of equality and equal security to be strictly observed.

We are resolutely opposed to the talks becoming a kind of cover for further acceleration of the arms race. That is why the Soviet Union proposes a freeze on the sides' nuclear arsenals and an end to the missile deployment. Notably, we are convinced that termination of the deployment of new U.S. missiles in Europe, with a simultaneous end to the Soviet counter-measures, would contribute much to a resolution of the entire range of issues under discussion in Geneva.

The efforts of very diverse public and political forces of today are directed at preventing nuclear war. Such is the aim of the major peace initiatives advanced by the Soviet Union and the other socialist community countries. These initiatives are in consonance with the UN resolutions, which reflect the views of the world community. The public and leaders of many countries have been unequivocally calling for return to the policy of détente, termination of the arms race, and development of political dialogue and cooperation among states. The anti-war movement, which has now become a major socio-political

force in many countries, strongly advocates that. There is broadening awareness that in the nuclear age the security of states cannot be based on force or threat of force. It is possible only as security for all. All this is strengthening the conviction that, with due effort, a change in the situation and an improvement of the international climate can be effected.

We know of the activities of the Socialist International's Consultative Council on Disarmament and appreciate its desire to promote constructive dialogue and talks, Gorbachev said. In view of their political leverage and influence, the parties of the Socialist International can in many ways help to bring about an improvement in the international situation and an end to the arms race, and can increase their contribution to the cause of saving humanity from nuclear catastrophe. The international situation imperatively demands energetic and effective efforts by the working class and democratic movement against the threat of war. The CPSU for its part is prepared to cooperate actively with all peace-loving public forces, including the parties in the Socialist International. This is our firm and invariable course and we will continue to pursue it consistently.

Pravda, March 23, 1985

congresses & plenary meetings

The New Situation and the Party's Tasks

From an Address by Communist Party of Austria Chairman Franz Muhri at a CPA CC Plenary Meeting

A regular plenary meeting of the Communist Party of Austria CC was held on February 19 and 20 in Vienna, the main item on the agenda being the problems of internal policy and the party's tasks. Below are excerpts from a report on this question made by CPA Chairman Franz Muhri. The meeting unanimously approved Muhri's report as the document which sets the party's tasks.

The participants in the meeting also heard reports on improvement of the party leadership's work methods in the light of the decisions of the 25th congress of the Communist Party of Austria and on the results of the CPA women's conference. The CPA CC noted the need to step up actions for the rights of women, which the communists regard as an inseparable part of the working class's struggle against all forms of exploitation and oppression.

Recent events have confirmed with even greater clarity the conclusion of our 25th congress that internal political life is in motion and that new elements and new possibilities have emerged which make new demands of our party that it needs to take more fully into account in its activity.

For many years the CPA was the only party which opposed the actions not only of the Socialist but also of the People's Party, which have been helping to strengthen the influence of the Austrian Freedom Party. We consider this position of ours to be part and parcel of the anti-fascist struggle. We therefore strongly protested against the AFP's participation in the government, which participation became a fact following the 1983 National Council elections.

The small coalition is today in deep crisis. The leadership of the Socialist Party gave as a ground for creating the coalition the fact that the AFP is

supposedly changing and becoming more liberal. But life has shown our assessment to be correct: Steger (AFP Chairman — *Ed.*) and the other AFP leaders included among the "liberals" have not broken with the "national" circles. Certain attempts at liberalization made in that party failed not least of all because of this. The AFP is not a liberal party. Its political position is to the right of the Austrian People's Party (APP) and a sizable part of its membership is close to neofascism. There is no place for talk of the AFP's political "self-purge" which the SPA leadership expected.

The recently published draft of the AFP's new program is not indicative of either its belief in freedom or its liberalism (in the positive sense of the word). First, the draft once again upholds the thesis about "the common character of the German people and culture." Not long ago the SPA leadership de-

clared that coalition is possible with the liberals within the AFP but not with the "national" circles. But the AFP, according to its new program, continues to take "national" to mean "German national," denying the existence of a distinctive Austrian nation. Second, the program says this word for word: "As an integral part of Europe, Austria is very closely linked by ties of interdependence with that continent, which, in its turn, is linked by many-sided relations of interdependence. Sovereignty as it is traditionally understood can therefore only be regarded theoretically as an orientation of foreign policy." Further: "The AFP supports the platform of the Law on Neutrality, which commits Austria to wartime neutrality." These formulations essentially indicate a departure from the status of permanent neutrality that has been voluntarily enshrined in our constitution.

The Law on Neutrality says: "In order firmly to establish its independence in external relations and to ensure the inviolability of its territory Austria voluntarily declares its permanent neutrality." Sovereignty and independence are thus defined here simultaneously as the objective and the meaning of permanent neutrality, while the AFP program regards sovereignty as something outdated, and permanent neutrality is reduced to its purely wartime aspect. It is therefore not surprising that the AFP program attaches particular importance to strengthening the army and to the demand that it be equipped with missiles, and also that the program characterizes Austria's EEC membership as possible and necessary. Third, the AFP draft program not only makes quite clear that the party supports the capitalist market economy, with its pursuit of profit, and the broadest reprivatization of the state sector but also makes the demand that Austria's present social security system should be liquidated. The calls for a "trimming of the insurance system", "greater self-reliance" and "larger personal contributions to insurance" are part of the idea that it is necessary to cut pensions and health insurance to a certain "basic" so that everything in excess of this is paid by the insured themselves. This is fully in keeping with the goals of capital's sustained offensive against the interests of the working people.

Those are some of the examples which show that there is no room for talk about positive, progressive changes in the AFP's new program. That is why our party rightly characterized the raising of the AFP to the rank of a government party as a substantial factor of the "rightward drift" in Austrian politics. The latest developments confirm the correctness of our demand: Stop flattering the AFP! That party does not deserve to be in the government!

The reception which Frischenschlager accorded a war criminal* and the fact that the former still holds his ministerial post, and the special attention paid to Reder in Austria were possible only because the past

that has yet to be overcome is still making itself felt. The negative political, ideological and moral effects of the Hitler fascist dictatorship which ruled us are as great as the material damage that the Austrian people suffered under Hitler. Instead of seeking to surmount the past, immediately after the war the SPA and the APP began unscrupulously to work to win the votes of the former Nazis and their families and to recruit them as members and functionaries.

On the other hand, the widespread criticism, the protest movement and the profound discussion in the SPA around the forementioned affair show that an anti-fascist consciousness is still present among the Austrian people, among the Austrian youth. Together with other anti-fascist forces, our party has made an important positive contribution to this. We will continue to advocate development and strengthening of the anti-fascists' unity of action, a ban on all neo-fascist organizations and their propaganda, anti-fascist education in schools and the mass media, and full realization of our constitution's anti-fascist message.

The crisis of the small coalition has not only political causes. Its other, more profound cause lies in the socio-economic sphere. Although the cyclical crisis has been replaced by a slight revival of the economy and a 2.5 per cent growth is expected this year, the long-term structural factors of the crisis continue to operate: the chronic unemployment with a growing share of jobless youth, varied forms of the policy of placing ever greater burdens on the backs of the population, forms which have even more appreciably reduced real incomes, the worsening ecological crisis, etc. In its almost two years in power the Sinowatz-Steger government has not been able to implement a progressive solution to any of the main socio-economic problems, and will not be able to do so since its platform is one of partnership with capital, and since its policy gives priority to ensuring the entrepreneurs' profits and buttresses the capitalist system of pursuing gain. A progressive and reliable solution to the existing problems is not possible on the basis of such a policy.

What are the tasks which we set ourselves and which we must carry out in our ideological, political and organizational work so as to be equal to the demands of the present political situation?

First, as part of the main tasks set by the 25th congress in the socio-economic area it is necessary to take into consideration the further growth in the importance of the environmentalist movement. In this connection it is often a question of movements that not only advocate certain environmental protection measures but also oppose the privileges of the upper strata and the anti-democratic methods of rule, which are to a significant extent a consequence of the social partnership. We must be very well represented in these movements as an independent political and ideological force. Our task is to make these movements aware of social interconnections, for example, the impossibility of harmonizing ecology and the economy within a capitalist system based on the pursuit of profit. In our policy environmental protection and job provision do not contradict each other; for us they are two equally impor-

*Austrian Defense Minister Friedhelm Frischenschlager's meeting of war criminal Walter Reder (former SS major; in autumn 1944 he directed the slaughter of civilians in the Italian town of Mardzabotto), who was released by the Italian authorities, a meeting which caused a storm of indignation among very broad strata of the country's population. — Ed.

tant tasks. This forms the basis for the necessary and possible alliance between the workers' and environmentalists' movements.

Second, internal political life and our activity are focused — for what were and partly still are objective reasons — primarily on the struggle in Hainburg and around the Hainburg problem* and then on the Frischenschlager-Reder affair. But it is important, for the party leadership in the first place, to see to it that attention to a number of other socio-economic questions does not flag. This applies to the campaign for socially just tax reform which the last CC plenary meeting decided to launch. This applies, for example, to the struggle against the policy of rolling back production and against the further elimination of jobs through capitalist rationalization of production, and to continuation of our struggle for a 35-hour work week with no loss in pay.

Of growing significance also are the consequences of the spread of new technology. Some specialists predict that in the not too distant future only two-thirds of society's members will have jobs, while a third, including many young people especially, will be chronically unemployed. This shows the complete lack of any prospect for the capitalist system, which is characterized by the pursuit of profit and under which technical progress is increasingly directed against people. The forementioned prediction has sparked a discussion of the possibility of introducing a so-called "basic jobless wage." We reject on principle the idea of such a "base wage," as it is also known, since it would mean complete refusal to ensure the right to a job for all.

Third, it is quite possible that early National Council elections will be held. Nevertheless, it is necessary to devote all efforts in the next few weeks to the communal council election campaign so as to conduct it in a vigorous spirit, as an important battle requiring the participation of the whole party. There is also a need to support the Communist Students' League in the elections to the representative bodies of the higher educational institutions, which are important centers of a social, political and ideological struggle whose impact goes beyond the sphere of higher education.

The candidates and the local problems are naturally in the forefront in the communal council elections. However, the general political situation in the country is also currently exerting a growing influence on the elections. For example, the demand for "Jobs Not Interceptors" has become an important element of the election struggle in the Aichfeld-Murboden region. Now is the moment when it is necessary and possible to exert even greater efforts to make the slogan of the anti-fascist struggle part and parcel of the election agitation. Now is the moment when it is particularly important actively to hold personal meetings and discussions with our

*The conflict in connection with the government's plan to build a major hydropower station on the Danube in the region of Hainburg (Lower Austria). The environmentalist movement opposed the project, which would have irreparably damaged the local flora and fauna. Thousands of people blockaded the construction area and fierce clashes took place with the police. As a result of the mass protests the government dropped its initial plan to build a station in this area. — *Ed.*

class comrades who support the Socialists. Twelve years of undivided rule by the SPA, which has the absolute majority in parliament, has not brought the promised "great alternative" but rather has made the party leadership more bourgeois.

The progressive changes in policy desired even by many Socialists cannot be achieved by voting for the SPA much less for the APP or the AFP. Progressive changes call for the joint actions of the Socialists, the Communists and the working people who support the APP — at the enterprises, in the communes, in the institutions of higher learning and in the other spheres of social life. The "drift" to the right must be answered with a step-up of the offensive from the left, which not least of all makes necessary the strengthening of the Communist Party.

Fourth, even while the problems of the internal political struggle are being very strongly pushed to the forefront today, the main task set by the 25th congress in the political area is still an important one, namely: the struggle for peace. The Geneva meeting between Gromyko and Shultz was not the result of U.S. determination to possess military strength, as Reagan claimed in his recent message on the state of the Union, but rather of the peaceable policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and the worldwide peace movement. However, the U.S. is still dominated by the circles which want to use the talks to begin on March 12 to mislead the peoples while accelerating the build-up of all types of arms and taking concrete steps to militarize outer space despite opposition even from among U.S. allies. The peoples need to step up their struggle in order to ensure that the Geneva talks yield positive results.

Austrian foreign policy is largely passive in relation to the growing danger to the peoples emanating from the aggressive policy of the Reagan administration and the NATO militarist circles, notably the FRG. What is worse, in some areas this foreign policy objectively supports Reagan's policy. For this reason it is an important task of the Austrian communists to make a constructive contribution within the Austrian peace movement, in particular to the success of the May 18 national demonstration in the Zeltweg-Knittelfeld region for the active participation of a neutral Austria in the worldwide struggle of the anti-war forces, against militarization of outer space, for removal of the nuclear threat to humanity, for an end to the arms race, and for comprehensive disarmament in West and East. We communists declare our total solidarity with the broad movement against the planned purchase of interceptors for the Austrian air force. In today's international and internal political situation, heightened significance is also attached to our independent political and ideological campaign in connection with the 40th anniversary of liberation, the 30th anniversary of the signing of the State Treaty and the adoption of the status of permanent neutrality, a campaign which we are conducting under the slogans "Prevent a Repeat of Fascism and War!" and "The CPA is Always for Austria!"

Abridged from *Volksstimme*,
February 23, 1985

The Communists and the Transition to Democracy

Statement Adopted by the Brazilian Communist Party CC

A plenary meeting of the Brazilian Communist Party (BCP) CC was held on February 9 and 10, 1985, in Sao Paulo. Having analyzed the political situation in the country following the January 15, 1985 presidential elections, which ended the rule of the military, and the prospects for the communists' struggle in new conditions, the meeting adopted a document, which is published below.

END OF THE PERIOD OF DICTATORSHIP

January 15, 1985 is a historic date that signifies the defeat of the dictatorial regime which oppressed the country for more than 20 years. The election of the Democratic Alliance* candidates marks the end of the longest and most brutal period of obscurantism and repression in the entire history of republican rule in Brazil.

The January 15 victory brought to power forces which hold democratic positions, opening new prospects of change in the state apparatus and the power structure. This is the essential feature of what has occurred. And although there have been no qualitative changes in the bloc of the dominant classes, the correlation of its elements that are now in the federal government is favorable for the national democratic forces.

The struggle for democratic freedoms has been the core of our political life for the past two decades. In the course of this long and extremely difficult fight against the regime installed in 1964, the masses formulated their economic demands, their political awareness increased, and there emerged a tendency to broaden and strengthen the people's organizations. Simultaneously the spectrum of social and political forces advocating the country's democratization grew larger.

Thanks to all this, the dictatorship, with its projects for reform "from above" and its reactionary attempts to prevent the election of candidates of the democratic forces, was defeated. The people can now evaluate for themselves the strength of the mass movements and joint actions of millions of people, the importance of democracy and the need for unity in safeguarding and strengthening it.

The course of the resistance to the regime of 1964 and the development of the anti-dictatorial struggle confirmed the correctness of the communists' policy, the significance of their contribution to the political processes that developed in our country during the last two decades. In spite of lack of understanding, and even direct attacks on the part of many forces, we always maintained that the most efficient and the shortest way to complete defeat of reaction consists in setting up a broad front of the democratic forces, including even certain groupings that have

*An electoral bloc opposed to the military regime and comprising the Party of the Brazilian Democratic Movement (PBDM) and the Liberal Front Party (LFP) which won the January 15 presidential elections. Its candidates were Tancredo Neves (PBDM) and José Sarney (LFP). — Ed.

come over from reaction to the side of the opposition, building a powerful mass movement of public opinion, and in utilizing all legal forms of struggle, including elections and various institutional procedures.

A TRANSITIONAL PERIOD IS BEGINNING

The victory of the Democratic Alliance and Tancredo Neves's inauguration as President of the Republic mark the start of new processes in the political life of the country. This is the beginning of a period of transition to a democratic system at the first stage of which it is necessary to eliminate the legacy of the overthrown dictatorship. After the bases of a new economic and social policy have been laid, the transitional period will culminate in the adoption of a new constitution by the National Constituent Assembly.

This short period is extremely important for the democratic forces and, in particular, for the working class and working masses; in it will be decided the question of the extent of democratization of political life and the impact of democratic change in Brazil's socio-economic system.

The efforts of those who consistently fight for a democratic regime are going to encounter serious resistance. Democratization will not be an idyllic period without conflict. The forces of internal and external reaction that are linked with the defeated regime will do everything to prevent or minimize the profound changes demanded by the overwhelming majority of the nation. They are constantly going to use every means in an effort to split the camp of the victors, limit democracy and destabilize the new government and the very process of democratization.

In addition, different currents objectively exist in the Democratic Alliance and the social strata which support it, making inevitable a struggle for hegemony in the Alliance and in the government during the transitional period — a struggle between the democrats, who most fully reflect the people's aspirations, and circles that only want limited, superficial changes.

The differences in the Democratic Alliance are quite natural given that it is a front of diverse forces. But it is important to define precisely and in a democratic way the forms of and limits to manifestation of these disagreements, at the same time ensuring free expression of all viewpoints.

Moreover, attention should be paid to the dif-

faculties complicating the transitional period, among which we highlight: the masses' low level of organization, lack of unity in the working class and trade union movement, the demagogic, divisive and extremist actions of the populist, personalist and leftist circles, the hegemony of bourgeois political currents in the camp of the democratic forces, and the élitist political tradition of the dominant Brazilian classes that excludes popular participation.

THE COMMUNISTS' POLICY IN THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD

In this period the communists' policy must be directed at broadening and deepening the democratization process. We must seek to remove the institutional legacy of the defeated regime, thereby clearing the way for democracy and economic and social progress.

The communists are vigilant in defense of the gains which cost the lives of so many heroes. Together with all democrats, we are going to struggle against the reactionary remnants of the former regime that are trying to impede change. The chief instrument of this democratic change will be a broad democratic front made strong by the people's growing participation.

Jointly with the broad front of forces which made possible the dictatorship's defeat, the communists must effectively contribute to getting the Tancredo Neves government to fulfil successfully the obligations it assumed before the Brazilian people. The communists will therefore support the new government in its fulfillment of these obligations and will safeguard the stability of the transition to democracy against any attempt to destabilize it or prevent its completion, promoting the creation of the institutions of a legal state. In so doing we will not renounce our right to criticize the struggle against positions which are not in keeping with the interests of the people and the country.

THE NEED FOR AND MAIN PROPOSITIONS OF A SOCIO-POLITICAL PACT

The defeat of the regime by institutional means was facilitated by the convergence of the positions of the different democratic opposition forces that formed the Democratic Alliance. The "Commitments to the Nation" document that consolidated the Alliance has virtually become the basis of a political treaty. The success of the victorious alliance's stay in power is going to depend on observance of the programmatic propositions formulated in this document. What is more, it is now necessary to add to and expand this agreement between the new government and interested political and social forces, thus making it possible to speed up the country's democratization and surmount the economic crisis.

In order to concretize our proposal for cooperation in the transition period, we communists start from the interests of democracy and, on social matters, primarily from the interests of the working class. Our proposals include: setting up of a government with solid political and popular support;

liquidation of the anti-democratic and arbitrary legal mechanisms inherited from the dictatorship; implementation of constitutional reforms and passage of legislative measures to institutionalize broad democratic freedoms in the country; return to an economic course meeting the popular, democratic and patriotic interests; fairer distribution of income and of land, carrying out of land reform; elections in 1986 to a free and sovereign National Constituent Assembly; a consistent foreign policy in defense of peace and the peoples' self-determination and including re-establishment of diplomatic relations with Cuba.

As far as concrete measures are concerned, we consider priorities those which can be implemented in a short space of time. In spite of their immediate character, these measures should be in accord with the main directions of the structural transformations demanded by the Brazilian people, and should constitute the basis of their implementation.

Proceeding from the foregoing, we are submitting to the entire people, and above all to the working masses, for discussion with all political forces, currents, movements and parties the following points, which, in our opinion, should underlie the socio-political pact to be agreed:

1. ON THE NEW GOVERNMENT

A government should be formed on the basis of a broad democratic coalition, a government capable of ensuring the necessary institutional changes and of reorienting the economy, overcoming the crisis without harming the interests of the working people and the working class.

The composition of this government should reflect the totality of the forces that made the Democratic Alliance possible. For us it is not a matter of indifference who will be in the new government: these should be people who are firmly resolved to carry out changes. This will make it possible to strengthen the people's faith in the transition to democracy.

2. ON OVERCOMING THE REMNANTS OF THE DICTATORSHIP

Removal of the vestiges of authoritarianism left by the defeated regime should include:

(a) elimination of the omnipotence of the bodies of executive power, restoration of the prerogatives of legislative power and guarantee of the autonomy of judicial power;

(b) democratization of the state, the administrative bodies and their relations with society; decentralization of the state bodies;

(c) restoration of the federal state structure and autonomy of the municipalities: financially — through tax reform, and politically — through the reintroduction of direct elections to the prefectures of the capitals of states and mining centers and districts considered "national security zones";

(d) political autonomy for the federal district on the basis of the amendment to the constitution in 1985;

(e) repeal of the present National Security Law and democratization of the laws on the press and censorship;

(f) immediate democratization of political and party legislation through removal of the restrictions contained in article 152 of the present constitution, which impede free organization of parties; repeal of the Law on the Organization of Political Parties;

(g) reform of electoral legislation, removal of the anti-democratic provisions which limit a citizen's right to be elected to government bodies and prohibit the assembly of party coalitions. Extension of the vote to the illiterate and to soldiers;

(h) abolition of the bodies which carry out political repression, and reform of the police apparatus so as to guarantee actual respect for human rights and security of the citizens;

(i) review of the Labor Code with the aim of guaranteeing the freedom and autonomy of trade unions and the right to strike;

(j) completion of the amnesty won in 1979; its extension to all persons sentenced under emergency legislation whose rights have not yet been fully restored.

3. ON A REORIENTATION OF ECONOMIC POLICY

The financial and economic policy should be reoriented so as to:

(a) promote renewal of economic growth and a reduction in unemployment;

(b) renegotiate the external debt in such way as to ensure that its repayment neither hinders the country's socio-economic recuperation nor infringes on national sovereignty, deferring interest payments by 5 years and amortization of the principal by 20;

(c) guarantee restoration of the purchasing power of earnings and their quarterly adjustment; extend to public employees the salary rights won by the working people in the private sector;

(d) restore the legislative employment guarantees without cancelling the Social Labor Guarantee Fund;

(e) begin agrarian reform immediately with a view to achieving fairer distribution of income and property;

(f) protect the state enterprises from privatization; ensure that these enterprises operate for the good of the majority of the population;

(g) carry out reform of the banking system in a way which meets the national interests and strengthens the state sector;

(h) implement measures to give the states and municipal districts financial autonomy;

(i) implement tax reform that reduces indirect taxes and raises those on profits from capital;

(j) continue an austerity policy, systematically combating waste and corruption;

(k) give priority to the fight against inflation through price controls and curbing of the speculation that is rampant in the country;

(l) rescind the privileges of the transnational corporations and control the profits which they remit;

(m) formulate and implement a special policy for developing the Amazon and the North East;

(n) immediately begin applying the Calmon Law in education;

(o) pursue a policy of safeguarding the country's

natural wealth and mineral resources;

(p) reorganize the social security system to make it accord with its social aims, and prevent its privatization;

(q) reorient the government's housing construction policy in line with the people's interests, and end speculation;

(r) develop a sectoral and global environmental protection policy.

4. ON THE 1985 ELECTIONS

Politically, the restoration of the municipal districts' autonomy calls for direct elections in 1985 to the prefectures of the capitals of the states, mining centers and districts considered "national security zones," and also in the Federal District.

The new government must guarantee the conduct of these elections without the present constraints which limit the activity of political parties.

5. ON THE NATIONAL CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

The new government should immediately convene the National Constituent Assembly, whose delegates are to be elected in 1986. Conditions should be provided for all existing political parties and currents in the country to participate in its work, and the Assembly's functioning and sovereignty in decision-making must be fully guaranteed.

The constitution which will be adopted should not only enshrine the political freedoms won by our people in the form of a democratic legal state but should also envisage programmatically the institutional possibilities and means of making future social progress.

6. ON FOREIGN POLICY

Internationally, the new government should pursue a policy of non-alignment, advocate an end to the arms race, support peace and a new international economic order, defend the peoples' right to self-determination, and fight against the policy of interference in internal affairs and intervention. At the same time defense of human rights and the political freedoms of all citizens should be envisaged.

A principle of this foreign policy should be expansion of diplomatic, trade and cultural relations with all countries of the world. In this respect, re-establishment of diplomatic relations with Cuba is a priority.

The implementation of this foreign policy should help to increase Brazil's international role and enable it to be an intermediary in the North-South dialogue and in the dialogue between developed and developing states.

7. THE COMMUNISTS AND THE DEMOCRATIC FRONT

The victory of the Brazilian people over the dictatorial regime and the transition to democracy strengthen the communists' resolve to continue to fight for democracy, peace and socialism. Resulting to a certain extent from the communists' policy and practical activity, these successes create new possibilities for legalization of the BCP and its conversion into a powerful mass party closely linked with

the working people and advocating party and political pluralism and representative power based on the people's will.

On the other hand, the transition to democracy makes new demands of the working class and the trade union movement. United, organized and mobilized, the working people can rally all democratic and patriotic forces, enabling them to play in the political process a role commensurate with their importance in society and to guarantee a truly democratic system and socio-economic transformations in the interests of the Brazilian people.

The transition to democracy requires as a decisive element the preservation and strengthening of the democratic front and broad support for it by the

masses and their organizations. From the communists' viewpoint, a large and solid democratic front is a political basis for the country's transition to democracy, a guarantee of its stability and progress.

In this connection, a central task of the communists and the working class is to ensure that the transition to democracy does not split the popular and democratic forces. What is more, this transition should give a fresh impetus to their unity, strengthen the positions gained and open the way to a sovereign, free and progressive Brazil.

Sao Paulo, February 1985
Abridged from *Voz da Unidade*,
February 23, 1985

Unity and a Determined Struggle Are the Only Path

Political Commission Report to a Plenary Meeting of the Communist Party of Chile CC

The task of freeing Chile from fascism requires enormous efforts of the party, of its leading cadre and its every member fighting at home or abroad.

In line with our historic party conference, we must now discuss the forms and scope of the mass struggle needed to overthrow Pinochet. Afterwards we will have to carry out fully and consistently the resolutions to be adopted.

Last year's major popular actions, especially in September, as well as the protest day, October 29, and the strike on October 30 showed that fascism can only be defeated as a result of a mass struggle and joint actions by the entire opposition.

There is no denying that, as matters stand, the dictatorship cannot hold power without recourse to violence, terror and sustained repression. The dictator and other men of the regime admitted this by saying that they had to declare a state of siege with all ensuing consequences because they could not allow the situation to get out of hand. What they did not say then and refuse to say now is that at this stage no repression can save them from defeat.

Stepped-up violence and fascist terror were condemned all over the world. Even in capitalist countries, many governments took exception to the still more repressive policy of the dictatorship. The emphatic condemnation of the tyranny expressed by the UN 12 times in a row indicates that the international climate is unfavorable to it.

U.S. imperialism follows developments in Chile with concern. It realizes that the Pinochet regime is doomed, that it cannot cope with the economic crisis and continues losing political ground, and that this situation may well lead to an explosion of popular anger and a revolutionary solution. This prompts imperialism to seek a compromise through reconciliation between the dictatorship and the bourgeois opposition.

We communists consider that the shortest road to destroying the tyranny is struggle and joint actions by all democratic forces. This road would also offer

the country the best opportunities to enter after the defeat of fascism a period of deep-going changes in government and every aspect of life, which are a requisite for establishing an advanced democratic system with a socialist outlook.

In view of growing contradictions, at a time when there is a real prospect of inflicting a crushing defeat on fascism and effecting deep-going revolutionary changes and when the positions and interests of imperialism and the oligarchy are in obvious danger, trends towards conciliation are developing or reviving among various sections of the bourgeois opposition.

Defeating these trends and steadily building up the militant unity of action of the whole opposition at the stage of transition to decisive battles with the dictatorship will depend chiefly upon us, upon how successfully we pursue our line.

Pinochet has repeatedly said that the economic difficulties of the country are due to the recession affecting the capitalist economy. However, he has never mentioned the fact that the crisis in Chile is above all else a consequence of imperialist domination, imperialist plunder and the parasitism of the Chilean financial oligarchy. This plunder and this parasitism express themselves in, among other things, a colossal external debt incurred by the regime and the ruling economic clans, who have derived from the national economy a profit ranging between seven and ten billion dollars and deposited it in foreign banks.

The contradictions engendered by imperialist plunder and the parasitism of financial capital plus an economic policy prompted by these contradictions greatly limit the regime's room for manoeuvre and prevent economic recovery.

In this context the struggle to overthrow Pinochet and bring about democracy is anti-imperialist and constitutes the main political expression of the antagonism between the Chilean nation and U.S. imperialism with its lackeys and hangers-on.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE GROWING STRUGGLE OF THE PEOPLE

The growing influence of the revolutionary forces binds them to specify their position. The situation is gaining in clarity. The struggle of the masses reveals the internal contradictions of the regime more and more. Many of its earlier supporters withdraw silently from the scene, criticize it or join the opposition. Mounting repression is a source of universal anger and adds to hatred for the oppressors.

The new situation merely confirms our party's forecast that it is impossible either to moderate the dictatorship step by step, or to liberalize it. Pinochet will not go of his own accord but must be brought down. There can be no dialogue with him and this means that unity and a determined struggle are the only path.

In the opposition camp, two basic plans stand out more and more, revealing their class nature; the report to our National Conference describes them as follows: "... One of them favors a bourgeois-democratic solution and the other advocates people's democratic solution with a socialist outlook."

At rallies and barricades, in actions that take the most diverse forms, members of the Popular Democratic Movement, Socialist Bloc and Christian Democrats operate shoulder to shoulder. Diverse social sectors unite to fight the dictatorship despite political and ideological differences.

To say this does not mean glossing over the contradictions existing among the opposition forces. The point is that the correctness of the conclusions of our conference regarding the various political plans coexisting within the opposition is coming out more and more.

"Historically," the CC report to the conference says, "there is no getting away from specifying one's stand on this issue. However, in the short or long term, this should be done in the course of the joint struggle against fascism. At the moment, all who are involved in this struggle must join efforts in support of a common plan giving priority to the pressing social and political problems of our people and country on which mutual understanding must and can be reached and is imperative."

THE EXPERIENCE OF THE MASSES AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF POPULAR STRUGGLES: A DECISIVE FACTOR

How very right Lenin was when he said that the peoples learn from their own experience! In battling with fascism, the Chilean people have learned to use to an increasing degree new peaceful and violent methods along with traditional ones. The appearance of new prospects in the course of the struggle helped arouse the creative energy of the masses and made them more confident of their strength.

The policy of popular uprising which we have adopted and are putting into practice has decisively helped the masses gain experience of struggle. Our party performs its role as vanguard of the working class and the whole people with increasing efficiency.

The final communiqué of our National Conference notes: "Fascism will not be ended as a result of a single battle or the action of a single contingent of the opposition but as a result of a series of major and minor struggles by the Chilean people which will bring about a state of national disobedience making the situation unmanageable for the tyrant and making it possible to take the decisive step in order to end the fascist dictatorship and revert to democracy."

One of the decisive factors that has made for greater militancy of the masses is the use of new fighting methods to counter the violence on the part of the fascist regime with revolutionary violence.

Thousands of fighters have learned how to fight by participating in popular self-defense, primarily in communities and student centers. They put up barricades and use hand grenades, devices for short-circuiting power lines and other means. They block streets with felled trees, slabs of cement, smoldering tires, rubbish and even household articles. In Santiago alone, these actions resulted in damaging or destroying over 60 police vans. Many carabinieri were injured.

Hundreds of people's fighters gain combat experience by taking part in actions that require a boundless will for struggle, courage and high proficiency. They blow up bridges and transmission line pillars, sabotage oil pipelines, cut off the power supply of industries, seize arms for the people, carry out actions against financial institutions hated by the people and punish informers, agents of the National Information Center and other repressive agencies.

Official statistics published in the newspaper *Tercera* on November 18, 1984, showed that 1,889 "destabilizing" actions were registered from September 1983 to October 1984, specifically 1,138 actions involving the use of explosives, 229 acts of subversion, 163 armed attacks, 36 assassination attempts and 47 major acts of sabotage. Lately actions of a similar nature have averaged 243 per month, according to the same source, which also cites 208 deaths in the same period resulting from repression.

Another important trend gaining ground is the establishment of various unified bodies in addition to those already functioning to lead popular actions. Worthy of special note is the rise of social coordination groups in peasant communes and communities, the formation of self-defense committees and Rodri-guist people's militia units, which during the latest strikes became a new mass phenomenon; they are more expressive of the militant mood of the masses than other groups and are evidence of the prestige won by the Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front (MRPF) among the people. These units are independent of the MRPF but actually meet the demand for struggle by paramilitary contingents. It is necessary to help build them up and to consider a workable structure for their leadership, their training and equipment and the role to be played by them in mass struggles. Party organizations should promote the growth of the people's militia and call on members of the opposition who belong to no organization, above all students and young working people in urban and rural areas, to join it.

We must be equal to setting up people's democratic government bodies in the largest communities of the country known for the militancy of their inhabitants, seek support for these bodies from the majority of the people and mobilize the masses for constant and varied struggles. These bodies should freely combine open forms of work with clandestine ones, which will enable them to hold their ground against repression and lead the fight against the dictatorship in any circumstances.

THE WORKING CLASS AND ITS LEADING ROLE IN UNITING OTHER CLASSES AND SOCIAL STRATA

It is clear that the working class, semi-proletarians of major communities, students, Mapuche Indians and certain professional sectors are the most active forces fighting now to overthrow the dictatorship.

The ability to mobilize the masses shown by the National Leading Council of Working People is evidence that the working class and other working people engaged in the production sphere play an increasingly active role in influencing developments. The strike on October 30 was a major advance. The working class hates fascism and strives to bring down the dictatorship as speedily as possible, which has made the workers the chief victim of repression.

Anti-dictatorial militancy is also shown by the students. Elections at the Chilean University demonstrated the strength of the opposition as a whole, which has overcome the influence of pro-government conciliators. This success was also proof of the strength of the united left, particularly Communist Youth. Immediately after the state of siege had been declared, university students carried out a series of strikes and other protest actions.

Actions of this nature are beginning to win support among secondary school students. These declare more and more frequently for ridding their organizations of the dictatorship's tutelage. They are an appreciable force and their massive involvement in the struggle can help considerably in bringing the national political crisis to a head, which would induce the middle strata to increase their opposition to the dictatorship and thus to speed up the development of the situation.

The dictatorship is so intransigent in blocking every opportunity for a peaceful transition to democracy that even parties and leaders who are far from fully accepting violence as a legitimate form of popular struggle pronounce themselves for extending the civil disobedience campaign.

Civil disobedience can find a massive following among the middle strata. The problem is how to move from words to deeds, combining flexibility with an open-minded approach to the policy of popular uprising.

Our National Conference had high praise for the party's work in some provinces and rural areas; on the other hand, it drew the conclusion that, speaking generally, we still fall short of requirements. We have obviously made no substantial headway in this matter since the conference, except that the Mapuche Indians' organization, Ad-Mapu, has gone on defending Indian communities and rights of the

indigenous population of our country. This meeting should instruct the Political Commission to analyze without delay the reasons for this lag with a view to adopting all the measures that may be needed to overcome it.

HISTORY WILL NEVER JUSTIFY THE UNTENABLE ATTITUDE OF THE ARMED FORCES TOWARD THE PEOPLE

Something new is stirring among the armed forces. There are signs suggesting that the people's struggle and the steadfast effort of our party and other democratic forces are beginning to influence them. During the national strike the party gained important experience of propaganda in garrisons as well as with individual servicemen. Relevant material was mailed or handed personally. Ample use was also made of telephone calls.

Propaganda was coupled with vigorous counter-measures against repressive agencies, especially the carabineers. The people routed the carabineers at La Victoria and in Santa Julia.

There are party members who have yet to assimilate our concept of military institutions. It is essential for the Central Committee to have a clearer idea of this aspect of our military policy. We believe that a new armed forces doctrine must be evolved without delay; it must be national and must guarantee the democratic coexistence of all Chileans. This implies, first and foremost, destroying the Pinochet dictatorship and eradicating the "national security" doctrine with all its consequences. Our democratization plan is aimed at including the armed forces in a democratic society and at establishing ties between the military and the people in order to put an end to the former's reactionary and repressive role and transform them from a factor hostile to their compatriots into a friendly one.

DECISIVE INTERNATIONAL FACTORS HELP WEAKEN THE DICTATORSHIP

Military superiority over socialism, with which imperialism with Reagan at its head seeks to impose its will on the world, cannot be attained either now or in the future. The Soviet Union and the other members of the Warsaw Treaty Organization have by dint of enormous efforts prevented the military balance between imperialism and socialism from being upset. Thereby they have safeguarded peace.

More durable peace makes for a more active fight for democracy and against imperialism the world over. The climate of détente will limit Pinochet's opportunities still further and increasingly discredit his "war against the communists."

What will ultimately prevail in Latin America are the decisive trends of development toward democracy and social progress. In spite of the state of siege and the censorship imposed by the regime, Chileans know about the struggle of the Nicaraguan people, the repeated burning of the U.S. flag in protest against Reagan's policy of aggression, and the elections in Uruguay which put an end to 11 years of military dictatorship, a development amounting to an important victory for all democratic forces, in particular the Broad Front, the Communist Party

and the Uruguayan working class.

The struggle of the Chilean people meets with growing response throughout the world. What our people appreciate particularly is the firm and consistent solidarity shown by the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic, Cuba, Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Vietnam, Mongolia, Poland and Yugoslavia.

THE PARAMOUNT TASK IS TO OVERTHROW THE DICTATORSHIP

We can infer that the situation in Chile today allows the revolutionary and democratic forces to aim at moving on to a decisive stage of struggle that could culminate in the downfall of the dictatorship. In other words, a revolutionary situation is maturing fast in Chile. Its fundamental elements are there already and are developing although they manifest themselves to differing degrees. The paramount task in these conditions is to overthrow the fascist dictatorship, which may be described in brief as terroristic rule by financial capital. Another task at this stage is to replace the dictatorship with an advanced democratic regime with a socialist outlook. If this result is not achieved the reason should not be inadequate commitment or ignorance of the outlook on our part. If the dictatorship is succeeded, as it well may, by a kind of bourgeois rule our fight for radical changes will continue and the popular movement led by the party will in all circumstances follow its own independent line.

We can and must prepare for the decisive showdown. This brings to the fore, along with the need to extend the mass struggle to the utmost, the problem of preparing the people and the party for the fulfillment of the task which the communiqué of our National Conference describes as a "decisive step toward ending the fascist dictatorship and reverting to

democracy." With this prospect in view, it is an urgent task of the party leadership to work out a realistic plan and implement it at the right moment. It can be carried out through an uprising of the whole people, a national strike or protest days paralyzing the country. In other words, the task is to step up mass struggles by the people, train appropriate cadre and work out suitable structures for the carrying out of violent actions at a qualitatively and quantitatively higher level than has been the case to date.

With due regard to the objective conditions now prevailing and above all to the experience of the struggle which the masses have been carrying on along lines chosen by themselves, and in order to lend preparations an orderly character and specify the tasks of each party organization, every activist and the party membership as a whole in greater detail, both at home and abroad, communists must decide beforehand on what they consider the most likely form of decisive showdown between the people and the dictatorship.

We visualize it as a massive uprising of all the population groups opposed to the dictatorship, the majority of political and social forces and, we hope, part of the armed forces. We need to bring about a general active resistance to the dictatorship, paralyzing the country. Popular revolts in key urban centers with the resolute participation of the industrial working class, students, middle strata and peasants playing a decisive part must be backed by effective blows to paralyze the dictatorship and help hasten the moral and political disintegration of the repressive forces. The process should culminate in the masses' taking over the main levers of political power.

Success will depend on our ability to tip the balance in our favor. The important thing in this case is that the masses should join in, but our ability to see to the military aspect of the uprising could play a decisive role. We must therefore concern ourselves especially with the self-defense of the masses, the Rodriguist militia and our own formations, and help them arm, an activity already begun by the people themselves. We must also work to neutralize the armed forces or induce them to revise their attitude.

We owe it to our policy that events are going on in a way putting the very existence of the dictatorship into question. Increasingly large political groups are compelled to admit that we are a force exerting tremendous influence on national life and that in order to revert to democracy it is necessary to fight jointly and recognize our party as a full-fledged component of national reality.

Chile's return to democracy is inevitable and is only a matter of time. The sooner it comes, the better for the country. We communists have done and will continue doing all in our power to speed this process. We call on the working class, all the people, all left and opposition forces to join the fight, to seek unity of action in order to attain this noble goal.

For unity and the most determined struggle by the masses!

Reason and strength will lead us to victory.

January 1985
Abridged

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France: Socialism is Our Ideal

Speech by Georges Marchais, General Secretary of the French Communist Party, at an international solidarity rally of the guests and delegates to the 25th FCP congress.

Dear comrades, guests from communist and progressive parties and national liberation movements at our 25th congress,

By organizing this international solidarity evening, we wanted to offer you an opportunity to meet, apart from delegates to our congress, numerous communists of the Paris area and numerous friends of our party. You will be able to address them directly in a little while. There are representatives of communist parties among you here. We have common ideals as communists. Every one of us is fighting for a society of justice, progress and freedom, that is, for socialism.

We are speaking of a common ideal but this is certainly not to say that the socialist society we are fighting for and the road we want to take in order to build it are identical. We consider — and our 25th congress has reaffirmed it — that “while the liberation struggle is going on at the international level and the transition to socialism is a goal of humanity as a whole and hence its significance is truly universal, the road of transition to socialism and socialism itself are concrete answers which every people must formulate in order to solve their own problems; these answers are always particular by their very essence.” The society we project, socialism French style, proceeds from the problems facing the country, from the traditions, aspirations and requirements of our people. Our project is not based on any “model,” nor is it a “model” offered to other peoples.

This approach to socialism and to the struggle for it underlies our concept and our relations with you. We consider that each party should decide in complete independence on the conditions of its own struggle to build a socialist society in keeping with the realities of its people. This implies that our relations are based on mutual respect, independence, non-interference, strictly equal rights and recognition of divergences or differences over this or that issue.

This approach enables us to act in the interest of achieving major common goals. It enables us to maintain active solidarity on a clear basis with the peoples building a socialist society and with communist parties, both those in power and those contributing to the intensification of the class struggle within capitalist society. We are prepared, in compliance with the wishes of several West European communist parties, to exchange views on the crisis, its effects in various countries and its international aspects.

This audience includes representatives of progressive parties and national liberation movements. I wish to tell you again, dear comrades, that we are glad of the good relations existing between us. I wish to assure you of our unqualified solidarity

with the difficult and glorious struggles which you are carrying on for dignity and justice, for freedom, sovereignty, independence and peace.

In regard to international solidarity, we believe there are three major problems facing us today.

First among them is the struggle for peace and disarmament. The deployment of new missiles in several European countries has led to a further escalation of the arms race. Reagan now talks openly about “star wars” and the militarization of outer space.

There is nothing irreversible in this race of humanity toward the precipice. All over the world, recent years have seen powerful actions for peace and disarmament that are continuing. The rise of this mighty movement is a fundamental factor today. Furthermore, its appeal to people’s hearts and minds was not left without response. The United States and the Soviet Union met again at Geneva and decided to start talks shortly.

Other talks are going on at Stockholm. It is necessary that they should come to a successful end and produce effective disarmament measures.

We are participating fully in the development of this broad social movement. Our ideal is a world without arms and war and we want to do our share for humanity to make progress along this road from now on. To this end it is necessary to stop the stockpiling of new armaments, proceed in West and East to their gradual and balanced reduction while safeguarding the security of every country on a permanent basis and ban all militarization of outer space. It is necessary to move toward the simultaneous dissolution of military blocs and closer cooperation between states and friendship among peoples.

With this aim in view, we have been working to ensure that France puts the resources at its disposal in the service of peace, dialogue, détente, disarmament and a peaceful, negotiated settlement of conflicts. Accordingly, we consider that our country could at a suitable moment join actively in the ongoing talks, for there can be no question of anyone making decisions in the absence of France on matters of vital importance to its security and independence. We are also working for France to emphatically reject any plan for the militarization of space.

Life has shown that the struggle for peace and disarmament gives rise to new forms of solidarity. We definitely want to follow this road with resolve. We said at the congress that we aspire to join our efforts with those of other parties in order to provide conditions for a major initiative likely to rally together all the forces that are now working severally in Europe for peace and disarmament.

Another problem closely connected with the first

is that of establishing a new international economic order.

Famine is now gaining ground in numerous countries. Diseases long since forgotten in developed countries decimate whole populations. We fully share the concern of all people of good will at human tragedies of this kind, and their desire to act in order to push these scourges back. There is an urgent need for appropriate relief measures. To this end the Communist Youth Movement of France has resolved to launch a vast fund-raising campaign with a view to saving thousands of children in Ethiopia and Nigeria by sending them milk-based protein tablets needed to maintain life.

Along with this it should be clear that these appalling privations are not a result of any fatality. We said so at our congress, stressing that the responsibility for this massacre falls on imperialism. The hegemony of the dollar in international exchanges and U.S. financial domination are undermining the economies of developing countries, as the facts show. The International Monetary Fund and the World Bank are systematically used for delivering the riches of these people to the transnationals. Speculation in raw materials, whose prices are kept low or even at the lowest level, tends to strangle these countries and is increasing their debts. All this creates considerable difficulties for their development.

Hence the demands being made more and more emphatically by the peoples who want current relations based on domination and oppression to be replaced by a new international order based on justice, a search for mutually beneficial cooperation, democratization of relations between states and respect for independence and sovereignty.

There were ample opportunities in this sphere as well. This is the meaning of the meeting which we would like to hold with representatives of African parties and movements in order to evolve a common platform for joint action against famine and backwardness and for the establishment of a new international order.

The third problem is that of human rights and we are going to step up our action over it. Imperialist forces have been using this problem since the early 70s for violent propaganda campaigns. These campaigns are aimed, now as in the past, at dulling people's social consciousness and inducing resignation and submission to prepare for new acts of aggression with impunity. At the same time it is a question of discouraging hopes of socialism to deprive the workers and the peoples of prospects of a better life and a more just world. Huge sums have been spent to date on this campaign, nor is France an exception.

We consider that this must be firmly resisted. Respect for human rights, their extension, man's

emancipation in all its forms and manifestations are at the heart of our ideals. We cannot allow them to be daily smeared and trampled underfoot. This also implies that we must fight everywhere and on every issue to vindicate the truth, must champion respect for human rights and their extension.

Dear comrades and friends,

World development today is characterized by an aspiration for justice, freedom, independence and peace, for new relations based on friendship and cooperation among peoples, for socialism. This gives great weight to our efforts to foster active solidarity with all the forces seeking the realization of these aspirations. It lends still greater importance to the new internationalism which we are committed to promoting.

The French communists' internationalist solidarity is not a hollow phrase and our whole history is evidence of this.

We identify ourselves with the peoples who in spite of the threat coming from U.S. imperialism are fighting in Central America and in Latin America for dignity, sovereignty, social progress and development. Yes, friends from Nicaragua and El Salvador, you can count on us.

We identify ourselves with the peoples of southern Africa who are fighting against apartheid, resisting interference from South Africa, insisting on their right to live in peace and shape their future in freedom.

We identify ourselves with the peoples still held down by brutal dictatorships, as in Turkey, Paraguay, Haiti or Chile.

We identify ourselves with the peoples of the Middle East, with those who still have to carry on a courageous fight in order to impose respect for their right to live in an independent and sovereign state. Yes, Lebanese friends, yes, Palestinian friends, yes, friends from the Western Sahara, you can count on us.

We identify ourselves with the communist parties fighting together with their peoples in the most diverse conditions for social progress, democracy, peace and socialism: the communist parties of Western Europe, of Japan and the United States.

And we identify ourselves with the communist parties that are building a new society, socialism, each of them in its own way, together with their peoples. This reality, which is a sign of our epoch, is gaining ground on all continents, from Angola to China, from Vietnam to the Soviet Union, from Democratic Yemen to Cuba.

Yes, dear comrades and friends, the communists of France identify themselves with all those who express and support this powerful universal aspiration manifest on all continents, an aspiration for peace, progress, development and socialism.

Israel is Escalating Terror Against the Population of the Occupied Lebanese Areas

Letter by Georges Haoui, CC General Secretary,
Lebanese Communist Party

The occupation troops have mounted a large-scale campaign of terror and persecution against the population of the occupied areas of Southern Lebanon, the western part of Bekaa Valley and Rashia. This is a further step in the series of massive repressive operations that have been going on without let-up ever since the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. The Israelis themselves describe them as a war, which is what they really are. This war began two weeks ago. The Israeli aggressors declared that they were fighting it in line with the so-called "Iron Fist" policy. Dozens of communities were blockaded and attacked by thousands of occupation troops with support from hundreds of tanks, armored vehicles and military helicopters. Scores of inhabitants were killed and hundreds more were injured, maimed or arrested or are missing. Dozens of houses were razed and numerous people expelled from their homes.

Operation "Iron Fist" is, in effect, an instance of scorched earth policy. It was launched when the people's growing heroic resistance to occupation compelled Israel to begin the first phase of troop withdrawal by pulling out of Saida and the adjacent areas of Southern Lebanon. The liberation of Saida was a major victory for the Lebanese national resistance, the mass movement of the population of the occupied territories and all the progressive patriotic forces, of the Lebanese people as a whole. It was a turning point in the evolution of the situation on the Lebanese scene and indicated that the only way out of the impasse in which the Israeli invaders find themselves is their complete and unconditional withdrawal from Lebanon. Another important aspect of this victory is that it was followed by a visible upturn in the Lebanese national resistance and that the patriotic forces succeeded in maintaining a normal situation in the liberated areas. This upset the calculations of the Israelis, who had counted on fomenting unrest and internecine strife in Saida to nullify the role of the city as a stronghold of the patriots' fight against occupation and to affect negatively the situation throughout the country.

In these circumstances Israel's new extensive aggression is a barbarous vengeance on the Lebanese national resistance and the population of the seized territories, which has refused to submit to the Israelis' schemes and to cooperate with the invaders and has joined in the struggle. Operation "Iron Fist," which resembles a total punitive expedition by the Israeli occupation army against many communities in Southern Lebanon and the western part of Bekaa Valley and Rashia, is intended to minimize the significance of the victory won by the patriots, paralyze the potential of the national resistance and defuse its legitimate struggle by terrorizing defenseless civilians and taking repressive measures against

them. The killing of innocent people is an act of retaliation for the invading troops' telling losses. Furthermore, the operation is a preventive measure designed to guarantee the implementation of subsequent phases of the Israeli plan, primarily in regard to keeping the border area under the supervision of the Israelis and the control of their agents, which requires the expulsion of as many people as possible from both there and other areas involved in hostilities.

This has prompted Israel to raise the current campaign of massive repression, which is similar to others carried out more than once before, to the level of a real war. Before attacking a community, the Israelis shell it with heavy guns. Thereupon they encircle and storm it, using large forces. They turn the inhabitants out of their homes, destroy many of the houses and use the roofs of others as emplacements for sharpshooters. They manhandle the people and kill some of the inhabitants and make ample use of physical and mental torture. Hundreds of people are forced to stay night and day on village squares or in the fields, in rain or snow. By forbidding all travel from one community to another and by isolating them, the invaders prevent even hospitalization of the wounded. Hundreds of people are arrested. Neither women, old people, nor children are exempt from arrest, torture or murder.

In addition to homes and other buildings, the invaders bulldoze or attack and destroy in other ways places of worship, educational, medical and other public institutions. Arrests and violence hit doctors, teachers, clergymen, public employees. The invaders destroy the harvest as well as gardens and sown fields. No foodstuffs or medicines are allowed to be delivered to the blockaded communities. However, the invaders do not confine themselves to this. They go so far as to destroy even the modest supplies still at the disposal of the population. The obvious purpose of this campaign, which flouts all international legal standards and infringes elementary human rights, is to bring economic activity in the areas concerned to a standstill and even to remove the very foundations of human existence there. The Israelis make no secret of this intention of theirs; they talk about it for all to hear and make it clear to the people of the occupied areas that if they continue to show hostility to the invaders and to carry on armed operations against them, life in these areas will be paralyzed.

Barbarities are perpetrated with the full and direct complicity of the U.S. administration, which is extending its support for the Israeli policy of aggression and abuses its status as a permanent member of the UN Security Council to veto the adoption by this body of any resolution condemning acts which run counter to the rules of international law, human

rights and the UN Charter. In carrying out one punitive operation after another, Israeli troops use deadly weapons of the latest types supplied by the United States.

However, the Israeli aggressors have been unable, despite the use of troops and other resources and devices in their current barbarous campaign, to achieve their aim, that is, to subdue the population of the occupied territories, which offers the criminal "Iron Fist" policy exceptionally courageous resistance. Unarmed people have successfully made a stand against the Israeli war machine, demonstrating their indomitable will and patriotism and confirming their resolve to stay in their homeland and to defend it, not to reconcile themselves to occupation but to resist it by every means, and insisting on the complete withdrawal of the invaders and the unconditional liberation of the country. They have sacrificed to this sacred right their blood, their daily bread and the subsistence of their children. The heroic operations of the Lebanese national resistance, which is continuing and expanding despite and in response to the Israelis' barbarous campaign, clearly show that the patriotic will of the people, who are determined to defend their country and seek its liberation, is an effective weapon which will not be sheathed until all objectives have been attained.

I am writing to you on behalf of the Lebanese Communist Party, all the progressive patriotic

forces of Lebanon and the population of the occupied areas which have become a victim of Israel's new aggression. I have briefly set out in this letter some facts relating to the aggression and the enormous hardships that have befallen our people in their legitimate patriotic fight against Israeli occupation aided and abetted by the imperialist rulers of the USA. With due regard to your leverage and influence, your awareness of the difficulties confronting the people of Lebanon — an awareness which we witness constantly — and your full solidarity with their fight, I call on you to work for the exposure and condemnation of the Israeli aggression by public opinion in your country, international opinion, mass democratic organizations and other international forums, to help us in winning the solidarity of all fair-minded forces on the planet with our people and their support for our people's struggle in order to put an end to the Israelis' barbarities and make the invaders withdraw unconditionally from the occupied areas in compliance with resolutions of the UN and its Security Council. It is my firm conviction that you will respond to this call and that your position will be most helpful, as it has been in the past and will be in the future, in curbing the aggressor and advancing the fight of our people, the heroic national resistance and all the progressive patriotic parties and forces to complete victory.

Beirut, February 28, 1985

Unite to Win Freedom, Peace and Social Justice

Manifesto of the CC, Paraguayan Communist Party

To all workers and peasants,
To all Paraguayan democrats and patriots, men and women, members of the younger and older generations, civilians and servicemen;

The U.S.-backed dictatorship under General Alfredo Stroessner has been unable to break the will of our people in 30 years of rule. The democratic forces of Paraguay continue growing as a contingent of the powerful national liberation movement rocking the continent. New winds — winds of freedom — are blowing over our country. Long years of oppression, dependence on U.S. imperialism, exploitation, poverty and fascist obscurantism have made democratic changes an urgent necessity.

The dictatorship, leaning on U.S. imperialism for support, is trying desperately to ensure that the shackling oil contracts signed by it with U.S. companies are fulfilled. The internal "peace" which Stroessner and his hangers-on boast of is based on state terrorism and a permanent state of siege. The persecution of youth, arrests among journalists, repressive sanctions against independent media are evidence of the ruling camarilla's fear, of the weakness of a regime doomed to defeat.

Stroessner and his clique are devoted flunkies of the Reagan administration. They unquestioningly

support his reactionary, aggressive and interventionist policies and would stoop to any crime to preserve their regime, the bloodiest, most fraudulent and most corrupt regime in Paraguayan history. Some 1,700 generals and officers of the Paraguayan armed forces have been trained by the Pentagon and CIA to use repression against the people in line with the hated doctrine of "national security." But democratic resistance is surging higher and higher, sapping the very foundations of the regime.

The traditional policy of police violence and arbitrariness against peaceful peasant communities, torture by electric shock, kidnapping and murder of patriots is falling to the ground. It meets increasing resistance from democratic forces.

ECONOMIC CRISIS AND INTOLERABLE CORRUPTION

The new law on customs tariffs and the economic policy of "importing to export" and the open door for major foreign monopolies will make the country more dependent, increase the plunder of our people by transnationals and lead to the complete ruin of national industry. All progressive forces must firmly resist this disastrous policy of the dictatorship.

Paralysis in meat-packing, textiles, flour mills,

construction and other industries, steadily growing unemployment, rising prices, low wages, the trade and balance of payments deficit, the shortage of foreign exchange and the external debt are indications of the inability of the regime to cope with the economic crisis and ease the suffering of the people.

Corruption, with Stroessner himself in the lead, has reached extreme, intolerable proportions. The new oil contracts signed by Stroessner are an expression of his usual policy of selling out the nation's patrimony. There have been scandalous thefts in the Civil Service: 2 billion guaranis from the pension fund and as much from taxes levied on immovables, 30 million dollars from the National Bank of Workers, large sums from the Paraguayan Liquor Administration, and so on. Legalized large-scale smuggling angers and draws protests from large socio-political sectors.

DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT ON THE RISE

Despite repression, our most significant and promising reality is that the masses have begun to take to the streets in order to demand democratic changes in the national life. During actions in February 1984 and the street demonstration on September 29, thousands of people chanted "Bread, jobs, freedom and repatriation of the exiles", "The dictatorship is going to end in Paraguay", "A united people can never be defeated."

At a large student rally held last May during Civic Week for Freedom and in the course of mass actions on August 14 and December 10 and 21, 1984, thousands of patriots advanced democratic slogans demanding freedom of speech and the press and respect for human rights. Clergymen, politicians, trade union leaders, artists and cultural workers signed demands for the release of political prisoners, freedom of the press and decent working conditions in a free Paraguay.

Considerable impetus was given to the struggle for the release of political prisoners, the ascertainment of the fate of the "missing," the lifting of the state of siege and the repeal of the fascist laws 209 and 294. Backed by the church, organizations of the relatives of political prisoners and "missing" detainees sponsored divine services and mass rallies to protest against the repressive policy of the dictatorship.

Hundreds of poor peasant families in Alto Parana, Canendiyu, Cordillera and elsewhere rose to fight for land, against forcible expulsion and the brutalities of hired assassins used by a regime in the service of latifundium owners. These actions demonstrated the participants' resolve to defend their rights and some of them were crowned with notable success.

The butchers' strikes, the workers' demand for an immediate revision of wage rates, the protests of bank employees against layoffs and their actions condemning the anti-national policy of financial magnates, resistance to official interference in trade union affairs and the planting of agents of the employers and police (Sotero Ledesma and others) in the leadership of the Paraguayan Center of Workers are all evidence of the working people's mounting

discontent and a growing trend toward more extensive and militant class struggle.

The militancy and level of student actions against high taxes and meager appropriations for the needs of the national university are rising. Student centers and independent university movements demand the democratization of educational institutions and identify themselves with the workers and peasants fighting for the release of political prisoners and the democratization of the country.

The youth organizations of the opposition parties join more and more vigorously in resistance to the dictatorship, taking a stand for the unity of all the anti-dictatorial forces without exception and against those who strike deals with the regime. The more enlightened leaders of the younger generation are searching for a road to victorious democratic revolution.

THE CONDITIONS FOR OVERTHROWING THE REGIME ARE MORE FAVORABLE NOW

The differences that have arisen in the ruling Colorado party between the "traditionalists" and Stroessner, who wants to bring this party under his absolute control through his private secretary, Abdo Benitez, are a new sign of the increased isolation of the dictatorship.

The ruling group has begun preparations for a new travesty of municipal elections, set for October 1985. All democratic-minded citizens should condemn and actively boycott this mockery of the people's will as well as the subsequent comedy of "re-electing" the fascist tyrant.

The policy of repression and intimidation has miscarried. So has the economic policy of "development geared to the foreign market." Attempts to "convince" Stroessner and his surrounding of the need for democratic change have also failed. The regime has reduced still more the scant possibilities for the activity of the legal opposition, independent trade unions and public organizations.

All this, coupled with a worsened economic crisis, is a source of increasing universal discontent among the masses. The conditions for overthrowing the regime are becoming more and more favorable.

FOR DISARMAMENT AND PEACE

International developments — the victory of the democratic forces in Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil and Uruguay, the successive reverses which the Sandinists inflict on the bands of mercenaries trained and armed by the CIA, the Salvadoran patriots' persevering armed struggle against the U.S.-backed puppet government, the big gains of the Cuban revolution, the unprecedented scope of the international anti-war movement, and above all, the strengthened positions of existing socialism with the mighty Soviet Union at its head — are an incentive for the liberation fight of our people and make it confident of the inevitable defeat of the Stroessner regime.

We realize, however, that humanity is in grave danger of a nuclear war which the more aggressive, militarist forces of imperialism are feverishly preparing for. The USA and its NATO allies want to gain military superiority over the Soviet Union in

what is an illusory bid to impose their will upon it. Reagan has openly declared a "crusade" against the Soviet Union and all the peoples refusing submission to the magnates of the U.S. military-industrial complex. Yet all attempts to subdue Lenin's country and defeat its people have suffered a crushing defeat, as we know from history.

The only sensible option making it possible to stave off nuclear disaster and revert to détente in international relations is the proposal made by the Soviet Union during the Geneva meeting of representatives of the USSR and USA to reach at the coming talks specific agreements on the key problem of reducing strategic nuclear armaments and medium-range nuclear missiles and, above all, preventing the nuclearization of space.

Active participation in the great battle for peace and life, in the anti-imperialist movement of solidarity with Nicaragua, the Salvadoran people, socialist Cuba and other countries is in keeping with the vital interests of our people.

HOW TO REMOVE THE ANTI-NATIONAL DICTATORSHIP

The main problem facing our country today is how to remove the dictatorship and replace it by a provisional military-civilian government of all anti-dictatorial forces that would guarantee ample freedoms and convene a National Constituent Assembly with a view to adopting a democratic constitution.

Contrary to the people's will, the dictatorship and its underlings are doing their utmost to preserve the existing regime with or without Stroessner. A number of opposition leaders betray a predominantly compromising and conciliating attitude to the dictatorship. Some of them are talking about a dialogue with Stroessner the butcher and his accomplices. Others pin all hopes for "democratization" on the U.S. Embassy. They are afraid of the activity of the masses and influence of the political vanguard of the working class. What they really want is a mere replacement of one man at the top by another; they would like to alter the facade of the regime so as to leave things as they are. The people indignantly reject this conservative line, which can only produce new shameful failures.

The National Agreement coalition formed by the Authentic Liberal Radical, Revolutionary Febrerist, MOPOCO and Christian Democratic parties has extended its program, which can help step up joint actions on the basis of the coinciding views of large anti-dictatorial forces. However, some of its leaders still take an isolationist, sectarian stand, which can only play into the hands of the dictatorship and imperialism.

Despite an hysterical divisive anti-communist campaign and anti-Soviet, anti-Cuban and anti-Sandinist calumnies, there is a growing desire, mainly in the youth organizations of diverse political parties, in some sectors of National Agreement and among the masses, for the unity of anti-dictatorial currents, which our party has long been fighting for.

To defeat a strong adversary, it is necessary to form a superior force capable of defeating him. This force is the national anti-dictatorial front, and so it

has to be forged and united in step with the development of the struggle of the masses. This is the road leading to victory.

The action taken by the military with the support of the masses on June 9, 1946, which led off the democratization process in our country and enabled all parties including ours to operate in conditions of legality, showed that extensive joint actions by anti-dictatorial forces backed by a section of the army officer corps are the road to take in order to bring down the Stroessner dictatorship.

MOBILIZATION OF THE PEOPLE, UNITY AND ORGANIZATION

To advance to this goal, it is necessary to mobilize the people on an increasing scale. Contrary to the attitude of various leaders who try to check its struggle, the working class must continue defending its demands for at least a 50 per cent wage rise and an end to dismissals; it must present petitions and set about organizing strikes in support of trade union and democratic freedoms.

The peasants must step up their fight for land, against expulsion and for democratic rights. Students and intellectuals must fight for their professional interests and demand respect for human rights. National industrialists and merchants must campaign against the law on customs tariffs, legalized smuggling and the privileges granted to trans-nationals.

The church, for its part, should use its influence in the struggle for democratization, freedom, peace and justice. Patriotic members of the armed services cannot be indifferent to the activity of the anti-national regime, whose bosses profane the nation's glorious traditions. It is their duty to support the democratic movement of the people for the overthrow of the anti-national dictatorship.

The struggle of the masses and diverse political and social forces must merge into a powerful stream capable of sweeping away the regime. It should begin by using the simplest forms — petitions, exposures, the circulation of leaflets, graffiti, rallies, delegations, strikes, the occupation of lands, street demonstrations — and then go over to more decisive actions. It should combine mass action with the formation of self-defense committees to resist police violence and arbitrariness. Coordinated struggles by the workers, peasants, students, intellectuals, the petty national bourgeoisie, with part of the military joining in, must culminate in a popular uprising to topple the dictatorship and lead off the most radical democratic, agrarian and anti-imperialist changes.

Greater attention should be given to bringing about unity, cohesion and organization among all anti-dictatorial currents. It is on this that victory will largely depend. It is necessary to form everywhere — in workplaces, residential neighborhoods, rural areas, educational institutions — unity committees on the basis of at least a minimal coincidence of democratic views.

APPEAL

— Let us multiply our efforts to secure the release of political prisoners, the lifting of the state of siege, the repatriation of political exiles; to save and bring

about the release of Antonio Maidana, Emilio Roa, Augustin Goiburu and Americo Villagra, and to ascertain the fate of Miguel Angel Soler, Derliz Vilagra, Ruben Acosta, Juan José Penayo and many other "missing" people.

— Let us launch a vast mass drive to reject and boycott the travesty of municipal elections to be held in October 1985.

— Let us unmask and isolate the splitters who compromise with the regime, obstruct the struggle of the masses and favor the continued rule of the pro-U.S. dictatorship.

— Let us step up the mass struggle and form unity commissions everywhere to fight for the more pressing economic demands and against the dictatorship.

— Let us step up anti-imperialist solidarity with Nicaragua, with all the peoples fighting for national and social liberation, peace, democracy, national

sovereignty, social progress and socialism.

— Let us prepare with due regard to the actual conditions for every form of struggle that may be needed to overthrow the dictatorship.

— Let us strengthen the Paraguayan Communist Party by bringing into its ranks many new people, staunch and incorruptible patriots — members of the younger generation, women, the finest sons and daughters of the working class and the people.

Long live anti-imperialist solidarity in the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress!

Long live the democratic national liberation revolution!

Long live the militant unity of all the anti-dictatorial forces without exception, a sure instrument of victory!

Unity makes strong. Let us unite to win.

January 25, 1985

Sri Lanka: For a Political Solution of the Ethnic Problem

Joint Statement by the Socialist Party, the Communist Party and the People's Party of Sri Lanka

A call for a political rather than an attempted military solution of the ethnic problem was made in a joint statement issued by the Socialist Party (LSSP), the Communist Party (CPSL), and the People's Party of Sri Lanka (SLMP).

The statement, which was signed by the General Secretaries of the three parties — Bernard Soysa (LSSP), K.P. Silva (CPSL) and Vijaya Kumaranatunga (SLMP) — reads as follows.

The policies of the United National Party (UNP) government over the past seven years have already produced major crises in our political, economic, cultural and social life. Its state terrorism, repressive laws and vindictive measures against political opponents have encouraged the spread of violence and brutality. In addition to all this, the UNP government has complicated and aggravated ethnic relations to a point where the unity of Sri Lanka and its peoples have been placed in serious jeopardy.

Seven years of current UNP rule have seen four major outbursts of racist violence, each far worse than the other. Sri Lanka's good name has been besmirched abroad as never before.

But, despite its public election promises in 1977 and its secret eye-of-poll agreement with the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) and Ceylon Workers' Congress (CWC) leaders, the UNP government has not shown any serious desire to find a just and democratic settlement of estranged and embittered ethnic relations through political dialogue. Instead, it has followed policies that have made matters much worse and strengthened racist, divisive and separatist tendencies.

It dragged on the Round Table Conference for nearly a year and terminated it abruptly after the President had presented his own proposals in the form of a draft Parliamentary Bill. In these proposals, both the suggested devolution of powers from the Center and the twist sought to be given to them by the creation of a Second Chamber were designed

more to perpetuate the ruling party in power than to find a lasting settlement to the ethnic problem. Even so, these proposals were repudiated by the President's own Cabinet and party, which untruthfully sought to pretend that they emanated from the Round Table Conference and not from the President.

WORSE

As a result, the situation has deteriorated to an extent that is actually worse than that which existed immediately after the terrible events of mid-1983.

And the most recent pronouncements of the President and important Ministers indicate that the government has no political solution to suggest and does not immediately propose to take any further action to find such a solution.

Instead, the government has opted almost totally for the use of force and military power as a means of dealing with the ethnic problem and the manifestations of violence that the failure to solve it has produced.

It has turned large areas of the north and east of our country into a battlefield where virtual martial law and armed conflict between security forces and the guerrillas prevail. The situation has been further aggravated by the UNP government following advice and training given by Israeli military agencies and British SAS mercenaries.

As a result, widespread and senseless killing, arbitrary mass arrests and detentions, and severe hardships for the uninvolved civilian populations

have become the order of the day.

Civil authority and democratic institutions and processes have disappeared.

Thousands, from all communities, have been deprived of their normal means of livelihood and their freedom of movement, while hundreds more have become refugees.

Members of the security services and the police, most of whom are young men from poor urban and rural families, have been exposed to sudden and futile death and injury.

WAR HYSTERIA

Misusing sections of the media for the purpose, the government has also whipped up a war hysteria on a scale never witnessed before.

As a result, social restraints and discipline break down, good sense is submerged in tribalistic emotions, and attitudes and behavior are increasingly brutalized. Anyone who dares to speak of the need for a political solution of the problem is portrayed as a traitor or an accomplice of "terrorism."

To make matters worse, a systematic campaign of confrontation and brinkmanship has been unleashed against India, thereby endangering our own security, disrupting the traditional good-neighbor relations between our two countries, damaging the non-aligned movement, and assisting the U.S. and other imperialist forces who are fighting hard to prevent the Indian Ocean from becoming a zone of peace.

On top of all this, our meager financial resources are being squandered on buying new arms and building up armed forces at the expense of severe cut-backs in social benefits. As a result, our national economy has broken down in important areas and is being overcome by creeping paralysis.

MILITARIZATION

A sinister development of this situation is that the UNP government, in the name of "fighting terrorism," has begun steadily to extend the militarization that exists in the north and east to the rest of the country, thereby adding a new dimension to its concerted efforts to replace democratic institutions with greater authoritarianism and dictatorial rule.

This is seen in the creation of new ministries to extend the "security" measures in the public sector to the private sector as well; the creation of so-called "defense committees" in localities, workplaces and estates where UNP supporters are to be given military training, supplied with arms, and encouraged to spy on political opponents; and the latest proposals to have UNP MPs select 250 supporters from each of their electorates who will be given military training, supplied with arms, and settled in selected areas to form a reserve army for the UNP government.

In combination with the special "commando" forces that are now under training with Israeli help, these armed political gangs can well become an even more formidable danger to democratic functioning and political dissent than even the JSS* goon-squads in the past.

*Jathlika Sevaka Sangamaya, a pro-government trade union center. — Ed.

The fact that the government now speaks of terrorism as a "southern" phenomenon as well shows that these preparations are intended to be used not merely in the north and east, but against the working class, the trade unions, and all active forms of opposition to UNP misrule.

APPEAL

Our parties appeal to all progressive and democratic forces not to be misled by these dangerous actions of the UNP government or to respond to its specious appeal for "non-partisan" support for these actions.

Let us never forget that, while making such appeal for non-partisanship, the UNP government does nothing to alter the policy of revenge against political opponents that it has ruthlessly followed ever since it returned to office in 1977.

Indeed, experience has shown that the UNP government is the principal cause for the many-sided crisis in which the people of our country are now engulfed and the principal obstacle to any democratic solution or attempted solution of this crisis. The fight for such a solution must therefore be accompanied by no let-up of the struggle to defeat and remove the UNP government.

POLICY

As far as the ethnic crisis is concerned, our parties have repeatedly made it clear that we oppose any division of Sri Lanka into separate and hostile states. We also oppose and regard as counter-productive any efforts to seek a solution to the ethnic crisis through terrorism, either by the state or by individuals or political groups.

We firmly believe that the Sinhalese and Tamil peoples, who have both lived in this country for over two thousand years and contributed toward its political, social, economic and cultural progress, can continue to do so in equality, friendship and cooperation.

We want the people of our two major communities, for whom capitalist rulers see no future other than that of slaughtering each other in a "no win" civil war, to be able to work together, shoulder to shoulder, to end all forms of discrimination, inequality and oppression, and to build a bright socialist future for themselves and our common country.

We are convinced that, by opting for a solution of the ethnic problem by state force and by military means, the government has only strengthened separatist tendencies and increased the danger that Sri Lanka may become another Cyprus or Lebanon.

INITIATIVE

In calling for new initiatives by all patriotic and progressive forces among all nationalities for an agreed political settlement of the ethnic impasse, we emphasize that, as we reach the end of the 20th century, experience confirms that no newly-free country can stabilize itself on the assumption that minorities cannot expect anything more than what a majority is prepared to concede.

While reiterating the need to preserve our national sovereignty and territorial integrity, we believe that any viable political settlement of our ethnic problem

should be based on the principles of:

(a) retaining Sri Lanka as a united country;

(b) and, within this framework, devolving (and not merely decentralizing) substantially many now centralized powers and functions to the people of the different areas of our country, so that they can look after their own area affairs while cooperating to administer those powers and functions that should remain centralized.

The experience of many countries, both socialist and otherwise, has shown that such devolution strengthens, rather than disrupts, the essential unity of a country.

Such unity can be further secured by a constitution that guarantees fundamental and human rights to all citizens alike, by an administration set up without ethnic or other discrimination, and by a scientific national plan for the economic development of all areas of the country.

CEASEFIRE

But before any new effort can be made in the search for a political solution, it is essential that the present senseless killing, looting and destruction of

property should be brought to an end.

Our three parties therefore welcome and support the rising demand in all parts of the country for an immediate ceasefire by the government and the armed youth groups.

The good offices of any willing party, domestic or foreign, should be readily availed of to bring about such a ceasefire and arrange the modalities of direct negotiations between the government of Sri Lanka and all representatives of organized Tamil opinion, including those of the armed youth groups.

We also demand that the government's policy of brinkmanship toward India should stop; that normal good-neighbor relations with that country should be restored; and that any problem in these relations should be settled solely through discussion.

Such actions now can provide the whole country with a respite in which to recover our senses and prepare the basis for a fresh approach to consolidating national unity.

Our parties appeal to all progressive forces to work toward a united effort in this direction.

Forward, February 15, 1985

For a Successful Rebuff to the Onslaught of Imperialism, Zionism and Reaction in the Middle East

Statement by Eight Communist and Workers' Parties of the Arab East

Representatives of the communist and workers' parties of the Arab East held a meeting to discuss the agreement recently signed in Amman between King Hussein and Yasser Arafat and the dangers latent in that agreement. They also considered the significance of the forced withdrawal of the Israeli invaders from Saida. It was decided to publish a statement, the text of which follows:

The communist and workers' parties of the Arab East believe that the Amman agreement between King Hussein and Yasser Arafat should be examined in the context of the feverish efforts of U.S. imperialism to establish fully its domination over the Arab countries, liquidate their peoples' achievements, and brush aside their national problems in order to attain a "strategic consensus" and turn the region into a base for aggression against national liberation movements and the Soviet Union, in keeping with the global imperialist strategy of preparing for a destructive nuclear war.

This agreement also resulted from the inducement being proffered and the pressure being brought to bear by reaction and the right-wing ruling circles in the Arab countries, primarily in Egypt, Jordan and Saudi Arabia, on the Palestine Liberation Organization's official leadership so as to impose a capitulationist course on it, bury the national problem of the Arab people of Palestine, and disregard other questions of the Arab peoples' liberation struggle.

The agreement was hailed in the NATO countries and the imperialist quarters, and the U.S. President described it as a "positive step."

The Amman agreement infringes on the Palestinian people's right to create their own independent

national state and denies the PLO the right to act as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinians. Proceeding from the principle of "land in exchange for peace" and Security Council Resolution No. 242, the agreement dismisses the other UN resolutions that affirm the right of the people of Palestine to return to their native home, exercise self-determination and create an independent national state. The agreement runs counter to the resolutions of previous sessions of the National Council of Palestine, including the 16th session, and to the decisions of the Fez summit meeting. It represents a departure from the bases of the Soviet initiative, which, with the aim of realizing the principles of a Middle East settlement, calls for an international conference with the participation of all sides in the conflict, including the Palestine Liberation Organization — the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people — as an independent delegation enjoying equal rights with the other participants. The Amman agreement is a new version of the "United Kingdom" plan put forward by King Hussein in 1971 following the Black September massacre. By speaking of "negotiations within the framework of an international conference," the authors of the document are seeking to create a smoke-

screen behind which they could hold direct separatist talks in the Camp David manner.

The Amman agreement is fraught with serious dangers for the entire Arab national liberation movement, not to mention a direct threat to the just cause of the Palestinian people. It clears the way for a step-up in Zionist influence in the region, and threatens to place Jordan under the domination of the Israeli rulers and to deprive this fraternal country of its relative independence. It could also worsen the dissension in the Arab ranks and deepen the split in the PLO. The reactionary Arab quarters are trying to use this to bring Egypt, which is bound by Camp David chains, back into their fold. They have been publicly calling for a pretext to be found to repudiate the unanimous Arab decisions. The idea is also being voiced of convening an Arab summit meeting to sanction the policy of capitulation and of burying the national problems in oblivion, a policy based on partial separatist settlements under Washington's aegis and in keeping with its will. Reaction is trying to isolate Syria and the other Arab states which follow a patriotic course and reject such a policy, and is intensifying plots against them in an effort to bring them to their knees and make them leave the road that they are on.

Running counter to the unanimous Arab decisions and representing a threat for the Palestinians' national cause and the Arabs' liberation struggle, the Amman agreement shows that influential forces led by Yasser Arafat in the PLO leadership are persisting in their policy in spite of the great damage it has done to the cause of the Arab people and the struggle of the Arab national liberation movement. These forces continue a line toward splitting the PLO and thwarting all efforts to restore its unity on the basis of the Aden-Algiers agreement. They stubbornly continue to undermine the PLO's alliances with the Arab liberation forces and to spark contradictions with them on secondary questions, and are increasingly distancing themselves from the Palestinian people's allies, who are true supporters of their cause in the international arena.

The communist and workers' parties of the Arab East condemn and categorically reject this agreement. They call for a fight to foil it and express spirited solidarity with the opposition to it displayed by the patriotic Palestinian masses, organizations and leaders on and outside the occupied territories, including with the Al-Fatah fighters and functionaries. The parties appeal to all these forces to adopt a united political position — finding the optimum practical form for that — with the aim of thwarting the Amman agreement. This will make it possible to unite the masses of the Palestinian people, their patriotic forces and the Arab national liberation movement around this task, and to mobilize them to make further efforts to restore PLO unity on the basis of a patriotic line of struggle against imperialism and Zionism. Our parties express gratitude to the Palestinian people's allies for their solidarity and hope that they will continue to make their contribution to the efforts to frustrate intrigues hostile to the Palestinian people.

The communist and workers' parties of the Arab

East reiterate their profound conviction that the exercise of the inalienable national rights of the Arab people of Palestine and the establishment of a lasting just peace in the region can only be attained on the basis of withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territories seized during the 1967 aggression, strict observance of the decisions of the 16th session of the National Council of Palestine and the Fez summit, and implementation of the Soviet proposals concerning an international conference with the obligatory involvement of the Palestine Liberation Organization as an independent and equal participant and the sole legitimate representative of the Arab Palestinian people.

The successes of Lebanon's national patriotic forces and, notably, the victory won by the heroic fighters of the Lebanese national resistance front, who forced the Israeli invaders to leave the town of Saïda, are the fruit of a staunch course that is resolutely opposed to the plans for a capitulationist settlement, to imperialism and Zionism and that relies on unity of the patriotic forces, above all on the alliance of Syria, the Lebanese national patriotic and Palestinian revolutionary forces, and on the assistance and support of the USSR. This course culminated in the annulment of the May 17, 1983 Lebanese-Israeli agreement and the withdrawal of the U.S. troops and multinational forces from Lebanese territory.

These victories are a concrete indication that an effective combatant alternative does exist. They refute the arguments of the apologists of capitulation and betrayal, whose expectations that U.S. imperialism will be kind and amicably disposed are merely causing even greater violation of our peoples' national rights and new trouble for them.

Hailing these victories, the communist and workers' parties of the Arab East reiterate their support for the Lebanese national patriotic forces and the heroic Lebanese national resistance front in their struggle to liberate their homeland, safeguard its unity and status as part of the Arab world, and ensure its sovereignty and democratic development. They also confirm their support for the population of the Israeli-occupied West Bank of the River Jordan, the Gaza Strip and the Golan Heights, which has been courageously rebuffing the Zionists' atrocities, upholding its rights and national identity and consistently fighting to liberate its native land in spite of the threat of mass expulsion and reprisals on the part of the fascist Zionist forces.

Our parties underscore the need to continue resolutely to struggle to strengthen and deepen the ties of alliance between Syria, the Lebanese national patriotic forces and the Palestinian revolution, and to attain closer unity around the patriotic course which Syria has been pursuing in the interests of the Arab national liberation movement and in order to safeguard universal peace, repulsing the intrigues and plots of U.S. imperialism, world Zionism and Israel.

The guarantee that the intensifying imperialist and Zionist attack against the Arab region, which is being increasingly joined by the reactionary Arab regimes, will be rebuffed is unity of all Arab progres-

sive and patriotic circles and regimes and the overcoming of existing contradictions between them on secondary questions, which will enable them, with the support on the part of their powerful and reliable allies throughout the world, primarily the socialist community countries headed by the Soviet Union, to uphold their gains and resolve their national problems. Our communist parties will continue to work to achieve and strengthen such unity.

Damascus, February 25, 1985
Jordanian Communist Party,
National Liberation Front of Bahrain,
Communist Party of Saudi Arabia,
Syrian Communist Party,
Iraqi Communist Party,
Palestinian Communist Party,
Lebanese Communist Party,
Egyptian Communist Party

Syria Shall Not Be Forced to Its Knees

Speech by Khaled Bagdash, General Secretary, Syrian Communist Party, at the opening of the eighth regional congress of the Arab Socialist Renaissance Party (Baath).

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Syrian Communist Party and the thousands of communists, I extend best wishes and convey heartfelt friendly and fraternal greetings to you participants in the eighth regional congress of the Arab Socialist Renaissance Party and through you, to the thousands of Baathists — men and women, young people and students, workers and peasants, and members of the armed forces.

Our party wishes your congress success in the interest of stepping up the patriotic struggle against imperialism, Zionism and reaction and the social struggle to assure the people as a whole a decent life.

We think highly of the historic role which the Arab Socialist Renaissance Party has played in the destiny of our country and above all in the fight against imperialism, Zionism, feudalism and military dictatorships, and appreciate its contribution to the implementation of progressive economic and social changes, whose consolidation, extension and defense your congress calls for.

Cooperation between our two parties began long ago. It has been sealed with the blood of our comrades and yours, shed in the common struggle against imperialist aggression and the criminal provocations of reactionaries led by the Moslem Brotherhood gang.

Today more than ever before, our parties are linked together by relations of brotherhood, unity and cooperation based on fairness and confidence.

We do not aim in this message of greetings to tell your esteemed forum about the policy of our party. The position and general policy of the Syrian Communist Party on domestic matters were spelled out in detail to the masses led by your party and to the progressive forces of the country during the broad celebration of the 60th anniversary of our party. We summed up our policy as follows: freedom for the country, a decent life for the people, happiness for children, world peace.

Our aim today is to point out the main, fundamental thing which unites the progressive forces of Syria, other Arab countries and the rest of the world, namely, the firm patriotic policy which Syria has been pursuing under the leadership of President Hafez Al-Assad, General Secretary of the Arab Socialist Renaissance Party, head of the National Progressive Front.

Our common duty is to promote this policy, which

is based on a determined struggle in the region, in Lebanon, on every inch of Arab soil, against plans of U.S. and Atlantic imperialism and Zionism, against the establishment of military bases in the region and the dispatch of fleets of warships to its waters. This policy is based on a continuous effort to strengthen bonds of friendship and cooperation in every sphere — political, military and economic — with the community of socialist countries headed by our true friend, the Soviet Union, an effort which the General Secretary of the Arab Socialist Renaissance Party spoke about recently; on contributing to the common struggle against the arms race; on the desire to preserve world peace, which is threatened by U.S. imperialism; and on support for the Soviet initiatives aimed at safeguarding peace on our planet and saving humanity from the danger of destruction in a nuclear catastrophe.

One result of the firm patriotic policy of our country is support for the Soviet proposal to convene an international conference in order to work out a peaceful solution to the Middle East problem; the conference would be expected to involve all the parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, which should close its ranks on a patriotic, progressive basis to resist imperialism and Zionism, Camp David, the Reagan Plan, any capitulationist solution and separatist deals with the USA and Israel. An inclination to make deals of this nature is now shown by Jordan and Egypt, and some deviating elements are pushing the Palestinian movement in the same direction. This was illustrated by the initiative which King Hussein took at the Amman meeting of the Palestine National Council. The meeting was marked by a deepening split and the emergence of further complications and became a rostrum not for condemning the enemies of the Palestinian cause and the Arab cause as a whole, but for assailing the staunch, courageous Arab position maintained by Syria.

A firm patriotic policy is the important thing uniting us, earning Syria sympathy and assuring it the support of the forces of socialism and progress all over the world.

The Declaration of the Central Committee of the ASRP describes the domestic situation. It notes achievements in production and the non-productive sphere, points to the difficulties and negative circumstances that have arisen with the development

of the economy and the service sector, and mentions the adoption of certain recommendations.

Although we do not know what recommendations you are going to discuss, we believe, nonetheless, that a radical solution of the problem of economic development as a whole demands a particularly earnest approach to its various aspects, primarily the extrication of our economic relations from the meshes of the international capitalist market and imperialist monopolies, better and more extensive economic relations with socialist countries, the removal of the parasitical and bureaucratic bourgeoisie from the positions it holds and placing them under state control.

The ASRP Declaration mentions the adoption of recommendations to solve pressing problems of the nation. We all know that the main thing is the problem of a livelihood, the need to strike a balance between incomes and consumption, provide a decent standard of living for our compatriots and meet the trade unions' demand for a higher minimum wage, especially for some categories of workers.

The Declaration refers to recommendations aimed at improving the domestic situation and building up the National Progressive Front.

In our opinion, to build up the Front means, first and foremost, to improve the functioning of the national leadership and its departments and see to it that the Front does not proceed as a top-level alignment. Its organizations should operate among the

people in urban neighborhoods, the countryside and factories and play an active and effective role in the life of the whole country.

To further the effort toward consolidating the home front, it is undoubtedly necessary to take steps helping to raise the level of activity of patriots and progressives and mobilize the people against imperialism, Zionism and reaction, which implies that these forces and organizations should steadfastly promote a democratic policy toward the press and publishing and in their public activity. Needless to say, a more consistent democratic policy will make for a healthier national economy and help reveal all abuses, corruption and avoidable losses and improve the functioning of the state (public) sector of the economy.

Thanks to the vigilance of our people, the activity of patriotic and progressive forces and the permanent preparedness, power and devotion of our Arab Syrian armed forces, imperialism and reaction have been unable, for all their intrigues, provocations and pressure, to break the staunchness of heroic Syria.

Once again I wish your esteemed congress success in its work. Let us reaffirm with still greater determination and courage our great common patriotic slogan, "Syria shall not be forced to its knees!"

Abridged from *Nidal al-Shaab*,
No. 354

On the Road to Geneva

Gus Hall, General Secretary,
Communist Party USA

The agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union to start new negotiations for a nuclear disarmament treaty adds a new dimension to the struggle for peace. It opens up new possibilities.

How to take advantage of this new development, how to influence the outcome emerges as a most critical question of the moment.

While the mass media and columnists like James Reston push the idea that "there is not much optimism . . . about next month's U.S.-Soviet disarmament talks in Geneva," all the polls show the U.S. majority peace sentiment is at the highest level ever. And, thus, the American people have very high expectations for the new Geneva talks. Millions who believed Reagan's election campaign peace rhetoric now expect results from the Geneva talks.

And, like the mass media, the administration is doing everything possible to stifle the people's expectations through negative, pessimistic or cynical statements and articles. Thus, the new negotiating team and the White House are cautioning against "too much optimism."

For instance, Reagan recently boasted, "I told our arms control negotiators, if they don't have a good agreement get up from the table and come on home."

Whenever the people demonstrate their desire for an end to the arms race, for better relations with the

Soviet Union, this heightened peace mood is always followed by the administration's heightening of cold war rhetoric and anti-Soviet propaganda.

Now that expectations are the highest ever, there is once again a barrage of all-out anti-Sovietism — subtle, insidious and blatant — coming from many quarters. It is a crude attempt to put a damper on the people's expectations and to resurrect the cold war.

STEP UP PEACE ACTIONS

However, this means the people's democratic, progressive and peace forces have an even bigger responsibility in the coming months to publish articles, distribute leaflets, organize demonstrations, meetings, seminars and forums on the new possibilities that are opening and the need to intensify the pressure on the administration. We must reject and publicly argue against any idea that there is no hope, any idea that nothing will come of the new disarmament talks in March.

History tells us that even under the most difficult and complex circumstances alliances can be forged. For instance, in building the World War II alliance, it seemed almost impossible to bring Churchill and even Roosevelt — representing two big imperialist powers — to the conclusion that an alliance was a necessity. But regardless of the contradictions, obstacles, maneuvers and setbacks, the alliance

succeeded.

Thus, despite tremendous obstacles, a history of Reagan vicious anti-Sovietism and Reaganite maneuvering and manipulations, developments have proven that progress, and even a peace treaty, is possible. And as far as the people of the U.S. and the world are concerned, absolutely necessary.

If the peace forces have the opposite viewpoint, a hopeless attitude that the Reagan administration and the negotiating team are only pretending, while the Pentagon-military-industrial complex and Weinberger get their way in building up the strategic nuclear first strike, it will be playing right into their hands and relieve the pressure on the administration to negotiate seriously.

MOVING PEOPLE INTO ACTION

It would be a mistake to view monopoly capital or the Reagan administration as a monolithic entity. The political balance of forces is such that developments can go either way.

Our role should be to keep pushing the fact that the doors are open. The Soviet Union is ready and willing to meet the highest expectations. Therefore, the possibilities for positive results exist.

How to use the higher expectations to move people into action is the big tactical challenge. We have to project slogans that will move millions into action, the millions who have high expectations for a peace treaty. We must also think how to reach the smaller groups who are cynical and have no expectations.

Organizations like the U.S. Peace Council obviously have an important role to play. It is important to put emphasis on the peace movements.

SPRING PEACE OFFENSIVE IN COLD WAR THAW

An important ingredient leading to higher expectations for peace is the public shift in attitudes toward the Soviet Union. The public belief in a "Soviet military threat" has declined. The "Soviet military threat" concept is no longer the main problem.

This does not mean that there is no longer any anti-Sovietism. But that aspect of it has diminished.

It is also true that when the government moves toward a cold war posture, when the anti-Soviet lie factory goes on double shift, there is an immediate reaction in broad liberal circles. And, when there is even the first signs that the government is changing its policy, these same forces move very quickly to seek new relationships. The upcoming Geneva talks are having this effect. There are some signs of a cold war thaw in mass thought patterns.

It is in this framework we have to see the April Spring Peace Offensive, the April 20th demonstration in Washington, D.C. We cannot accept any idea of spontaneity or wait-and-see-what-happens.

Many peace groups do not understand the questions and they issue slogans that are not productive or helpful. For instance, when the negotiating team was appointed there was a lot of negative feelings and expressions.

The negotiating team can be seen in two ways. True, the personalities selected are primarily known

for their anti-Soviet, anti-communist and even anti-negotiation positions.

On the other hand, they are also personalities who can be effective in convincing the Senate and the public to approve and ratify a negotiated arms agreement.

However, the only way to guarantee that the people's expectations will be turned into reality is to channel these high expectations into actions for peace and disarmament, like the April Spring Offensive, starting with the April 20th demonstration in Washington, D.C.

THE MAIN ROADBLOCKS

The main obstacle that has to be overcome is that serious negotiations resulting in an agreement require the Reagan administration to retreat on a number of questions. This is a prerequisite for an agreement.

There has to be a change in the following positions:

(1) The Reagan policy of Star Wars, the nuclearization of outer space. The basic position of the Reagan administration is laid out in the well-publicized article in the Sunday, January 27 *New York Times Magazine* by Zbigniew Brzezinski, Robert Jastrow and Max M. Kampelman.

There are many misleading and some outright lies in this article. But it does spell out the basic ideological positions and outlook.

What is new in the article is that they are planning and working on two levels — both in the direction of achieving preventive anti-missile missiles.

The arguments for it are that it is only research and that research is permissible and necessary at all times. That it has nothing to do with deployment and is therefore not part of a nuclear arms build-up. This will be a position of the negotiating team.

The main line of attack on this should be that at today's level of technology, research and deployment are one. You cannot separate research from deployment. The lead time is so short that as soon as the research is done, deployment follows almost immediately.

The other argument is that this system of defense is non-nuclear, that it is a defense against nuclear missiles, but is not itself nuclear. Therefore, it is not dangerous and does not escalate the arms race. This would be the first stage of the Strategic Defense Initiative — the process of finding the ultimate defense against missiles. Then you have a total defense against nuclear missiles.

This is a clever cover for Star Wars. It is also a cover for a continuation of building the means of nuclear superiority and first-strike capability. As Kampelman and Brzezinski say, "We must not abandon nuclear deterrence until we are convinced that a better means is at hand . . . the acquisition of increasingly efficient nuclear weapons."

About these ultimate weapons. Most scientists, on both sides, are convinced that this is an absolutely impossible task, that it cannot be achieved with the present level of technology. Those who are working on it, as well as people in the administration pushing it, know it is not achievable. The first stage is, but not the final stage.

(2) The other idea being pushed, which is really the basis of the *Times Magazine* article, is that "Soviet nuclear capability is all first strike." This is a new tack. It is simply another lie in the arsenal of the Big Lie. But if you accept this lie, then almost anything is acceptable.

The truth is, much of the Soviet nuclear capability is not strategic because the U.S. is so far away from Soviet launching bases.

However, all U.S. nuclear capability is strategic because the bases are so close to the Soviet Union. This applies to nuclear subs, nuclear bombers and the Pershing and Cruise missiles in Europe.

(3) The other obstacle is the U.S. use of the verification argument. This is thrown in although it becomes more and more obvious this is not a serious question. Verification has lost all meaning because of the new technology. In fact, the "secret" shuttle satellite that now flies and spies over the Soviet Union should put to rest this argument.

(4) Another obstacle is the charge that the Soviet Union has violated past treaties and therefore it is not a reliable treaty partner. This is another big lie, a lie that is being dragged into the spotlight now to throw more mud at the talks.

The charge is always made using phrases like, "possible violations," or "we must investigate whether there are violations," or "it could be a violation."

There exists a joint U.S.-Soviet commission where all such questions have been discussed and settled. The Reagan administration, however, does not present such charges to the commission, but instead makes public these charges, charges that settle nothing, but become a part of the anti-Soviet propaganda.

(5) A major U.S. argument for extending the arms race into outer space is the contention that the Soviets returned to the negotiating table because the U.S. was continuing to build up its nuclear arsenal; that if the military budget is cut back, if planned weapons systems are cancelled, if Star Wars is rejected the Soviets will see this as a weakened U.S. resolve. This is the "peace through strength" argument. It is nonsense. But we have to find popular ways of arguing against it.

The truth is the Soviet Union has placed on the table concrete proposals for nuclear arms agreements during the administrations of Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, Carter and Reagan.

(6) An argument the peace forces sometimes fall for goes like this: since only a few nuclear missiles are needed to destroy the world, and although it is true the U.S. keeps raising the level of nuclear missiles, why does the USSR have to keep responding? The Soviet Union has never responded on the basis of missile for missile. What the Soviet Union has responded to is new nuclear systems that would have given the U.S. nuclear superiority. In other words, the Soviet Union has been forced to respond to a qualitative increase in nuclear weapons and has always been forced to respond to the forerunner, the U.S.

CARRYING OUT THE "U.S. MANDATE FOR PEACE"

One of the reasons the Reagan administration agreed to negotiate is the "electoral mandate for peace." One of the reasons Reagan was re-elected was his "peace platform," his promise to negotiate with the Soviet Union.

It is also a response to the split in the Reagan administration, a split on policy, on the military budget. It is a response to the pressures of the peace majority whose expectations are now higher than ever.

We also have to keep in mind that the House of Representatives and 34 Senators are up for reelection in 1986. Their attitude toward the Geneva talks is influenced by their constituencies. They are very aware of and sensitive to the peace sentiment and the expectations they will have to deal with in 1986.

The U.S. policy of aggression in Central America continues to escalate. The cut-off of diplomatic talks by the Reagan administration could be in preparation for direct military action. But the opposition, both public and congressional, is also growing.

WORLD "NUCLEAR ALLERGY"

What is new and important is the growing resistance to the U.S. efforts at nuclearization and militarization of the world. Such countries as Greece, Belgium, New Zealand, Australia, Honduras, Spain and Puerto Rico are all demonstrating in different ways their rejection of U.S. policy and the plans to nuclearize their countries.

The New York Times calls this "a spreading aversion among Western allies to almost any kind of involvement with nuclear weapons." It is being tagged a growing "nuclear allergy."

There are moments when it becomes possible to move all groups and organizations around one issue or development. Peace is the issue that affects everyone at this moment. It is in everyone's vital interests to act in a way that insures that the Geneva talks are fruitful. We must encourage people not to rely on Reagan and his negotiating team. Reagan is already saying that "if they can't come to an agreement they can come home without one."

Every peace organization, the 26 trade unions that have endorsed the freeze, all the U.S. peace majority have a common interest in fighting for peace and moving full speed ahead on April 20th.

What is needed is to translate the peace expectations of the American people into demands for peace and disarmament that the people can rally and mobilize around.

Our focus in the coming period of the Geneva talks must be to galvanize all the peace and progressive, the independent and people's movements around the question of war and peace, each hitching their own goals to the star of peace, disarmament, détente and peaceful coexistence.

Daily World, March 14, 1985

U.S. Imperialism: The Source of the War Danger

Report by William Kashtan, General Secretary
of the Communist Party of Canada

The Second Annual Conference, sponsored by *Communist Viewpoint*, the central theoretical organ of the Communist Party of Canada, was held from February 9 to 10, 1985 in Toronto, Ontario.

The conference dealt with arms reduction and detente. An abridged version of the basic report presented by William Kashtan follows.

This subject matter is of crucial importance. Who is responsible for the present tense international situation, for the arms race, for the danger of nuclear war, a war which could obliterate life on earth? Some people lay the blame for the present situation on the USSR. Others say the USA is to blame. Still others say both are to blame. The people who want peace have to know who threatens peace. Today, it is imperialism, the highest and last stage of capitalism, that is the source of the danger of the nuclear annihilation of humankind.

But though the military defeat of fascism in the Second World War led to the strengthening of the Soviet Union, the emergence of a socialist community of states, the collapse of colonialism, monopoly capitalism was and is still tremendously powerful. As long as this is the case it is clear that the danger of imperialist war will remain a constant threat to the world. Inherent in monopoly capitalism, which is also imperialism, is the drive to war, as well as to the intensification of economic crises, chronic unemployment, poverty and inequality.

As long as imperialism exists the danger of war exists.

Imperialism however has ceased to be a worldwide system, since capitalism and socialism now exist side by side. Not only do they exist side by side, the balance has increasingly shifted in favor of socialism. This has created a new situation in the world.

Some people say that neither socialism nor capitalism can be blamed for the present tense international situation, that the danger of war stems exclusively from the "logic of bloc policy." One bloc does something, the other responds. Then the former responds to that response and so on. How true is this?

There is no doubt that the existence of blocs does give a certain coloring to the course of international life. But it is not so much the blocs themselves, as their *class nature* that determines it all. Take NATO. Its founders explained that it was necessary to rebuff "Soviet aggression." But that was and remains a lie. Over the last few years many secret documents pertaining to the postwar period have been published in the USA. From them it has become clear that during all that time the U.S. actively prepared for a war against the Soviet Union. All these documents containing the plans of war against the USSR indicate that the aim was to destroy the Soviet social system and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The NATO bloc was not created for defense against mythical Soviet aggression, but for the

struggle against socialism and against the progressive forces in the non-socialist world. NATO is a *class organization of imperialism*.

As for the Warsaw Treaty Organization, it came into being *six years after the appearance of NATO* as a response to the latter's creation. The Warsaw Treaty Organization is not a tool of struggle for the division of the world, for colonies or markets. It is only a means of *class defense of the gains of socialism*.

The dominant features of the policies of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization are diametrically opposed, just as their attitudes to the problems of war and peace are diametrically opposed.

Over the more than 200 years since its birth the USA has never been invaded. On the contrary it has acted as an international policeman engaging in intervention and aggression everywhere including its aggression against Vietnam. On the other hand during the 68 years of its existence, the Soviet Union has twice been a victim of imperialist intervention and aggression. It suffered the worst destruction of the Second World War at the hand of Hitler fascism.

Soviet troops have never invaded the USA. But in the early days of Soviet power, the U.S. sent its troops to intervene in the Soviet Union. Since then it has posed a constant threat to the security and territorial integrity of the Soviet Union. Over the past four decades the U.S. has forged various military alliances and established U.S. military bases throughout the world in an attempt to encircle and threaten the Soviet Union. The U.S. and its allies have surrounded the Soviet Union and other socialist countries with military bases and military installations on the territory of more than 30 countries. The Soviet Union, for its part, has undertaken no such activities aimed at encircling and threatening U.S. territory.

The last decades have witnessed a struggle that changed the military and economic balance of forces between capitalism and socialism. The situation in which imperialism dominated the world came to an end, never to return. No matter what American policy-makers do, they will not be able to bring that time back. Through great effort and sacrifice the socialist countries, in the first place the USSR, achieved rough military parity with the USA, and the Warsaw Treaty Pact with NATO. This brought about a new situation in the world. It made it possible to say that world war was not fatally inevitable, that a world nuclear war could be prevented, something which could not be said when imperialism dominated the world. It must also be said that *the*

economic basis for war inherent in the very nature of imperialism still exists. What has changed is not imperialism but the world balance of forces. Imperialism has not lost its aggressiveness, its striving for war and armed conquest. On the contrary, as one can see, it has become more warlike.

It is the U.S. administration which proclaimed the "destruction of the whole structure of socialism" as its main foreign policy aim, organized a "crusade" against the Soviet Union and, declaring it to be the "focus of evil" threatened to throw it into the dust bin of history, to wipe it out.

There is not too much difference between this U.S. crusade against socialism and the crusade undertaken by Hitler fascism against socialism in the 30s. The whole world is witness to the terrible costs paid by humanity for that anti-communist and anti-Soviet crusade which opened the door to the second world war. One should not forget that.

This shift from détente to cold war and military preparations for war was undertaken under the banner of a so-called "Soviet military threat." Under this false banner the U.S. administration undermined East-West relations, accelerated the arms race in its efforts at achieving military superiority and threatened the world with a first strike "winnable" nuclear war. The most aggressive forces in the USA, besides trying to obtain strategic military superiority over the Soviet Union and the socialist community in the military field, are also undertaking an all-out attempt to militarize space. U.S. deployment of Cruise and Pershing II missiles in Western Europe and its Star Wars program are part of its material preparations for nuclear war.

As against this dangerous course of U.S. imperialism the Soviet Union has fought for a policy of peaceful coexistence, of détente and disarmament.

How can any reasonable person say in these circumstances that the USA and the Soviet Union bear equal responsibility for the present tense international situation?

In the socialist countries there are no social groups interested in militarization or in an arms race, in the seizure of foreign territories and resources. There are no calls for war, no proposals for war. The Soviet Union has no need for war to prove its superiority over capitalism. Unlike the USA the Soviet Union does not have a military-industrial complex, an informal association with the owners of war industry allied with the higher echelons of the military and of the state machinery, a complex which reaps huge profits from the arms race.

When the second world war ended the Soviet Union proposed that friendly relations with the U.S. should be preserved. The American government replied with "atomic diplomacy."

The Soviet government proposed a ban on atomic weapons, both when it did not yet have them and after it had developed its own atomic bomb. The U.S. rejected all proposals to ban and destroy atomic weapons.

The Soviet Union has never been the first to introduce a fundamentally new weapon, whereas the U.S. has done this time and again.

The Soviet Union was four years behind the U.S.

in developing the atomic bomb, about five years behind in developing strategic bombers and roughly five years behind in nuclear-powered submarines. The U.S. was the first to begin producing MIRVed missiles (despite proposals and warnings by the USSR), and so on. In 1981 the U.S. flouting universal public protests, launched full-scale production of the neutron bomb, and almost simultaneously of binary chemical weapons.

Thus the Soviet Union has always been forced to react defensively to the aggressive and escalating moves by the USA. The situation is the same today in connection with the deployment of new U.S. medium range nuclear weapons in Europe.

These are the facts. They show that the arms race was initiated by imperialism and is being further accelerated by U.S. imperialism and NATO, not by socialism. The threat of nuclear war comes from U.S. imperialism, not from socialism. History has shown time and again that aggressive wars and the danger of wars come from imperialism.

When examining the question of "equal" and "unequal" responsibility one should analyze and compare the main lines of the international and military policy of the USA and the USSR in the late 70s and early 80s.

It is claimed that the entry of Soviet troops into Afghanistan caused the breakdown of détente.

Here, apart from the substance of the matter, are some chronological factors:

(a) At the end of 1977 the USA announced the forthcoming delivery of the neutron bomb to Western Europe;

(b) NATO Council meeting in Washington in May 1978 passed a decision to increase the military budgets of the NATO countries by at least three per cent annually above the rate of inflation;

(c) NATO's decision in 1979 to deploy 572 medium-range missiles in Western Europe was taken two weeks before Soviet troops entered Afghanistan.

Thus, it was prior to Afghanistan that the USA and its allies carried out at least three major actions undermining détente. After President Reagan became President, the U.S. set a course of sharply increasing military spending, building up armaments, installing medium-range missiles in Europe and now, militarizing outer space.

The history of the medium-range weapons talks in Geneva is a history of concessions and quests for compromise by the Soviet government and of propaganda ruses by the USA.

The Soviet Union pledged not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. In contrast the U.S. government proclaimed the "right" of the USA to a nuclear first strike.

The Soviet military doctrine is defensive, while the nature of the U.S. policy in the sphere of armaments, in particular the deployment of the Pershing II and Cruise missiles shows that the U.S. military doctrine is offensive. This is the case with the U.S. Star Wars program also. This program is not for defense but for offense. It will give the U.S. a first-strike weapon capability without fear of retaliation.

While accusing the Soviet Union of pursuing a policy of "international terrorism" (for its support of liberation movements) the U.S. government is in fact carrying out acts of international terrorism in practice. The list keeps growing — Grenada, Lebanon, Nicaragua, El Salvador, the mining of sea routes, support of the South African government against Namibia, Angola, Mozambique.

Thus, an analysis of the factors and even of the phenomena on the surface show there are no grounds to speak of "equal responsibility" of the USSR and the USA for the deterioration of the international situation. The responsibility for the sharpening of international tensions and threats of nuclear war emanates from the USA.

The Reagan administration has officially confirmed that the USA is not going to renounce the first use of nuclear weapons. They intend to go ahead with various programs for rearming the USA, particularly the manufacture of all types of first-strike missiles. A special Joint Space Command responsible for preparation and use of various weapons in space and from space to earth is being created. This means that despite negotiations with the Soviet Union, the U.S. administration does not intend to change its militaristic policy which creates and aggravates the threat to peace.

NATO moves in a similar direction. This was underscored by the December 1984 Brussels foreign ministers' session of the NATO Council. Not a single concrete proposal for disarmament came from Brussels.

What is increasingly obvious is that, unable to change the alignment of forces by other means, imperialism is now more openly than ever laying stress on armed force.

The policy of "peace through strength" is being maintained.

In contrast to these developments are the consistent positions of the Soviet Union directed to ease international tensions, halt the arms race, ban and destroy nuclear weapons, prevent the militarization of space.

Non-militarization of space would stop a new and extremely dangerous arms race. Renunciation of the first use of nuclear weapons by all nuclear powers could prevent a nuclear war. A freeze of the nuclear arms race at its present level, qualitatively and quantitatively, could be a step forward in the limitation, reduction and final liquidation of nuclear weapons. A total nuclear weapons test ban would place barriers on their qualitative improvement. In sum total the implementation of these Soviet proposals would open the door to an end to the arms race and a transition to disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament.

U.S. imperialism however sees the arms race not only as a means of material preparation for war, but also as an instrument of economic and political pressure on the socialist community of states and on the national liberation and other revolutionary forces in different parts of the world.

The U.S. arms race is also directed against its allies, aimed at undermining their independence and preventing them from asserting foreign policies

commensurate with the national interests of their countries.

A recent example of this was the unilateral decision of the Reagan administration to place nuclear depth bombs on Canadian territory in the event of a nuclear war. Mulroney's smile has not prevented this U.S. assault on Canada's sovereignty. The door was opened by the Liberal and then the Tory government's acquiescence in U.S. Cruise missile testing on Canadian soil. Minister of Defense Robert Coates, has gone a step further and wants Canada to emulate the USA in arms expenditures as the way to economic recovery for Canada!

The policies and practical actions of imperialism, first of all U.S. imperialism, show they are seeking a way out of the crisis gripping the world capitalist system by stirring up international tension and heightening the menace of nuclear war.

The Reagan Administration continues to be oriented on military might as the main weapon of its foreign policy. The U.S. military budget this year will soar to 313 billion dollars compared with 265 billion in 1984, and in the coming five-year period it will total the astronomical figure of more than 2 trillion dollars.

In the 30s German imperialism sought for a way out of the economic crisis through war. It is the same kind of road the most aggressive and reactionary forces of U.S. imperialism are taking today. Capitalist development has reached a stage where the ruling class needs a new great war in order to get rid of surplus labor and surplus capital and in order to create new markets.

The military-industrial complex in the USA has grown to gigantic proportions. It is the source of the reactionary tendencies in home policy in the USA and of its aggressive behavior in the international arena. This force, allied to the military and state apparatus constitutes the most aggressive, reactionary force in the USA. They, together with the financial oligarchy determine the basic foreign policies of the U.S. administration. The military-industrial complex is behind the Star Wars program in which they see endless profits. They aim to use the achievements of laser technology and satellite communications to launch a mammoth project involving the manufacture and deployment of new types of weapons which could ensure the flourishing of the military industry up to the first decade of the 21st century. The cost of such a program in space alone is estimated at about \$500 billion or 150 per cent more than the program of strategic arms modernization. It would include the manufacture of neutron bombs and binary chemical weapons and new types of conventional arms whose destructive power is close to that of nuclear weapons. This would ensure large and constant orders by the Pentagon for the military business.

More and more Canadians now realize that imperialism and the military-industrial complex are the source of wars. But this is not yet the majority view. There are still many Canadians who see the Soviet Union, a socialist country, and U.S. imperialism as equally responsible for the escalation of the arms race. We are also aware that some peace activists,

although they know better, think it a good tactic to go along with the concept of "equal responsibility." In this way, they believe, they can widen the peace movement. However the claim of "equal responsibility" plays into the hands of those who want war. Lack of clarity on this question of the struggle against the real source of the war threat — imperialism — disorients the people and weakens their struggle.

For our part we believe that experience will help Canadians come to the conclusion that U.S. imperialism is indeed the source of the war danger, that the threat to Canada's security does not come from the Soviet Union but from the USA. Fighting this through remains the cardinal ideological task of the Communist Party and of communists active in the peace movement, indeed of all consistent and anti-imperialist forces. But it must be conducted with patience and tact while striving to unite and extend the peace movement so that it becomes the majority movement of the Canadian people.

In Washington a fight is going on between the "hawks" and those who are prepared to listen to the voice of reason. It is too much to expect that the hawks will give up the policy of military superiority and the arms race.

These forces don't exist only in the USA. They exist in Canada also. One should not forget that the Mulroney government has come out in support of the Star Wars program even though militarization of space, no matter how disguised, goes contrary to the interests of strengthening the security of all countries. It has refused to come out in support of a nuclear freeze. It has refused to declare itself in support of non-first use of nuclear weapons. It agrees with continued U.S. weapons testing in Canada. It has maintained silence at a time when it was reported from Washington that U.S. nuclear depth bombs would be placed in B.C. and in Nova Scotia, apparently without the agreement of the Canadian government. This dangerous turn in the foreign policy of the Tory government adds to the threat to humankind.

Tory measures are being sold to the Canadian people on the basis of Canada's membership in NATO. An argument is even advanced that in this way Canada can protect its sovereignty from the

pressures emanating from the USA. The fact is, as events show, that this is a phoney argument. *Canada's sovereignty has been undermined due to membership in NATO and now the arms race undertaken by U.S. imperialism and NATO will undermine Canada's security also.*

The real question which calls for serious examination by all peace forces in Canada is whether to permit Canada to be tied more tightly than ever to the basic economic and foreign policies of the USA through membership in NATO and NORAD, or to strike out on an independent course with an independent foreign policy.

This calls for Canada's withdrawal from NATO and NORAD, for Canada to declare itself a nuclear weapons free zone.

Canada's real interests would be best served by withdrawing from NATO and NORAD.

The present international situation remains complicated. The world is confronted with an unprecedented arms race, with imperialism preparing for a nuclear war. Whether a war will take place or not is today the most burning issue facing humankind. The prevention of nuclear war is everyone's responsibility. No one can sit it out.

Marxists are not fatalists. On the contrary they recognize that the conscious will and organization of the broad masses of the people have the same great impact on deciding the fate of peace as they have on the course of human history in general. In present-day conditions the united struggle of the world forces of peace and their resistance to the plans for a new war are decisive in forcing the aggressors to stop, and in compelling the Reagan administration to return to the course of peaceful coexistence, detente and disarmament.

It is important to bear in mind that the factors which brought about detente in the early 70s continue to operate. Basic to this is the growing strength of the socialist community and with it the military strategic parity achieved at great cost and with great effort by the Soviet Union and the socialist countries. It is this which makes any nuclear war a suicidal act. One must never forget that detente was forced on imperialism, and that the aggressive and war-seeking nature of imperialism has not changed. Therefore detente and peace must be worked and fought for.

While working for unity around these and other issues Marxists link the struggle for peace to the struggle to bring an end to capitalism which is the source of wars. Marxists advance a minimum program of democratic struggle for peace under capitalism but also a maximum program, the recognition that socialism must triumph world-wide in order to eliminate the threat of war once and for all.

In these conditions communists set themselves two inter-related tasks — to bring an end to exploitation and oppression — to help save civilization from the threat of a nuclear holocaust.

Peace and socialism go together.

Imperialism, aggression and war also go together. Imperialism is the source of the war danger.

The U.S. Military-Industrial Complex is a Threat to Peace

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The Philosophy of Imperialist Brigandage

Pravda Editorial

World opinion has been watching with well justified alarm what the U.S. administration has been doing to get a free hand for direct acts of aggression, including armed aggression against the peoples standing up for their right to decide their own historical destiny.

The latest statements by White House representatives and other officials contain especially gross attacks on states and peoples which have taken the way of free and independent development, with attempts to provide all these statements with some kind of "theoretical basis." A speech delivered by U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz in San Francisco is an especially blatant expression of the U.S. administration's aggressive tenets.

Shultz's speech was, in effect, pervaded with hatred for the socialist countries and all the other peoples who have no intention of bending to the diktat of U.S. imperialism, with Shultz sparing no effort to depict the U.S. administration as a "champion of freedom and human rights." He even tried to present the CIA's Somoza mercenaries, the bandits in Afghanistan, the Pol Pot murderers and other counter-revolutionary riff-raff as men who were carrying on the cause of the 18th-century American revolution.

There is every indication that that was done in order to vindicate the "crusade" against the freedom-loving peoples, an idea which some circles in the United States seem determined to put through. Shultz kept making attacks against "national liberation wars," which he himself used in quotation marks, on the plea that such wars were allegedly being carried on for the sake of so-called "socialist internationalism."

The flood of slander addressed to the countries and peoples whose policy counters the U.S. ruling circles' imperialist aspirations was apparently required to suggest the idea that the situation in the world is maturing for the "forces of democracy," as he calls the suppressors of freedom, to go over to a resolute onslaught against the genuine forces of freedom.

Shultz declared that the United States had a "moral duty" to lead the offensive, for it must be the leader of the free world and there was no one else to take its place. It tried to abdicate its leadership, it would create a vacuum that could be filled by its enemies. As a result, U.S. national security would suffer, and its global interests and the struggle for democracy throughout the world would also suffer. That is yet another visual example of how the idea of "U.S. national security" is actually being used to justify evil schemes against the peoples which have decided to be masters in their own house.

Which way would Washington then want to "turn" the people's destinies? That can be judged most clearly from the U.S. attitude to Nicaragua.

That country, whose people have thrown off the blood-stained dictatorship imposed by U.S. bayonets, is being spoken of with unconcealed malice, and no secret of the reasons is being made either. Washington politicians are fearful of the fact that the people of that country have been making rapid advances in consolidating their freedom and independence. The elections held in Nicaragua not long ago — the first free elections in its history — testified that the majority of Nicaraguans firmly support the Sandinist government and its policy, which meets the vital aspirations of the Nicaraguan working people.

U.S. ruling circles are going all out in their efforts to extinguish that beacon of freedom. The CIA and the Pentagon have rallied to the black banner of counter-revolution the remnants of the Somoza gangs and have turned them into a mercenary army, which is drowning in blood the Nicaraguan areas into which it manages to penetrate. U.S. citizens also take part in these bandit actions. Nicaraguan ports are being mined in time of peace.

The Reagan administration, the Nicaraguan government declares, bears direct responsibility for the death of more than 8,000 Nicaraguans, and also for the vast material damage inflicted on the country's economy in the course of the war unleashed by the U.S. administration. According to the politicians in Washington all of that is called "action for freedom"!

Neighboring Honduras, which is crawling with U.S. militarists, has been turned into a bridgehead for armed raids against the freedom-loving country. *The Washington Post* reported a few days ago that the number of U.S. military personnel in Honduras comes to 5,000 during the virtually ceaseless military exercises being staged along Nicaragua's borders, which cost the United States at least \$100 million. According to some estimates, by August 1984, the U.S. administration had spent a total of \$400 million on its aggression against Nicaragua.

But the Sandinist Revolution's stand is firm. In defense of their homeland's honor and liberty, the courageous Nicaraguan people and their army have been beating back the continuous incursions of the CIA mercenaries.

The men in Washington are infuriated. Whereas up to now the aggression against Nicaragua was being justified by the urge to "block" some mythical arms deliveries to the guerrillas of El Salvador, the camouflage has now been discarded as useless. The question of direct armed intervention by the United States in order to overthrow the government of Nicaragua is now being put on the agenda. It is demanded that that country should make — no more and no less — "fundamental changes in its behavior," and the nature of its domestic and foreign policy.

Everyone knows that the Washington politicians are engaged in arms twisting, trying to force their West European allies to deploy the Pershing and Cruise missiles on their territory. The U.S. administration has now got down to a similar "operation" with respect to its own Congress: unless the Congress makes additional appropriations for funding the bands of Nicaraguan "contras," the White House will prepare for other and even more dangerous forms of intervention in the affairs of that country.

It is a matter of "indifference" to the United States, Shultz declared, how the changes in Nicaragua it wants to see are brought about, whether it is as a result of "evolution" of the present government, or as a result of the collapse of the Sandinist regime. By way of example, he referred to the U.S. intervention in Grenada, which was carried out for the purpose of "saving Grenada." At the same time, Shultz significantly declared that the charters of the United Nations and the OAS confirm the inalienable right to individual and collective self-defense against aggression. That's the last straw, as the saying goes: the urge of the people of Nicaragua and other countries for a democratic life in peace is labeled as "aggression," while it is proposed that the armed aggression being prepared by the White House should be regarded as "legitimate," with a justification for it to be found, besides, in the UN Charter, something that would be an outrage upon the Charter.

Not long ago Washington was issuing assurances that it wanted a peaceful settlement of the Central American problems, and that it even supported the "Peace Act" drafted by the Contadora group. Now even that mask has been dropped. To frustrate a political settlement in the region, to unleash a sanguinary war against the people of Nicaragua by any means — such is the true meaning of the line Washington now intends to pursue.

But the appetites of the White House are not confined to Central America. The U.S. Secretary of State proclaimed the "moral right" of the United States to interfere in the internal affairs of the socialist countries. He is trying to cheer up the renegades in these countries, and has even promised them material aid, hypocritically pretending that he knows nothing of the secret CIA operations already being conducted against the socialist countries.

However, it is a vain hope on the part of the men in Washington that the attempt to interfere in the internal affairs of the socialist countries could have the slightest chance of success. The peoples of the socialist community will not allow anyone to encroach on their great gains. Closely united, they are adamantly resolved to repulse any attempts by imperialism on their social system. Their will to stand up for the cause of world peace and international security is just as adamant.

Shultz declares that the United States will never recognize the artificial division into a "free" and an "unfree" Europe, as he put it. What is that but a call to destroy the cornerstones within the foundation of Europe's post-war development?

The true substance of the platform spelled out in the San Francisco speech will become even more obvious if one adds that its author declared as being especially in need of U.S. support such "friendly front-line states" as Honduras, Pakistan and Thailand. It is clear to everyone what role Honduras has been assigned in the schemes of U.S. militarists. But to what kind of "front-line" does Washington intend to lead, say, Pakistan, which is already carrying on an undeclared war against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan? Against whom else?

Such are the "moral principles" being proclaimed by spokesmen of the U.S. ruling circles, and their true content is: international brigandage, state terrorism, and subversive activity against other states and peoples.

The San Francisco speech has reaffirmed that in the U.S. capital there is an obvious overestimation of the USA's potentialities in putting down states and peoples' liberation movements fully determined to advance along the way of real freedom.

It appears to be the assumption in Washington that the United States is above the law, and that, as far as it is concerned, the rules of international law do not exist. Life has repeatedly presented object lessons on where this kind of policy leads. One needs merely recall the lessons of the Second World War, Vietnam, Lebanon, and similar other object lessons.

The peoples of the world will be able to give a fitting rebuff to the imperialist strivings of those who lay claim to world domination.

Pravda, February 28, 1985

The Lessons of Yalta for the New Nuclear Disarmament Talks

Gus Hall, General Secretary,
Communist Party USA

Within days after returning from the Yalta Conference in February 1945, President Roosevelt called a joint session of Congress and declared:

"The Conference in the Crimea (Yalta) was a turning point — I hope in our history and therefore in the history of the world . . . The conference . . . ought to spell the end of the system of unilateral actions,

exclusive alliances . . . and balance of power . . . We propose to substitute for all these a universal organization (the UN) in which all peace-loving nations will finally have a chance to join."

The Yalta Declaration itself concluded:

"The victory in this war, and the establishment of the proposed international organization will provide

the greatest opportunity in all history to create in the years to come the essential conditions of such a peace."

The Yalta agreement was based on the acceptance and recognition of the new reality that there were now two world socio-economic systems, capitalism and socialism. And, thus, there were two options — to live and coexist or to pursue policies of confrontation and war.

The underlying premise accepted at Yalta by all three leaders — Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin — was the concept of peaceful coexistence.

The decision to establish the international organization, now called the United Nations, was seen as the structure for the policies of détente and peaceful coexistence. However, as in most political affairs, this was easier said than done.

To understand the ups and downs of international relations between the socialist and capitalist countries, and especially between the Soviet Union and the United States, we must go back to the 1940s, when Hitler fascism cast its evil shadow over the world.

CAPITALISM VS. SOCIALISM: THE UNDERLYING CONTRADICTION

Most people know that the threat of Hitler fascism became the basis for the anti-fascist alliance. But most don't know that although the alliance was important, it was only a part of the reality of the day.

Although the threat of Hitler Germany's armed forces overshadowed everything else, the old contradiction remained. And, at each turn of events, they surfaced to play their role.

The banks and monopoly corporations of Great Britain feared Hitler Germany. But they were also determined to preserve their colonial empire intact. Churchill was their man.

Increasingly, the U.S. banks and corporations saw Hitler Germany as a danger and realized that if permitted to conquer new territories and build up its armed might, it would become a challenge to the U.S. corporate empires.

The U.S. ruling class saw the war as an opportunity to take over not only the resources and markets of a defeated Germany, Japan and Italy, but also the riches and treasures of the British and French empires. Roosevelt was their man.

But, in all this, the most persistent contradiction that kept raising its ugly head was the inherent, deep-seated antagonism of the capitalist powers toward the relative newcomer on the block, the socialist Soviet Union.

DESTROY SOCIALISM: THE UNDERLYING GOAL

The imperialist powers correctly saw the Soviet Union as their class antagonist — as the working class with political, economic and military power.

In fact, from the day of its birth, the capitalist countries have followed a policy of working to destroy socialism as "an error of history."

Within months of the establishment of socialism in the Soviet Union, 14 capitalist countries, including the United States and Great Britain, invaded the new nation militarily. They failed to "strangle the

baby in its cradle," but they never gave up trying to destroy the Soviet Union.

The practice and policy of blockade, sanctions, provocations and acts of sabotage continue to this day.

HITLER FASCISM ARISES ON THE WORLD SCENE

The rise of fascism — the open, brutal dictatorship of terrorist rule by the most reactionary, chauvinist, militarist and imperialist sector of monopoly capital — added a new dimension to the world scene.

Hitler fascism was the response of German big business to the economic, political and social crisis in capitalist Germany.

Hitler based his policies on chauvinism, anti-Semitism, racism and anti-communism.

But, even before taking power, Hitler stated in *Mein Kampf* that it was his "historic mission" to correct the "error of history" by destroying the socialist Soviet Union.

Because of this public pledge, Hitler Germany received every possible aid and support from Great Britain, France and the United States. They gave loans, economic and military aid. They went all out helping Hitler Germany to prepare for its "historic mission."

APPEASEMENT AND SELL-OUT

This policy of appeasement of fascism continued even after Nazi Germany declared war and went on a rampage, taking over country after country. Among many, the most notorious appeasement was the sellout of Czechoslovakia.

During these critical years, when fascist Germany could have been stopped, when Hitler was in the process of building his armed forces, when the Nazi hordes were invading the smaller European countries, the Soviet Union made proposal after proposal, plea after plea, calling for the U.S., Great Britain and France to join with it in a "collective security" pact to stop Hitler.

Instead of collective security against Hitler the capitalist countries continued to help build Hitler's Nazi war machine and to cover up Hitler's acts of aggression.

The capitalist powers worked for collective security with Hitler against the Soviet Union, instead of with the Soviet Union against Hitler fascism.

COLLECTIVE SECURITY — TOO LATE

Millions of Soviet citizens, U.S., British and French armed forces and millions of Jewish victims of Hitler anti-Semitism would have been saved had the United States, Great Britain and France responded to the Soviet appeal for a joint effort when Hitler continued his aggression. In fact, an early, anti-fascist, collective security front could have prevented World War II.

At the very least, it might have prevented some of the terrible sacrifices the Soviet Union had to make to serve as the bulwark against the Nazi invaders.

Most of the world still doesn't know the extent of the Soviet Union's sacrifices. They lost 20 million people; every Soviet family has suffered a loss.

The Nazis destroyed 1,710 towns and cities, over 70,000 villages, over six million buildings, and made

some 25 million people homeless.

The Hitlerites demolished 31,850 industrial enterprises, 65,000 miles of railway track. They ruined and plundered 98,000 Soviet collective farms and 1,876 state farms, 63 per cent of its coal mines, 58 per cent of its steel-producing facilities, 60 per cent of its aluminum production, 38 per cent of its grain fields. They destroyed 17 million head of cattle and seven million horses.

NAZI WAR MACHINE TURNS ON APPEASERS

As is often the case, as the war widened, events took an unexpected turn. It became clear that fascist Germany had aims way beyond its "historic mission," way beyond the destruction of the Soviet Union.

Its appetite had become voracious, insatiable and now included all of Europe, Asia, Africa, the United States, and in fact, the world.

This threat began to overshadow the other capitalist interests and contradictions. The capitalist countries now agreed with the Soviet Union on collective security.

SECOND FRONT — TRAIL OF BROKEN PROMISES

But, even at this late date, the capitalist powers did not give up the dream of turning Hitler's war machine to the task of "correcting the error of history." So they signed collective security agreements with the Soviet Union, but took no military actions to back them up.

While the Soviet Union's Red Army was engaged in the most fierce battles through 1941-42 and 1943 — without precedent in history, against the total armed might of Hitler Germany — the U.S. and Great Britain made promise after promise to open up a Second Front against Hitler — but kept putting it off.

Historic documents have since revealed that the capitalist powers delayed in opening the Second Front because they were still hoping Hitler Germany would be able to carry out its "historic mission." Or, become so weakened and exhausted it would present no threat to the rest of the capitalist world. And, that in this process, the Soviet Union would also collapse.

It was only when it became clear the Red Army was smashing Hitler's hordes that the allies opened up the Second Front.

But again, even in the midst of armed struggles, the capitalist powers did not give up Hitler's "historic mission." When the Soviet armed forces were locked in massive battles, the U.S. and British representatives were in secret negotiations with Hitler Germany in Geneva, working out a deal whereby the Germans would withdraw their forces from the Southern Front and thus permit the U.S. and British armies to move into Germany to take over without resistance.

In fact, as a result of this betrayal, a number of German divisions were transferred to fight on the German-Soviet front.

COEXISTENCE TO CONFRONTATION

Interestingly, most of these ongoing secret negotiations with fascism were conducted by the notor-

ious Allen Dulles of the CIA.

So it was not totally out of character when President Roosevelt died and Harry Truman became an "accident and error of history" when he declared that the "Russians" would "soon be put in their place," and that the U.S. would then "take the lead in running the world in a way the world ought to be run."

This signaled a reversal in the direction of U.S. foreign policy from peaceful coexistence to a policy of confrontation.

The production of the atom bomb added a new dimension to this change. The new dimension was a policy of "dealing from a position of strength" with the Soviet Union. The Cold War was now the basis of U.S. foreign policy. As then Secretary of State James Byrnes admitted, "The bomb makes it possible to dictate our own terms at the end of the war."

When the war was in its most critical stage, Truman — without even the elementary decency to notify an ally — cut off all shipments of lend-lease equipment to the Soviet Union. He even called back the ships that were already on their way.

FROM "HISTORIC MISSION" TO "MISSION IMPOSSIBLE"

The old saying, "The best laid plans of mice and men often go astray," also applies to history. Looking back, it is clear the real "error of history" was the support to Hitler fascism, and Hitler's "historic mission" became the "mission impossible."

Hitler's dream and the goal of German imperialism was to destroy world socialism and to dominate the world. In this they failed.

The goal of British and French imperialism was also to destroy world socialism, but also to preserve their imperialist empires. In this they failed.

For U.S. imperialism, the aim was to defeat German fascism, but in the process to take over as much as possible of the resources and markets of friend and foe. In fact, U.S. imperialism did take over much of the old colonial empires.

LESSONS OF YALTA

History has decided that not socialism, but fascism was an "error of history."

After the war, much of the world turned to the task of building socialism. Almost all of the countries that were in the grip of the imperialist empires have taken the path of national independence.

In today's world, there are forces, led by the Reagan administration, who have never accepted the Yalta accords, who are working to carry out the "historic mission" of Hitler Germany.

They denounce the Yalta Accords. They would like to return the world to the pre-Yalta "grand old days." They have not yet learned or accepted or accepted the lessons of Yalta. They have not accepted as reality that:

1. The "historic mission" of trying to erase socialism is a "mission impossible."
2. The world revolutionary process, which carries the winds of national liberation and socialism, is history's most inevitable process.
3. The world of today has the same choices that were on the table at Yalta — the path of con-

frontation and aggression, leading toward war, or the path of peaceful coexistence with countries of different social and economic systems. These will be the clear choices in the center of the negotiating table when the new U.S.-Soviet negotiations on nuclear arms reductions get under way.

4. In today's world, the threat that overshadows other contradictions and interests is the threat of nuclear war and world annihilation.

YALTA AND GENEVA — SAME CHOICES

In today's world this threat does not come from Berlin, but from Washington.

As was the case at Yalta, in spite of the differences and contradictions, it is possible to overcome them and sign agreements that will move the world back from the nuclear brink and onto the path of reduction and even elimination of all nuclear weapons — the path of preserving world peace and life on our precious earth.

For the socialist countries there are no contradictions between their interest in foreign relations of peaceful coexistence and the building of socialism. Socialism and peace are in complete harmony.

The Soviet Union did not have such contradictions at the Yalta conference. And the Soviet

Union will not have such contradictions at the coming U.S.-Soviet negotiations at Geneva.

The U.S. delegation had to come to terms with such contradictions at Yalta. The U.S. will have to deal with them again at Geneva.

It is clear the policies of nuclear superiority, nuclear first strike and the nuclear militarization of outer space are in sharp contradiction to any concept of stopping the nuclear arms race, of nuclear arms reduction agreements.

Whether the threat of a nuclear winter and strong public opinion will cast a strong enough shadow to influence the U.S. negotiating team to give up its "historic mission" of nuclear superiority over the Soviet Union and to seriously negotiate a nuclear arms agreement — only time will tell.

The challenge to the Geneva negotiations will be to bring up to date and extend the concepts that shaped the Yalta Accords.

A nuclear arms treaty between the United States and Soviet Union, a treaty to preserve world peace and stop the insane arms race, would, indeed, be a fitting salute to the 40th anniversary of the defeat of fascism.

Daily World,
February 7, 1985

Frustrate the Reagan Administration's Dangerous Schemes in Central America and the Caribbean

Statement by the World Peace Council

In the light of the increasingly aggressive statements and moves of the U.S. government and its plans of armed invasion of Nicaragua, the World Peace Council calls on all its national committees, international democratic organizations and international public opinion to redouble their efforts in asserting their solidarity with the people of Nicaragua.

The presence of thousands of U.S. troops taking part in the instigative military exercises in Honduras, in the immediate vicinity of Nicaragua's borders, and of the battleship Iowa lying at anchor at Puerto Limon, Costa Rica, and armed with nuclear weapons, a fact condemned by the Costa Rica Legislative Assembly, is further proof of broadening aggression and of the possibility of armed intervention against Nicaragua.

President Reagan's statements calling for the overthrow of the Sandinist government, the first government democratically elected by the Nicaraguan people in the nation's history, as well as the pressure brought to bear on the U.S. Congress to secure resumption of assistance to the counter-revolutionaries and mercenaries incessantly attacking Nicaragua — all this confirms the criminal intentions of the U.S. administration with regard to Central

America and the Caribbean.

Public opinion in Latin America is outraged at Reagan's irresponsible statement likening counter-revolutionary gangs to Simon Bolivar the Liberator; this not only demonstrates unheard-of ignorance of history and politics but is also an insult to the memory of a great son of Latin America and the Caribbean.

Escalation of aggressive moves by the United States against Nicaragua may lead to unpredictable consequences for peace in the region and in the world. To denounce these aggressive moves against Nicaragua means to fight for peace at a time when humankind faces the threat of extermination in a nuclear catastrophe, and especially in case the "Star Wars" plans announced by Reagan are realized.

All our national committees and champions of peace throughout the world must mobilize to broaden the campaign of solidarity with Nicaragua. We must use every means available to prevent an armed intervention against Nicaragua which would be a calamity not only for the Nicaraguan people but also for the people of the United States.

To frustrate the Reagan administration's dangerous schemes in Central America and the Caribbean means to fight for peace.

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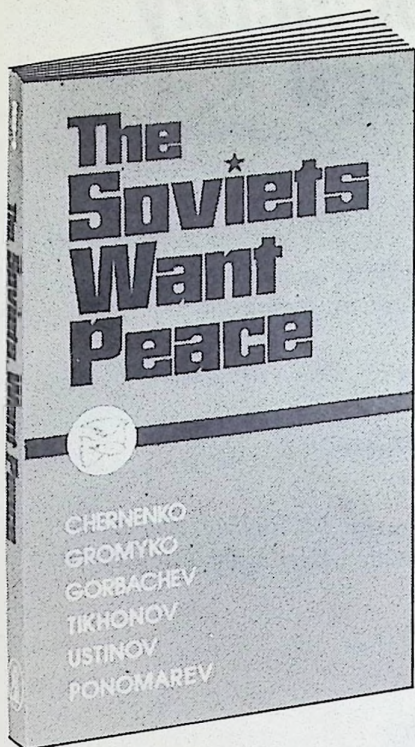
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