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In the Atmosphere of Friendship and Fraternity

Jambyn Batmuh, General Secretary of the MPRP CC, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Mongolian People's Republic, was in the Soviet Union on a working visit from October 25 to 27, 1984, at the invitation of the CPSU CC and the Soviet government.

On October 26, the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet government gave a dinner in the Grand Kremlin Palace in honor of Jambyn Batmuh.

Konstantin Chernenko, General Secretary of the CPSU CC, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, made a speech at the dinner. Jambyn Batmuh made a speech in reply.

Konstantin Chernenko's Speech

Dear comrade Batmuh,
Dear comrades and friends,

Allow me, on behalf of the Soviet leadership, heartily to greet comrade Batmuh, General Secretary of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party CC, Chairman of the MPR Council of Ministers, and all the Mongolian comrades present here.

We welcome you, dear comrades, as old and proven friends. For more than six decades now the peoples of our countries have been working together for a better future, for socialism. The foundation of our friendship is reliable and sturdy. It was laid by Vladimir Lenin and Sukhe-Bator.

The joint feats of the sons and daughters of the Soviet and Mongolian peoples in the battles at Khalkin Gol and in the struggle against Japanese militarism during the Second World War are unfading symbols of fraternity. The Soviet and Mongolian peoples have been maintaining and building up this friendship.

It is gratifying to see that cooperation between our countries is constantly expanding and deepening. The talks just held are also evidence of this.

The Mongolian people are on the eve of a great and glorious anniversary. Sixty years ago, inspired by the Great October Revolution and relying on the fraternal alliance with Soviet Russia's proletariat, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party embarked on a course of developing its country along a non-capitalist path. You were the first in humanity's history to pave that way and you have successfully coped with your difficult mission.

Today Mongolia is an advanced Asian state with a dynamically developing economy and culture, a full-fledged member of the socialist family of peoples. Her example is particularly valuable for the many developing countries which have taken the road of progress and independence.

The road to socialism, especially in a once economically backward country, cannot be easy or smooth. Problems crop up for which there are not cut-and-dried solutions. Comrade Batmuh stated this frankly and with party conviction at the extraordinary plenary meeting of the MPRP CC.

We are gratified that the working people of fraternal Mongolia are striving hard to increase work efficiency, achieve steady progress in agriculture, develop industry and raise the living and cultural standards of the people. We wish you, comrade Batmuh, a man with rich experience in party and state work, to whom the communists and all working people of the Republic have entrusted the highest

party and state posts, great success in the work for socialist Mongolia's further progress.

In their creative work our Mongolian friends can, as before, rely on support from the fraternal countries. This was reiterated at the CMEA economic summit. Socialist economic integration opens before Mongolia broad vistas of progress. As far as our party and the Soviet people are concerned, we will continue to give every possible fraternal assistance to our Mongolian friends.

Comrades, I think that I will not be mistaken in saying that the most cherished desire of the Soviet and Mongolian peoples, in common with the peoples of all countries of the socialist community, is to devote ourselves entirely to peaceful creative labor. But this is hampered by the dangerous policy of the most reactionary imperialist quarters and the arms race that they have been stepping up. We cannot relax vigilance or disregard what is a real threat to our countries' security.

Banking on a policy of force, the United States declares ever more parts of the world, including the Far East, Southeast Asia, the Pacific and Indian Oceans, zones of its "vital interests." The build-up of U.S. military and strategic means in proximity to the USSR's Far Eastern borders is continuing. Military cooperation between the USA, Japan and South Korea is expanding, the aim being to create a kind of eastern branch of NATO. A course toward reviving Japanese militarism is being pursued. A tense situation persists in other areas of Asia as well.

Is it possible to extinguish the seats of conflict on the Asian continent, stave off dangerous developments in the world arena and return them to the path of peace and détente? The Soviet Union and other socialist states answer this question in the affirmative.

The socialist states have put forward a number of major proposals to strengthen the peace and security of peoples, including those of Asia. The Soviet proposal on confidence-building measures in the Far East and the Pacific and Indian Oceans still holds good. Of great significance in this respect is the MPR's proposal to draw up a convention on mutual non-aggression and non-use of force in relations between the countries of Asia and the Pacific.

We value the MPR's contribution to the struggle for peace and security and its practical steps to develop confidence, good-neighborliness and cooperation on the Asian continent. The Soviet Union supports the constructive program of Vietnam, Laos

and Kampuchea to turn Southeast Asia into a zone of peace and stability and start a dialogue between the countries of Indochina and the ASEAN states. The government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has realistic proposals to ensure security and a peaceful settlement on the Korean Peninsula, once there is a U.S. troop withdrawal.

A normalization of relations between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China would help to better the situation on the Asian continent. This is particularly important now that the imperialists are pooling their efforts in the fight against socialism, the situation in the world has become

Jambyn Batmuh's Speech

Dear comrade Chernenko,
Dear Soviet friends, comrades,

I express my heartfelt gratitude for the warm and cordial welcome and hospitality accorded to us.

Dear Konstantin Ustinovich, I wish to thank you wholeheartedly for your kind words about our country and the Mongolian people. They truly please and inspire us. Thank you very much indeed.

My visit to the Soviet Union and the meetings and talks with party and state leaders have been taking place in an atmosphere typical of Mongolian-Soviet relations. It is the atmosphere of friendship and fraternity, complete mutual understanding and the most profound trust. It is the identity of aims and interests and a mutual desire to strengthen and deepen close and all-round cooperation.

It is in this spirit that we discussed the state of and prospects for the broad spectrum of Mongolian-Soviet relations: in politics, ideology, the economy, culture, defense and participation in international affairs.

I would like to note with deep satisfaction that the relations of friendship and close fraternal cooperation between the MPR and the USSR are developing successfully and are steadily advancing. They embrace practically all spheres of social life and convincingly demonstrate their vast creative force.

We rightly call fraternal friendship between the Mongolian and Soviet peoples Leninist friendship. We Mongolians were lucky that Lenin, the brilliant leader of the world proletariat, pioneered the class-based alliance between the MPRP and the CPSU and that the foundations of the unbreakable friendship and brotherhood of our two peoples were laid with his direct participation. The alliance and cooperation between our countries are deep and indestructible. For the Mongolian people they are a norm of life, the realization of their dearest wishes and an expression of their sincere aspirations.

The Mongolian people are truly proud of their friendship with the great Soviet people and highly value it. They consider it their primary internationalist duty to cherish Mongolian-Soviet friendship and augment its glorious traditions.

In exactly a month we will celebrate the glorious anniversary of the third congress of the MPRP, which fixed our general course toward the country's non-capitalist development, and the 60th anni-

tense and the war danger is growing. Under such conditions the socialist countries must take clear class positions in international affairs.

As far as the Soviet Union's policy is concerned, we consistently implement the fundamental line of the 26th congress of the CPSU, invariably seeking to improve relations with the PRC and taking suitable steps in this direction. We always keep the door open to constructive talks with China.

Dear Mongolian friends, on the eve of your great holiday we wish you and all the working people of fraternal Mongolia fresh achievements in socialist construction.

versary of the proclamation of Mongolia as a people's republic.

Thanks to the selfless and creative work of the Mongolian people, the correct policy of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and the internationalist assistance and support from the Land of Soviets, socialism has become a reality on ancient Mongolian soil.

I am truly happy to use this opportunity once again to express on behalf of the Mongolian working people our deep heartfelt gratitude to the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR government and all Soviet people for their invariable assistance and support to our country in the building of socialism.

I would like to express our satisfaction with the fact that today's meetings and talks in the Kremlin reconfirmed our common resolve to continue doing everything to strengthen and broaden the friendship and fraternal relations between the Mongolian and Soviet peoples and the close alliance between our Marxist-Leninist vanguards, the MPRP and the CPSU.

I am confident that the results of our meetings and talks with Soviet leaders will undoubtedly give a fresh impetus to the further deepening and enhancement of the effectiveness of fraternal cooperation between the Mongolian People's Republic and the Soviet Union and will have a favorable impact on Mongolian-Soviet relations as a whole.

Dear Konstantin Ustinovich,

Dear comrades and friends,

The peoples of Mongolia, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are living, constructing and struggling in a world situation which remains very complicated and tense.

Everybody knows well the causes of this. There is no need to prove that the aggressive, adventurist policy of the USA and its allies has dangerously aggravated the situation in the world and increased the threat of nuclear war hanging over humanity.

The current Washington administration aims to check humanity's progressive development, "roll back" and eliminate socialism as a social system and dictate its will to the peoples of the Earth. To this end the United States is launching new, dangerous rounds of the arms race, including the militarization of outer space, and is bent on changing in its favor the existing military-strategic parity between the Soviet Union and the USA.

But these plans of imperialism are doomed. No

one can stop the course of world history. The economic and defense might of the Soviet Union, the unity and cohesion of the socialist community countries, and the struggle of millions of people of all countries for peace are a firm barrier in the way of the warhawks' adventurist ploys.

We are deeply convinced that the military-strategic balance between the Soviet Union and the USA, between world socialism and imperialism must not and will not be changed in favor of the vile forces of imperialism and reaction.

In the present complicated international situation there is no task more important than that of struggling persistently to maintain and strengthen peace and avert the danger of nuclear war.

The Soviet Union and the socialist countries oppose the militaristic policy of the USA and its allies with the Leninist policy of peace, a policy imbued with a sincere desire to ensure the primary right of the peoples — the right to peace, to a peaceful life under the sun of freedom and happiness.

It is precisely this noble striving that prompted the Soviet Union's historic decision not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. The peace initiatives and proposals of the USSR and the other fraternal countries are geared to these objectives. They show the only practical way to a radical improvement of the international situation, the curbing of the arms race and the prevention and elimination of the war danger.

The Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and the MPR government completely support the Soviet Union's peace initiatives and proposals, which express the aspirations of the peoples of the world.

The Mongolian People's Republic is fully determined to go on contributing as much as it can to the common struggle of the socialist countries for peace and universal security and actively to help realize the objectives and tasks of our joint peace program.

At our meetings in the Kremlin today we, for understandable reasons, paid special attention to the problems of Asia.

In the last few years the forces of imperialism and reaction have greatly stepped up their activity there.

The situation in Asia and the world as a whole is being seriously complicated and poisoned by the intrigues of the USA and its allies aimed to create on the continent a new nuclear-missile springboard against the Soviet Union and against other socialist states.

With Washington's direct encouragement, the forces of militarism are being revived, the arms race is being intensified and tension is growing in different areas and regions of the continent.

Asia was the first continent to experience the horrors of a nuclear explosion.

The present complex situation demands that each Asian state take a responsible approach to the fate of peace and search untiringly for ways to strengthen all-Asian security.

Our thorough exchange of opinions today has again demonstrated that the Soviet Union and the Mongolian People's Republic are at one in their desire to do everything necessary to preserve and strengthen peace and ensure stability and security in Asia and the Far East. Our countries vigorously advocate the development of relations of good-

neighborliness and cooperation with all countries of the continent, the building of trust between them and the solution of disputes by peaceful means.

The Soviet proposal to work out confidence-building measures in the Far East is of ever greater importance. The proposals of the socialist countries of Indochina were also prompted by concern for peace and stability.

The MPR's proposal on the creation of an instrument to exclude aggression and the use of force in relations between the countries of Asia and the Pacific serves the same objectives as the constructive proposals of the Soviet Union and the fraternal countries of Asia.

A normalization of relations between the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, on the one hand, and the People's Republic of China, on the other, would undoubtedly have a positive impact on the situation in Asia. We welcome the new round of talks on the normalization of relations between the USSR and the PRC. As regards the Chinese demands which effect the interests of third countries, including Mongolia, our government has repeatedly spelled out its principled position on this matter. It is the demand that the Soviet troops stationed in Mongolia on a temporary basis at the request of our government should be withdrawn. This question is not and should not be a subject of Soviet-Chinese negotiations. Equally, it cannot be an obstacle to normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations.

Dear comrades,

The communists and all working people of socialist Mongolia are truly pleased with and warmly hail the stupendous achievements made by the Soviet people in the building of communism. Your attainments in the strengthening of the country's economic and defense might, in the development of science and technology and in the raising of the people's well-being increase the appeal and authority of world socialism and are a decisive factor of peace and international security.

We sincerely wish the heroic Soviet people new big successes in communist construction and in the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress of the peoples and the removal of the threat of a thermonuclear catastrophe.

Pravda, October 27, 1984

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Making Every Effort to Strengthen the Peace Front

Joint Press Release of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany
and the Communist Party of Belgium

On October 26, 1984, a delegation of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany led by Hermann Axen, Political Bureau member and CC Secretary, SUPG, and Louis Van Geyt, Chairman of the Communist Party of Belgium, as well as other members of the CPB leadership, completed an exchange of views and information in Brussels. The consultations, which proceeded in a spirit of fraternal unity, centered on the struggle of both parties to help safeguard peace, limit armaments and bring about disarmament.

The representatives of the two parties were at one in holding that the more aggressive circles in the USA and NATO have created a very grave threat of nuclear war by seeking military superiority.

Arrogantly ignoring public opinion, these circles wrested from many European members of NATO a decision to deploy missiles, thereby setting off a new escalation in nuclear arms.

In these circumstances, both parties consider that the most pressing task now is to eliminate the war menace, prevent a worsening of the international situation and revert to disarmament and détente.

Both parties confirm that there is no reasonable alternative to the policy of peaceful coexistence and constructive dialogue. Both are convinced that there are prerequisites for the communists, socialists, Christians and other democratic and realistic-minded forces to stop the arms race by joint efforts and bring about a healthy international climate. Both parties will make every effort to strengthen the broad front of peace forces, a worldwide coalition of reason and realism.

The SUPG and CPB are of the opinion that concluding a treaty on reciprocal non-use of armed force and the maintenance of peaceful relations between WTO and NATO countries, staving off the militarization of space, freezing nuclear armaments qualitatively and quantitatively, creating in Europe

zones and corridors free from theater nuclear weapons, and banning chemical weapons in Europe and throughout the world would in the present situation have a tangible positive effect on international developments, which would be in keeping with the aims of the worldwide peace movement and with the aspiration of all peoples for a peaceful future.

Both parties believe that it is necessary to provide the prerequisites for resuming talks on the maintenance of the military balance at an ever lower level and on the subsequent removal of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction.

Hermann Axen pointed out that the proposals of the socialist community countries, particularly the recent four proposals for talks made to the USA by Konstantin Chernenko, offer a constructive basis for agreement on arms limitation and disarmament, especially in the nuclear sphere.

For his part, Louis Van Geyt stressed the significance of the initiatives of small and medium European countries belonging to one of the two military organizations, as well as those of neutral and non-aligned countries, which call for a freeze on all nuclear weapons as a contribution to new talks on nuclear disarmament.

The Belgian participants in the consultations spoke highly of the initiatives of Erich Honecker and the government of the GDR aimed at creating a zone free from theater nuclear weapons in Europe, and of their efforts toward removing the danger of a nuclear war starting from German soil.

Hermann Axen spoke of the impressive results of the 35-year development of the GDR, of the republic's advances in every field. He set out the policies and activities of the GDR aimed at preserving durable peace and ensuring that no war starts from German soil ever again.

Louis Van Geyt spoke of the situation of the CPB and its struggle against the government and the big employers, who are pushing for a reduction of jobs and a lowering of the living standard under the guise of restructuring the economy to end the crisis of the capitalist system. The CPB champions a progressive alternative based on safeguarding the interests of all working people. At the same time it takes initiatives and joins in actions against the deployment of new U.S. first-strike weapons in Belgium and for a foreign policy meeting the interests of Belgium's national security.

The SUPG and CPB agreed on steps to further their fraternal cooperation on the basis of international solidarity.

Neues Deutschland,
October 30, 1984

The Indian Economy

A. I. Medovoy

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PROGRESS BOOKS

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Billions for Armaments: A Back-Breaking Burden

Resolution of a CC Plenary Meeting, Communist Party of Austria

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Austria held its fifth plenary meeting in Vienna on October 22 and 23, 1984. CPA Chairman Franz Muhri submitted a report on current home and foreign policy problems and the tasks facing the party.

The CC identified itself with the workers of the Steyr company, who are fighting against plans for cuts in production laid by the management, the Kreditanstalt bank and the government, as well as with the employees of several other enterprises fighting for the preservation of jobs.

With reference to the elections in the Vorarlberg and Carinthia provinces as well as to the municipal elections in Salzburg and the elections for production councils held in recent weeks, the CC thanked party activists for the work done by them. The meeting called on all communists and sympathizers to attend a peace rally to be held in Linz on October 28.

CC Secretary Karl Reiter submitted a report on the 1985 work plan.

The CC passed a special resolution (its text follows) against the government's decision to purchase interceptor fighters.

The Central Committee of the CPA protests the decision of the government to equip the Austrian armed forces with new interceptor fighters ("patrol planes"). At a time when one package of measures aggravating the working people's condition follows another and when added value tax is growing while allowances for the newborn are cut and the pension system is deteriorating, the working population of our country refuses to accept the allocation of billions for the purchase of new planes.

Every schilling spent on armaments is taken from funds needed for the creation of jobs, social security, environmental protection and culture.

The purchase of interceptor fighters serves to tie Austria still more closely to NATO concepts. Hence it is a measure injuring Austria's neutrality and affecting its authenticity. Austria needs no interceptor fighters as a means of asserting its identity.

An active policy for peace and determined resistance to every attempt to hitch Austria to the U.S. policy of confrontation is a most important factor for

defending the independence, sovereignty and neutrality of our country. In line with the principles of active neutrality, the Federal government should see its task in rejecting any attempt to subordinate the country to the U.S. policy of confrontation.

To win greater leverage as a factor for détente, our country needs active efforts by all its patriots for disarmament and peace.

The communists' attitude to the Federal army is conditioned by their allegiance to the ideals of democracy, independence and neutrality and to the State Treaty, and by their appreciation of the vital need to fight for worldwide détente and disarmament.

The Central Committee urges all communists, all our friends and all supporters of progress to join in the rally of the peace movement to be held in Linz on October 28, 1984 under the slogans "Against nuclear missiles in Europe", "Against the militarization of outer space" and "Against the purchase of interceptor fighters." *Volksstimme*, October 24, 1984

The Equal and Constructive Relations between the USSR and USA

Konstantin Chernenko Answers the Questions of NBC Correspondent Marvin Kalb

Question: What do you believe should be first on the agenda of Soviet-U.S. relations, especially following President Reagan's re-election?

Answer: The task is not one of establishing a formal order of priorities or arranging a sequence of issues, depending on events. Of course, there are many problems in the world, but life itself and the development of the international situation in recent years have brought to the fore questions which, if not resolved through joint effort, could turn into a great calamity both for the United States and the Soviet Union, and for all humanity.

I have in mind the problem which, it may be said, overshadows all others, that is — how to avert the threat of a nuclear war, find ways to stop the arms

race, and create a situation in the world in which the peoples would have no fear of tomorrow. Delay is inadmissible in this endeavor.

There is a dangerous fallacy in some Western capitals that the stockpiling of mountains of weapons can ensure security. This did not stand to reason in the past, and is quite untenable and absurd in the nuclear age.

All of us live on the same planet or, as they say, in a common home. Care must be taken to ensure that there are as few explosives as possible in this home of ours.

It is on this — the limitation and reduction of arms, nuclear arms above all, and prevention of the spread of the arms race into new areas — that the USSR and

the U.S. should reach agreement in the first place.

For our part we are prepared to work, and to work vigorously, toward that end. Moreover, we have proposed practical, I emphasize, practical ways to achieve this objective.

I mentioned some of them in my recent interview with *The Washington Post*, namely, the conclusion of an agreement preventing the militarization of outer space, a quantitative and qualitative nuclear weapons freeze and completion of the work on an agreement providing for a complete and general ban on nuclear weapon tests.

One could, of course, continue the list of possible steps to strengthen stability and security. I mentioned the matters which are urgent and, in our view, objectively the ones that are most easily resolvable.

If the statements which Washington has of late been making about a desire to resolve the questions of arms limitation do not remain mere words, we could, at last, start moving toward more normal relations between our two countries and toward a more secure world. To put it briefly, what is necessary is for the USA to join us in the search for practical solutions to concrete problems.

Question: Would you agree to meet with President Reagan to discuss Soviet-U.S. relations within six months after the start of his second term on January 20, 1985?

Answer: I have already had occasion to express clearly my view that personal contacts between state leaders are important.

In fact, the experience of Soviet-U.S. relations confirms this. A summit meeting can give a powerful impetus to the constructive development of mutual relations if such a meeting results in achieving major, clearly-defined goals.

Can it be said that the conditions are ripe for a Soviet-U.S. summit to yield the expected results? Frankly, I do not think so.

When there is confidence with regard to the success and positive results of a summit, it will not be difficult to set a date for such a meeting.

Question: Do you believe that it will ever be possible to return to the détente of the 1970s in Soviet-U.S. rela-

tions as a guiding framework? Or, is a new framework necessary; and, if so, what might it be?

Answer: Let me put it this way. It was precisely in the 1970s that the joint efforts of our two countries made possible for the first time a major breakthrough in the resolution of what had seemed to be an impossible task — nuclear arms limitation and reduction. It was at that time that the U.S. and the USSR cooperated well in solving some international problems. All this taken together had a very positive effect on the world situation as a whole.

Much was done also in the area of Soviet-U.S. bilateral relations proper, to the benefit of both sides. As a result there was a considerable increase in the degree of mutual trust.

What was it that permitted the taking of the steps which to a large extent made possible the relaxation of international tension that was a feature of the 1970s? The main thing was the realization that the arms race could not ensure the security of either side and a readiness actually to build relations on the basis of equality, with due account of each other's legitimate interests and without prejudice to the interests of third countries.

We are convinced that there can be no other rational basis for the relations between the USSR and the USA if one looks to peaceful coexistence and not to confrontation. If both sides consistently proceed from this — and the Soviet Union does precisely that — there will be a constructive development of Soviet-U.S. relations. These relations must become an important positive factor in the world situation. I say this bearing in mind our countries' special responsibility for the preservation of peace.

That kind of relationship between our countries would, among other things, open broad possibilities for cooperation between the USSR and the USA in the resolution of the global problems presently of concern to all humanity, such as, for example, the famine relief effort in some areas of the world and environmental protection.

Pravda, November 18, 1984

Firm Resistance to the Insane Arms Race and Militarization: A Vital Cause of the Working Class

Extracts from a Report to the the GCP Workers' Congress on Peace and Labor presented by Herbert Mies, Chairman of the German Communist Party.

Dear colleagues, dear comrades,

"Safeguarding peace and creating new jobs are two sides of one coin," said Heinz Lukrawka, member of the GCP Board, Chairman of the General Production Council of the Foundries of August Thyssen Hutte, speaking to a peace rally in Bonn, "both tasks demand greater commitment." Safeguarding peace and creating jobs were the purpose of the human chain that stretched from the labor exchange in Duisburg to Hasselbach, a missile deployment site, and other actions for peace and labor as well as the mass rallies that took place in

Bonn, Hamburg and Stuttgart on October 20 and showed the peace movement and the movement for jobs converging with it to be the strongest popular movement of our times.

Indeed, peace and employment are the most burning problems of our country today. To help safeguard peace, bring about the creation of new jobs and proceed in a spirit of solidarity are the most important tasks currently facing the working class and the working class movement. We communists have said before and say again here that we want the Federal Republic to become a country which its

RETURN TO THE POLICY OF DETENTE

working people could justly call their homeland, a country really serving peace. To make the Federal Republic a country of peace, the workers must participate in production management and decision-making. To make the Federal Republic a country of full employment, workers and their unions must have more say. To safeguard peace and win new jobs, it is necessary to fight in a spirit of solidarity.

TOWARD CLASS SOLIDARITY

We identify ourselves with all who are now fighting for their social rights and social emancipation: with the 3,000 steelworkers who are threatened with dismissal should Krupp and Klockner merge into the biggest steel corporation of the Federal Republic; with the ARBED steelworkers, who dread day after day a complete breakdown of ARBED-Saar-Stahl GmbH, the Volklingen company; with the millions of jobless people, foreign workers and Berufsverbot victims; with the British miners, the copper miners of Chile, the workers of El Salvador and Nicaragua. We also identify ourselves with the builders of the Baikal-Amur Railroad, the workers of the GDR and those of other socialist countries, who are engaged in perfecting their new society.

Dear colleagues, dear comrades,

Great credit is due to the Peace Autumn 84 campaign for pointing once again to the danger threatening our country and, indeed, the world due to the deployment of U.S. nuclear missiles. The appearance of these missiles in the Federal Republic is a fact undermining peace. They are fraught with the danger of war starting again from German soil.

STRENGTHEN THE FRONT AGAINST THE ARMS RACE

In addition to this immeasurable danger, the working people's lives are threatened more and more by the insane arms build-up. Every mark added to the military budget means that one mark less will be spent on social needs. The manufacture of every Tornado plane means throwing away money enough to create 1,000 new jobs. This makes combining the social struggle with the fight for peace a decisive issue, and nobody associated with the working class movement has a right to ignore it.

Bonn's new decisions on stepped-up militarization show how very urgent this fight is. It has been announced that about 1,000 billion marks will be spent on the arms race between now and the year 2000. The Federal government has decided to extend the call-up period to 18 months so as to keep the strength of the Bundeswehr at 500,000.

In this situation we the communists say that it is a vital cause of the working class to take a firm stand against the insane arms race and militarization. It is imperative to counter the plans of Hardthohe (headquarters of the Defense Ministry. — *Ed.*) with the common demands of the working class and peace movement: Jobs instead of missiles! Out with the Pershing II and Cruise missiles! Set up nuclear-free zones!

— Stop military spending. Leave the call-up period at 15 months.

— Conclude NATO-WTO treaties on disarmament to prevent increased military spending and a longer call-up period.

These priority demands of ours are in the interest of safeguarding peace. Our aspiration for lasting peace, our realization of the absence of a reasonable alternative to peaceful coexistence and the indisputable fact that 500,000 jobs in our country have been preserved thanks to economic cooperation with the socialist community countries induce us to declare that we stand for a return to the policy of détente. We insist on strict adherence to the treaties signed with socialist countries and call for more extensive economic relations with them. We stand for making the USA hold substantive disarmament talks. We declare for a businesslike and fair dialogue between the party and government leaderships of socialist countries, on the one hand, and the governments and social forces of capitalist countries, including the Federal Republic, on the other.

OUR COUNTRY IS NOT A 51ST STATE

There is a further point. When a section of the Federal Republic's export industry is pressured by the USA, policy is geared to boycott and embargo, to forgoing its own interests and when the so-called COCOM, on which the Pentagon calls the tune, rules more and more frequently what may or may not be sold to socialist countries, we feel like shouting: "Our country is not a 51st state of the USA!"

How far we succeed in foiling the plans of the more reactionary and aggressive sections of the ruling class, which persist in rapid arms build-up and militarization, will depend on the resistance put up by the working class. That is why the working class must not count on arms manufacture and arms race, for they are endangering life itself and leading to the elimination of jobs. It also explains why the working class movement should establish still closer unity with the peace movement. This applies to the trade unions, the SDP and our own party. Representatives of the political and trade union movement would do well to help strengthen the peace movement not only on parallel lines and independently of each other but jointly as well. This would add vigor to peace actions in factories and help their peace initiative groups. Building up these groups is a unique key to the further strengthening of the entire peace movement, above all to its unity with the working class movement.

We must make it clear to the workers that what is spent on missiles and their deployment or on conventional armaments in our country is lost for the struggle against mass unemployment, for the creation of new jobs and apprenticeships. The need to closely link the demand for the implementation of employment programs, cuts in working time and the creation of apprenticeships with the demand for an end to growing armaments and for disarmament has never been so obvious as today.

This is why we present the following demands to the Federal government:

— a reasonable employment program instead of more and more billions for armaments;

— a vocational training program and a law on apprenticeships for youth instead of extending the call-up period;

— an end to the arms build-up instead of a freeze on wages.

Unlike the SDP, which only wants a "redistribution of jobs," the CDU, which counts on the "self-healing forces" of the capitalist market, or the Greens, who have no coherent concept at all of how to end mass unemployment, the GCP stands firm on its goal, the struggle for full employment in the Federal Republic. We know very well that the capitalist system cannot guarantee real full employment. This can only be done under socialism. But we are consoling nobody by talking about the future. We are fighting here and now. This is why we insist on our priority demand, namely, that 50 billion be allocated for an employment program and a 35-hour work-week introduced without pay cuts.

To make the fight against unemployment a cause of all workers and other working people and learn the lessons of the struggle of the steelworkers and the workers at Hoesch (Dortmund), Monninghoff (Hattingen), HDW (Hamburg), Voith (Bremen) and many other enterprises, it is essential to realize that in defending jobs the working class movement must count on the class struggle.

What factory staffs need is consistency in the effort of production councils and steps to strengthen unitary trade unions. The working people do not need Rappe's* "big coalition" but real participation in management; they need economic and social councils at the regional and Federal level, which all trade unions have long been demanding.

THE SWING TO THE RIGHT CAN BE STOPPED

The activity of representatives of the working population on the proposed councils should be aimed at restricting through these bodies the influence of employers' chambers and the power of big capital in the economic sphere and at imposing greater attention to the needs of employees.

The fight against the swing to the right is likewise aimed at improving conditions in this way. The policy of swinging to the right has exacted a high price from the workers. Toughened terms of granting relief to jobless and disabled people and cuts in aid to youth, social grants and allowances for invalids have worsened the condition of many.

The swing to the right can be stopped and there are many examples of confirming this. Evidence of it is the partial success of the printers and metalworkers and the fact that warning strikes have been recognized as legal; the communal elections held in North Rhine-Westphalia proved this. Action Week Against the Right (November 24–December 1, 1984), to be pivoted on the unity of action of young workers' organizations, can and should score a success in the fight against the dismantling of social benefits by the right. This campaign merits the solidarity of the whole working class movement and we urge its support.

This year's spring and summer will go down in the history of our country as a period rich in struggles. Like the smelters in 1978–1979 and the printers and

metalworkers, who in 1984 fought for a 35-hour week without pay cuts, the whole working class has gained instructive experience. The chief lesson is that the contradiction between labor and capital is insurmountable.

GET CORRUPT POLITICIANS OUT

The contradiction between the people's democratic and social aspirations, on the one hand, and the abuse of private ownership of the means of production, criminal utilization of the state in the interest of capital, of its drive for profit, on the other, leaps to the eye. Let anyone who wants proof of this look at the case of Flick. Should anybody ask us now what state monopoly capitalism is, we would answer: it is what the case of Flick has revealed. Of course, the scandalous substance of the case is corruption involving Lambsdorff, Barzel and many other politicians. Corrupt politicians must go. Barzel was dropped but nobody would be angry with Kohl if he also drew proper conclusions. Corrupt politicians are a scandal. But the most scandalous thing is that a company like Flick seems to be powerful enough to buy anything for money, to bring anybody under its control.

This is one of the greatest evils of the Federal Republic. We make no secret of our attitude here, either; we want neither a republic sold out to the United States, nor a "Flicked" republic. We want a democratic and social republic. This explains why our party, a workers' party, demands not merely the resignation of politicians but a law against corruption. In line with Article 14 of the Fundamental Law, which says that there shall be no abuses of property and that its utilization shall serve the common good, such a law should provide for sanctions against companies that bribe or try to bribe political leaders. Under Art. 15 of the Fundamental Law, these sanctions shall envisage measures going as far as nationalization of the company concerned or its conversion into other forms of public property. Corruption always involves two sides: the side that allows itself to be bribed and the side that does the bribing. We stand for letting neither side go unpunished and for calling to account primarily those who breed corruption.

NEEDED: AN ANTI-RIGHTIST COALITION

The working class must strive to extend its influence on politics and to limit and ultimately abolish the power of big capital.

It is necessary to develop and strengthen the solidarity and unity of action of the working class.

Solidarity and unity of action are not wishful thinking but are prompted by elementary requirements and laws of the class struggle; when one class is confronted by another nobody may shut himself out of his class without forgoing his own interests.

Dear colleagues, dear comrades,

The working class is not only the object of exploitation but, first and foremost, a class creating and building a new social system. Therefore the communists' policy should always aim at fostering the class consciousness of the working class, at making it aware of its historic mission, which is to fight for social change, for socialism.

*Hermann Rappe (SDP), Chairman of the Union of Chemical Industry Workers, favors the formation of a "big coalition" government comprising the SDP, CDU and CSU. —Ed.

There is reason in today's world for historical optimism and a resolve to fight for progress, to build a new and better world.

In the Soviet Union and other countries, where the working class has achieved victory, socialist construction is making headway. Enormous and successful efforts are being made to assure everybody a life truly fit for human beings.

The progressive and revolutionary forces of Nicaragua, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Afghanistan, Kampuchea and southern Africa are fighting in exceedingly difficult conditions, suffering hardships and making great sacrifices to ensure that future generations of their peoples live without exploitation and oppression, in freedom and dignity.

The British miners are carrying on an unexampled struggle to defend their right to work for themselves and their children and hence to a future worth living. Whatever the outcome, that struggle has already gone down for ever in the history of the working class movement.

A struggle is also going on in our country. The working class, which has proved through this year's strikes its ability to fight, has no reason for pessimism. Such a working class is living proof that what we have in this country is not the tranquillity of a graveyard but signs of struggle. The communists made an invaluable contribution to the noticeable upturn which the struggle of the working class experienced in the 70s, after a long period of "social peace," and is continuing.

These changes did not come about of themselves.

They were a result of years-long successful effort by diverse democratic forces, not least by the communists. We therefore repeat here the proposal made by us these days to the Social Democrats and the Greens: let us form all over the Federal Republic and at all levels an anti-rightist coalition of all parliamentary and extra-parliamentary forces to the left of the CDU.

The road to such a coalition may prove hard. However, we the communists will do our best for it to stay open. This is why we declare primarily for a more vigorous struggle outside parliament and for reinforcement of corresponding alliances; this is why we stand for democratic electoral alliances; why we will favor more candidates on the Peace List; why we are also strengthening the positions of the GCP in representative bodies, seeking where we hold such positions maximum cooperation with the SDP and the Greens on practical issues; and why we are strengthening primarily the GCP and its factory groups. Without a stronger GCP there will be no radical changes in the balance of political forces in favor of a swing toward democratic and social progress.

We repeat what we said at the beginning: peace and labor require action in a spirit of solidarity; they require unity of the working class and other working people. This congress is contributing its share to such unity in the interest of vital social and democratic demands and of peace.

Abridged from *Unsere Zeit*,
October 30, 1984

congresses & plenary meetings

The Essence of Today's Tasks is to Strengthen the State and Deepen Democracy and Discipline

Concluding Remarks by Wojciech Jaruzelski at a Plenary Meeting of the PUWP CC

At the 17th plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, held on October 26 and 27, 1984, in Warsaw, Jozef Czyrek, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the PUWP CC, presented a report on "The Key Problems in Consolidating the State, Developing Socialist Democracy and Strengthening Lawfulness, Social Order and Discipline."

The closing remarks, which are abridged below, were made by Wojciech Jaruzelski, First Secretary of the PUWP CC.

The 17th plenary meeting showed great concern for the wellbeing of the socialist state — our people's common cause and common home.

The fact that we see many matters sharply and critically does not mean that we are powerless and weak, that we are making no headway. On the contrary, we are incomparably stronger. We have made considerable progress, though that is not enough. We are also incomparably wiser and have been enriched by the experience gained in practical work. We are realists. We are not painting a rosy picture, but the end of the year is approaching, a time when in all probability we will be able to surpass the plan targets. We are drafting a plan for the next five years,

which should be a period of levelling and a stepped-up pace in every area.

So the scales have been turned decisively in our favor, in favor of the line of the PUWP's ninth congress, in favor of socialism. No direct enemy attack or underhand blow can change this.

The working class and the masses need an advanced contingent, a leading force and collective organizer. This is the key role of our party, which all the experience of revolutionary struggle and socialist transformation shows to be necessary.

The ideological unity, organizational cohesion and moral honesty of the party, whose internal life is based on democratic centralism, are the chief

guarantees of the strength and efficient functioning of the socialist state and the development of the people's power. But the real strength of the party lies in long-term planning, far-sighted programming, the ability creatively to inspire and to resolve the vitally important problems of the working class and the entire people, and in the party members' leading role in practical activity. The key to everything and the main, fundamental task is persistent and tireless deepening of confidence in the party and of its links with the working class, with the people. Much still needs to be done in this regard, but it is also true that we have made great and indisputable progress.

The ninth congress of the PUWP moved resolutely away from the tendency to limit the party's tasks and to water down the essence of its leading and guiding role. The congress emphasized that the party bodies and organizations must be concerned to strengthen the state power bodies, the independence of administration, the independence of justice, trade union independence, the autonomy of self-government and the efficiency of the social organizations.

The content and atmosphere of our sessions reconfirmed that we remember the experience of past years and the stern lesson of the errors made prior to August 1980 and the dangers of December 1981. This lesson is still obligatory for all of us at every post of party work.

Disappointment awaits those who think that as the situation normalizes and stabilizes it will be possible to return to the practice which has compromised itself. We have assumed the burden of one of the most dramatic decisions in Poland's history so as to protect the people and save the system, the state, and the socialist reforms.

We must keep in readiness the defense functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat since anti-socialist forces that are weakening but still dangerous continue to operate.

One of the principal and absolutely necessary factors of the party's strength is its ideological unity, cohesion and discipline. In recent years we have achieved very much in this regard. We can speak with conviction of the party's unity as a large body. This certainly does not mean that there are no people in our ranks who lack elementary vigilance and are unstable and willing to give in to the foe. There are still such people and they are waiting for nobody knows what.

But the enemy also gets grounds and pretexts from the pseudo-critics of party policy and of our whole work, from the plotters and gossip-mongers inside and outside the country, and from specialists in pre-congress and post-congress struggle. They have a host of "miracle" prescriptions but they do not apply any of them to themselves or to their own sphere of activity.

Unfortunately, one cannot speak of voluntarism in the past tense alone. It is true that it has ceased to determine political and economic decisions and the guidelines of party and state activity, but there are still voluntarists who do not take into consideration socio-economic conditions and especially the state of social consciousness, people's sentiments and feelings, experience and doubts.

All the phenomena I have mentioned are sub-

sidary ones, but they must be noted. The tasks facing the party call for full mobilization. Those who are looking backwards or sideways or are scattering their energy and forces must recognize the inevitable consequences of so doing.

The same applies to actions contrary to the spirit and letter of our party constitution. We must counter the relapses into bustle for effect, window-dressing and title-hunting. I used to speak about people who went along with us in the "second carriage" under martial law. It is also necessary to speak of a "third carriage" in which the self-seekers and dodgers are trying to travel in an attempt to make the normalization achieved through great efforts a pretext for idleness and waste, big and small abuses, favoritism and corruption.

We are going to clean up this "carriage" systematically and, when necessary, very rigorously as well. This requires of our party even greater activity and determination, including the encouragement of the future operations of the worker-peasant inspection.

The struggle for "the same but not the same kind" of party and for a state that meets the people's present-day requirements is going ahead more effectively but is a difficult one. That is all the more reason why this plenary meeting must not come to nothing. We in the party will constantly return to its decisions.

For the first time the Polish socialist state, people's Poland, is taking into account all the objective, class conditions of internal development and the external security of the people, but it should be noted that the course toward the development and deepening of socialist democracy has never been a simple task anywhere.

So far we have not succeeded — and this should be self-critically recognized — in elaborating on a sufficiently broad scale basic practices and mechanisms ensuring a feeling of order and discipline and making easier a normal resolution of the contradictions and problems which arise in the course of social development. Many negative phenomena in our social life stem from an inability to use the democratic instruments which have now been created.

We have to break this vicious circle, and our meeting's decisions will serve to do so.

Our state has weakened in past years. The destructive consequences of anarchy and suicidal hostility to all forms of the state's activity, even concerning elementary questions of order and guardianship, have built up on the distortions of the period prior to August 1980. The counter-revolution held a real witches' sabbath in connection with the achievements of the system serving the working people. We cut short this process that was threatening the very bases of our statehood with sovereign decisions and our own forces. But this would not have succeeded if the bulk of the working people had not identified themselves with the people's state and seen it as the highest value of the whole people.

Without broad public participation, power in the state is solitary, and in solitude everyone is burdened by doubts and everyone loses confidence in their righteousness and in the correctness of the measures taken. Today's Poland could not be gov-

erned without democracy or without taking public opinion into account, relying solely on one's own strength and on one's own understanding of what is right for the country and what the country needs.

We have gained much experience in the 40 years of socialist construction in Poland. Notably, we have reached the extremely important conviction that the best and most reliable method of strengthening a socialist state is to improve its functioning. But the incorrectly understood model of a state wishing to govern all from above, stripping people of responsibility, can never again revive. This type of state lessened people's energy and got them out of the habit of taking initiatives, but at the same time gave rise to requirements beyond the real possibilities.

The processes of democratization and decentralization that have been broadly launched serve to realize the conclusions we have drawn from past experience.

In brief, we need more democracy and more discipline. Democracy within the constitutional norms and laws, democracy in collective will and thought. Discipline in consistent realization of decisions taken, conscious discipline stemming from an understanding of one's rights and from active participation in decision-making and common responsibility for the carrying out of decisions.

It is particularly painful for the party that many workers think that they cannot influence what happens at their enterprises. What is this — just a manner of thinking, a subjective feeling or the actual state of things? This situation needs to be carefully studied in connection with the possibilities arising from the economic reform and the powers of self-management.

It is necessary to ensure that at every level and in every section people both exercise their rights and honestly fulfil their obligations; this is the essence of today's tasks of strengthening the state and deepening democracy and discipline.

The party's position and real authority is gained and strengthened primarily in deeds: in both the great deeds of strategic importance, whose initiator and organizer is the party, and in the small deeds, which the man in the street sees every day, which give him support and help him to live.

Evil cannot increase with impunity where party people conscientiously fulfil their duty.

At all times and especially in today's complicated conditions, government is primarily the ability to choose between requirements and the possibilities to satisfy them. Between "today" and "tomorrow." Between what is desired and what is practicable.

It is not possible to ask large groups of the population for their opinion on every question and on every subject, but no correct decision can be taken without knowing the opinion of the main groups of the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia. These were the objectives of the consultations following the 16th plenary meeting.

We know that a part of our people have still not fully gained their equilibrium and their faith in the correctness of our arguments and in our strength. It

is time to restore the dynamism of our development. And we are gradually doing so.

Thanks to the historic initiative of the ninth congress of the PUWP, today we have a profoundly transformed and developed legal system; no one is or will be outside or above the law. The institution of the state tribunal has been set up to implement the decisions on the constitutional responsibility of high-ranking state officials. The specially created commission on constitutional responsibility has done an enormous amount of work.

The work on the constitutional court bill is nearing completion. It will decide whether laws comply with the constitution and executive acts with the laws. The subject of criminal punishment and court sentences has sparked a big discussion and even emotions; this was noted at today's meeting as well. The public expects that the law will facilitate the most effective struggle against particularly dangerous or widespread crimes.

The legal norms created in the interests and with the participation of the working people aim to protect the honest majority of the population from all those who live and gain at its expense. On the one hand, there can be no objection to substantial incomes if they are received legally as part of socially useful and legitimate activity. But, on the other hand, effective barriers and restrictions should exist, and if they do not they must be created, to make it lawfully and legally impossible to become super-rich in Poland. We are working on this subject. I think that at the coming 18th plenary meeting of our party's CC we will be able to present relevant assessments and proposals.

Exactly one year ago, at the 13th plenary meeting, where we considered the question of cadre and took an appropriate decision, we formulated the principle of "not those you know but the best." The whole party must observe this principle.

We need to win during the reviews of personnel that are soon to begin, so as to use them to better functioning and administration, and improve both the economy and the social climate.

Today we have confirmed that we are going to realize and improve the coalition method of exercising power on the basis of the constitutional principles. This is particularly important in the period of the upcoming elections — a big political campaign on which we must embark as a united front. We are counting on our friends from the United Peasants' Party and the Democratic Party, on the leaders of the progressive Catholic and Christian societies and on the millions of non-party citizens who in the most difficult trials demonstrated that they are with us in the cause of defending and multiplying the values of socialism.

Our desire, one which expresses a profound requirement, is constantly to expand the platform of talks, mutual understanding and social cooperation. There will be no compromise with those who are against the highest values of socialist Poland.

The PPR is an important link in the peaceful post-war systems in Europe. Its stability, including efficiency of the state organism understood in an all-round way, therefore fulfils a constructive role continent-wide. We have succeeded as never before

in our history in firmly linking our homeland's destiny with peace in Europe.

It was dishonorable to launch a concentrated attack against Poland at so dramatic and difficult a moment. Blackmail and subversion, provocation and blockade were brought into play at a time when the anarchy had been halted, conditions created to begin socialist reform, and the stabilization processes had begun, for this direction of development did not please imperialism and was contrary to its expectations. Imperialism, U.S. imperialism first and foremost, really needs Poland. But a weak and wrangling Poland that is accessible to foreign interference.

The attacks on the state were repelled. Imperialism's hopes were dashed. They did not succeed in scooping Poland out of the socialist community. The persistent and even maniacal policy of isolating our country internationally ended in failure. More and more visitors are coming to Warsaw from the West. Our readiness for mutually advantageous agreements and cooperation is linked with the increasingly widespread awareness in Europe that there is a need to save the world from the consequences of the USA's adventurist policy.

It needs to be strongly re-emphasized that it would have been hard for Poland to withstand the concen-

trated and perfidious attacks coordinated by Washington had it not been for the support of our allies. The alliance with the USSR and other socialist countries and our membership in the Warsaw Treaty and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance have stood the test of time. This is in keeping with the requirements of our system and the character of the common class, state and national interests. But it should be added that in recent years we have again seen that the Soviet Union is a responsible, solid and stable partner. Its entire foreign policy testifies to this. This has also been clearly confirmed in its attitude to Poland.

The strengthening and deepening of the values of socialist internationalism is a task of great importance for our party and our state both today and tomorrow. Unity is the common weapon of the fraternal peoples and socialist countries.

We will consistently put into practice the decisions taken today and will do so in an atmosphere of profound responsibility. Despite all the obstacles, we can confidently and with full responsibility declare today that it is within our power to speed up the process of implementing the ideas and directives of the ninth congress of the PUWP and the program for our people's future.

Abridged from *Trybuna Ludu*,
October 29, 1984

Only United Action by All Democratic and Patriotic Forces Will Open the Way to Change

Resolution of a Plenary Meeting of the CC, Party of Progress and Socialism of Morocco

The 10th enlarged plenary meeting of the Central Committee, Party of Progress and Socialism, analyzed the results of the September 14, 1984 parliamentary elections.

The meeting unanimously approved the Political Bureau's report, which was presented by party General Secretary Ali Yata.

The PPS, which has chosen a broad and democratic road of struggle, reaffirms that the decision to participate in the elections was a correct one since it enabled the party, through its candidates, activists and sympathizers, to establish broad contacts with the masses from Tanger to Dakhla.

The party was able to popularize its program and proposals among the masses and to acquaint them with its activists. It found out even more about the people's problems and aspirations; unmasked reaction, which has led the country to the present crisis; explained the essence of the PPC's alternative and began to mobilize the masses around it.

The Central Committee noted that, in comparison with the last elections, this year's electoral campaign had positive aspects such as the announcement in advance of the polling date, the more efficient organization of candidate registration, though in a number of areas, for example in the province of Guelmim, there were breaches of the democratic norms, to the detriment of our candidates.

All candidates were able to carry out political propaganda during the electoral campaign, and the majority of the national parties were able to address the electorate over radio and television. This is a major achievement by our party, which was deprived of such access in June 1983.

The Party of Progress and Socialism believes that these positive objective aspects should not be underestimated. They are the result of the struggle of the democratic forces, notably our party, which constantly advocated the creation of the necessary conditions for an honest and democratic electoral campaign. It has been reconfirmed that the road of democratic struggle makes possible significant progress toward the consolidation of new democratic gains in the people's interests.

But the end of the electoral campaign, the voting, the ballot count and the announcement of the results were marked by numerous violations which took the form of rigging and systematic falsification of the popular will.

Local representatives of the authorities were involved in this, calling on the citizens to vote for certain candidates and distributing hundreds of additional electoral cards for voting for candidates "approved" by the administration. In addition, votes were cast with cards of persons who had emi-

grated or were deceased, while thousands of other voters did not receive their cards.

It was noted that people under 21 years (the legal voting age) were allowed to cast ballots.

In certain constituencies inspectors and observers were prevented from working under false pretexts. The ballot boxes, which no one checked, were filled with dozens, and even hundreds of ballots in favor of official candidates from the start of the voting. In the majority of polling stations the candidates' agents were unable to obtain the voting protocols. At the same time, closed ballot boxes were often taken directly to the local authorities' headquarters.

It is because of all these violations that the real picture of the election results has been completely distorted — not only the names of the victors but also the number of votes received. It is our party that has suffered the most from these dirty methods. It has been deprived of seats and the number of votes cast for it has been understated. All this was done as part of an obvious maneuver to diminish the scale of the party's activity and its influence and role in the country's political life.

Given these flagrant violations, which we have strongly denounced, it is not possible to give the slightest credence to the officially announced results, which do not correspond to Morocco's political reality. The election results do not reflect the masses' profound discontent and their distrust of those who are responsible for the present situation.

The distortion of the electorate's will, like the non-participation of broad strata of the population in the voting, make particularly meaningful the question of the future of the democratic process, political stability and the credibility of the institutions.

The Central Committee declares its condemnation and rejection of such violations, which once again undermine confidence in elections, and lays the blame for what has happened on the government, whose duty it is to ensure that the law is observed during elections.

The Central Committee reiterates the party's line of principle, which is based on the need to continue to defend democracy and fight against its opponents and the reactionaries.

Reaction would like us to adopt the position of spectator and to give way to despair and apathy so that it can continue its disastrous policy in every area of economic, social and cultural life and prevent the victory of the democratic forces and the triumph of change.

That is why our party decided to participate in the electoral battle and thereby invigorate the struggle to safeguard the democratic process, raise the level of consciousness of the masses, and oppose the maneuvers of the "Cassandres" and other falsifiers. It is a position that is in keeping with the PPS's strategic line that was laid down by its national congresses. This line relies on the people's struggle and democratic gains, which are to be developed and strengthened by fresh victories to make them a weapon in the hands of the working people, who want real democracy in the political, economic, social and cultural areas. To leave the political arena, succumb to pessimism, remain spectators and close all prospects for the fighting people would only mean

worsening the situation at a time when it is particularly necessary to mobilize all possibilities to take the country out of its structural crisis.

The Central Committee believes that, as it is presently composed, the parliament has neither the aptitude nor adequate means to overcome the crisis situation, for it is the same majority that is to blame for the crisis and the mismanagement which has again occupied the seats in parliament. Its program and objectives are no different from those of the previous legislature and the main directions of the parliament's activity will therefore remain unchanged.

The PPS is also not going to leave the road which it has followed for many years, defending the working people, the supreme interests of the homeland and the people's rights both inside and outside parliament.

Our comrades, Ali Yata and Ismail Alaoui, of whose victory we are proud, will, as they did in the previous parliament, continue as the PPS representatives to uphold the same revolutionary line of spokesmen for the aspirations of the masses, with whom they are inseparably linked, and unflaggingly to defend the program of the democratic alternative, constantly fighting against measures prejudicial to the interests of the working people and the homeland, making constructive criticisms, and putting forward concrete practical proposals.

Having familiarized itself with the reports from the regions, sections and PPS candidates on the election campaign, the Central Committee highly assesses the party's efforts in this campaign. The party's candidates and their representatives were met with open arms everywhere, from Tanger to Dakhla, and among the emigrants. They were supported by citizens who know only too well that there is an enormous difference between reaction's methods, which are based on bribery and promises, and the methods of our honest activists, who have limited material means but have 41 years' rich experience of struggle for the interests of the masses and the homeland on the basis of a program which meets the hopes of the working people of town and country for social justice and democracy.

The party was therefore able to expand its contacts with the broad masses, who warmly received their vanguard party and its candidates. Our comrades and the PPS candidates' support committees made great sacrifices in order to conduct a vibrant, efficient, disciplined and responsible electoral campaign, during which the PPS showed itself to be a national force inseparably linked with the people and the exponent of their aspirations.

The electoral campaign has been an important political victory.

It allowed the party to stand all tests and strengthen its ties with the masses. But this campaign has also posed new tasks, for example the need to link the party's organizational and propaganda activity still more closely with the day-to-day problems of the working people, to uphold their interests, and raise the level of their political consciousness in order for the mass character of the PPS to rest on a foundation of continuous struggle. This is the only way to strengthen the bonds between

the working people and their vanguard party.

The Central Committee knows what are the weak and strong aspects of the party's activity and calls on all party organizations to begin immediately to study the organizational problems, taking into consideration the need to strengthen the party ranks and extend its representation country-wide, focussing efforts on activity among the working strata, the workers, poor peasants, progressive intelligentsia,

women, young people, small traders and all who agree with our program and believe that the PPS is the best defender of the working people's interests, the most accurate spokesmen for their interests, and the embodiment of their hopes for a democratic alternative and the building of an independent, democratic and prosperous Morocco.

Casablanca, September 30, 1984

Al Bayane, October 6, 1984

13th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party

The 13th congress of the Romanian Communist Party was held from November 19 to 22, 1984, in Bucharest. It was attended by 3,114 delegates representing Romania's 3.4 million communists, and by numerous guests — veterans of the Romanian working class movement, representatives of mass and social organizations, and delegations from communist and workers' parties, socialist parties, national liberation movements and progressive organizations.

Below is a summary of the RCP Central Committee's report, presented by RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu, on the party's activity in the period between the 12th and 13th congresses and on its tasks.

Along with the CC report, the forum focused on the draft directives of the RCP 13th congress on Romania's socio-economic development in the five-year plan period 1986-1990 and the long-term guidelines to the year 2000.

The delegates discussed and approved the RCP CC report and the congress directives and adopted relevant resolutions.

A new party Central Committee was elected, Nicolae Ceausescu being returned as RCP General Secretary. A subsequent CC plenary meeting elected a Political Executive Committee and formed a Secretariat.

The 13th congress of the Romanian Communist Party, Nicolae Ceausescu said, is an event of particular importance in the life of the party and the people, in the country's socio-economic development, in the creation of a developed socialist society and Romania's advance toward communism.

Forty years is a very short period in history, but in these years the Romanian people, under the leadership of the Communist Party, have traversed several historical stages — from a bourgeois-landowning state to a developed socialist society. Romania has turned from an agrarian into an industrial-agrarian country with a modern industry and socialist agriculture. In 1984 the country's industrial output is 100 times greater than in 1945, and agricultural output almost 7 times greater. The accelerated development of the entire economy has made it possible to increase the social product 28-fold and national income 32-fold. In the four decades, the consumption fund grew 22-fold, more than six million jobs have been created, and almost 80 per cent of the country's population have moved into new homes.

Major changes have taken place in the people's culture and consciousness. Education, science and culture, which have been playing an increasingly important role in the country's revolutionary transformation, have been greatly developed.

The working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia — the entire Romanian people — are marking the party's 13th congress with outstanding achievements in every area, and are firmly resolved to implement successfully the 1981-1985 five-year plan and to ensure that our country is raised to new heights of progress and civilization.

In the first two years — 1981-1982 — industrial growth rates were 2.8 per cent, and in 1983 — 4.8 per

cent, the speaker continued. In 1984 the growth rates of industrial output will be more than six per cent, and the 1985 plan envisages even more rapid development of industry. This allows the conclusion that the average growth rates of industrial output for the entire five-year plan period will be almost six per cent as compared with 1980.

Important successes were also scored in agriculture. The agricultural output of the four years was approximately three million tons more than the average output of the previous five-year plan period. Agricultural output for the entire five-year plan period can be expected to grow by almost five million tons as compared with the last five-year plan period. This year, despite the adverse weather conditions, we obtained a grain harvest of over one ton per capita. Livestock farming and other sectors of the socialist agriculture have also developed.

On the basis of the results of the four years of the current five-year period and the 1985 plan targets, we will score serious successes in the development of the energy and raw material base. Production of electric power will increase by approximately 14 per cent as compared with 1980, and coal production by more than 100 per cent. In the chemical industry, output will rise by about 39 per cent and in the metallurgical industry — by 32 per cent. Engineering has developed rapidly, its product increasing by approximately 37 per cent over the five-year plan period as compared with 1980. Light industry, with an annual growth rate of six per cent, the building materials industry, with one of almost four per cent, and the food industry, with one of over four per cent, also developed rapidly.

Bearing in mind the progress made so far and the 1985 projections, one can conclude that more than

1,850 new production units will be put into operation in the present five-year plan period. And in this period special attention was paid to the harmonious siting of new units on the country's territory and to the development of the productive forces in every district of the country. As a result, by the end of 1984 the per capita cost of production will be not less than 70,000 lei in all districts.

Nicolae Ceausescu noted that, in keeping with the requirements of the country's socio-economic progress, trade and international production cooperation expanded, an important role being played by relations with the CMEA countries and with all other socialist countries. Romania's economic relations with the developing countries and with the developed capitalist countries were also expanded. In 1985 foreign trade will be approximately 28 per cent greater than in 1980, and its average annual growth rates will be more than five per cent. On the basis of the real possibilities of the Romanian economy and the technical potential of industry, continual export growth has been ensured in this five-year plan period, with a simultaneous reduction of imports to the necessary minimum. In 1985 exports will be 85 per cent greater than in 1980 and imports about 18 per cent less.

Because of the major successes in the development of the productive forces and the constant growth in economic potential, the social product will in 1985 be 25 per cent higher than the 1980 level. Fixed assets will comprise 2,860 billion lei in 1985. The national income has risen at an average annual rate of more than seven per cent.

In keeping with the decisions of the 12th congress and the RCP national conference, over 69 per cent of the national income was appropriated to the consumption fund, and approximately 31 per cent to the development fund. This ensured the fulfillment of the socio-economic development program and a simultaneous steady rise in the people's material and cultural living standard.

More than 430 billion lei have been earmarked for social and cultural needs in the current five-year plan period. Measures have been taken to raise the young people's general level of training on the basis of the latest achievements of science and technology. Scientific and research work have also been carried out, work which made an important contribution to the country's socio-economic development.

Broad activity was also launched to educate and mold a new person, the conscious builder of socialism. Literature, art, and cultural and artistic creativity made a valuable contribution to the development of the masses' socialist consciousness.

It can be said that great successes were scored in every area of economic and social life in the 1981-1985 five-year plan period, during which vigorous activity was launched to overcome a number of contradictions, difficulties and shortcomings. It should be noted that if greater responsibility had been shown in all areas, it would have been possible to achieve more significant results, Ceausescu said.

All that we have attained, the speaker continued, is the fruit of the selfless labor of the working class, which is successfully fulfilling its historical mission of the leading class of Romanian socialist society, of

the cooperative peasantry, which in alliance with the working class, has been making a great contribution to the country's development, and also of the new intelligentsia, which is closely linked with the working class and the peasantry and plays an increasingly important role in the revolutionary transformation of society.

Touching on the guidelines for socio-economic development in the 1986-1990 five-year plan period and in the long term to the year 2000, Nicolae Ceausescu said that the 13th congress marks the transition to the third stage of the implementation of the party program. The main task of the 1986-1990 five-year plan period is unswervingly to continue the policy of building a developed socialist society and to move Romania toward communism. To this end, special attention will be paid to developing the productive forces and improving social and production relations.

By 1990, the output of manufactured goods will increase by 34-37 per cent as compared with 1985, its average annual growth rates being 6-6.5 per cent. Higher average annual growth rates are envisaged for the engineering — 7.5 per cent, and for the chemical industry — 8.5-9 per cent.

In the next five-year plan period industrial development will be effected through modernization of the means of labor and the structure of production, raising of their technical and quality level, and continuous introduction and broad application of advanced technologies.

Agriculture will remain a very important sector of the economy. The chief task continues to be that of increasing grain production. We should obtain 30-32 million tons of grain by 1990. Simultaneously, it is necessary to seek to achieve a considerable growth in the production of industrial crops and vegetables. Livestock farming is to be further developed.

Dwelling in detail on the development of individual sectors of the economy, science and technology in 1986-1990, Nicolae Ceausescu noted the important role played by international economic ties and production cooperation with other states in the fulfillment of the plan targets.

We will actively participate in the coordination of plans, specialization of production and joint scientific and technical research so that the CMEA will play an ever more important role in the socio-economic development of its member-countries, in the building of socialism and communism and the raising of our peoples' well-being. We will expand economic exchange and production cooperation with all socialist countries. At the same time, Romania will continue to expand economic relations with the developing countries and with the developed capitalist countries and all states of the world, irrespective of social system.

Proceeding from the important role of economic exchange and production cooperation in Romania's socio-economic development, Ceausescu continued, it is necessary to secure a 41-45 per cent growth in the SRR's economic ties. There is also a need to improve the quality and competitiveness of Romanian goods on the world market and to ensure that Romania participates more actively in the international division of labor.

Touching on the tasks of the next five-year plan period to raise the working people's material well-being, the speaker said that it is planned to increase the sales of consumer goods by about 10 per cent. Medical service to the population will be further improved. In 1986-1990, 750,000 apartments are to be built.

Fulfillment of the targets of the draft directives will place Romania by 1990 at a new stage of socio-economic development, and will be a fresh step forward along the road of building a developed socialist society and advancing to communism.

Dwelling in detail on the long-term guidelines for Romania's socio-economic development to the year 2000, Ceausescu said that Romania will place special emphasis on concluding long-term agreements with both CMEA member-countries and with other socialist countries and all states of the world, irrespective of social system.

Romania will become a developed socialist country both as regards industry, agriculture, education, science and culture, and as regards the people's general living standard. Fulfillment of the tasks of socio-economic development which will be set by the party's 13th congress will open before the Romanian people the road to a new epoch — the epoch of the building of communism.

The speaker then dealt with the improvement of the activity of the state and the state bodies, and improvement of the economic management system and the social administration system. He said that in the period since the 12th congress the party's Central Committee had taken a number of measures to improve the activity of the state and its bodies and the administration of socio-economic life.

Relying on the experience gained and taking into account the present stage of development of the Romanian socialist society, the speaker pointed out, it is necessary to raise to a new level the planning and administration of economic and social life and to increase the state's role in this area on the basis of a single national plan.

The overcoming of bureaucracy and the broadening of the rights of local bodies, associations and enterprises are an important requirement of the improvement of management and planning which must raise and not diminish the state's role. We must always bear in mind, Ceausescu continued, that there must be no weakening whatsoever of the guidance of socio-economic activity on the basis of a single plan, guidance which must combine the interests of each enterprise, each work collective with the overall interests of socialist society, the entire people. Each enterprise's initiative must be manifested in exemplary fulfillment of the plan targets, in the raising of the technical level and quality of production, and in constant improvement of economic activity. Improvement of the state's activity and development of the system of the working people's democratic bodies raise the masses' activeness in the running of the state and the administration of all socio-economic life, and leads to an increasingly broad democratization of society.

An objective tendency caused by society's development is the strengthening and improvement of the role and functions of the state as the organizer

and leader of all socio-economic activity.

Taking into consideration international conditions, Ceausescu said further, we will, in line with our commitments within the Warsaw Treaty, continuously strengthen cooperation with armies of other states and help to repel any imperialist aggression.

Dwelling on the enhancement of the party's leading role in society and in the organization of socialist construction, the speaker noted that at the time of its 13th congress the RCP has 3.4 million members — 580,000 more than at the last congress. Of the total party membership, 1.92 million, that is almost 56 per cent, are workers, more than 540,000 or 16 per cent are peasants, 710,000 or 21 per cent are intellectuals. Almost 80 per cent of these recruited to the party between the two congresses are workers. Approximately 75 per cent of the new party members came from the ranks of the Young Communist League. Women now make up more than 32 per cent of the party membership.

From an organizational point of view, the party has 72,517 primary organizations. A total of 7,879 enterprise and institution party committees, 2,705 communal committees, 243 city and municipal committees and 41 district party organizations, including the Bucharest municipal party organization, are active.

More than 365,000 party members work in the bureaus of primary organizations, and almost 142,000 party members are on party committees of enterprises, institutions and agricultural units. A large contingent of about 550,000 party activists participate in the work of party bodies. It is necessary, the speaker stressed, to strengthen the sense of responsibility, the fighting spirit and the work discipline of every party organization and every party member.

Every party organization is called upon to pay special attention to strengthening ties with the working masses and to pooling their efforts to implement the party's policy. The RCP will be strong and able to fulfil its role only along with the masses, with the entire people.

There is a need constantly to bear in mind that a critical and self-critical attitude and resolute struggle against all breaches of the RCP constitution and of party resolutions and against shortcomings are a guarantee of the successful realization of the party's leading role in socialist society.

Describing the party's activity in the area of ideology, the speaker noted that in the period since the 12th congress the RCP Central Committee, party bodies and organizations have launched broad ideological and political work to raise the consciousness and the communist education of all party members. More than 3.1 million party members and citizens are involved in mass political study. The party academy and the inter-district schools annually train over 12,000 party workers. Instructional courses and briefings are also held regularly with party activists. Ideological and political work to raise the training level of the party activists and cadre have been playing an important role in all the activity to enhance the party's leading role in the society. Simultaneously, under the leadership of the

RCP, state bodies and mass social organizations have been doing broad political and educational work to mold a new person as the conscious builder of socialism and communism.

Successful fulfillment of the resolutions to be adopted by the 13th congress, the speaker said further, and the ever greater manifestation of the party's role as the leading political force of the people make it necessary to raise the ideological work of all party bodies and organizations to a higher level. Marxist-Leninist philosophy and the main works of Marx, Engels and Lenin must be studied in all ideological activity and in political studies. The Secretariat of the party Central Committee must ensure that the necessary works are published. It will be necessary to step up the all-round activity to raise the socialist, revolutionary consciousness of all working people and to oppose decisively the various obscurantist and retrograde manifestations and views on work and life. There is a need to intensify educational work and to begin a resolute struggle against old views and outside influences.

In our political and educational activity there is a need to develop in an all-round way a spirit of internationalist solidarity and friendship with the socialist countries, the peoples of the developing countries, the vanguard forces throughout the world, and with all peoples advocating peace, cooperation, and equal relations between nations.

The speaker noted the importance of educational, cultural and artistic activity, which must serve the people and reflect their heroic labor and thirst for knowledge and the moral values characteristic of them. It is necessary to ensure the masses' active participation in the country's entire cultural and artistic life as part and parcel of the many-sided activity to build socialism and communism in Romania.

All ideological, political, educational and mass cultural work must always be done under the party's political leadership. It is incumbent on party bodies and organizations to exert every effort to carry out their lofty mission in the implementation of the party's domestic and foreign policy and in the guidance of the education and molding of a new person, the conscious builder of socialism and communism.

The speaker then dealt with the important role of mass and social organizations in the country's socio-economic development. He noted that the trade unions are called upon constantly to improve their work and to play a more active role in the system of socialist democracy and in the improvement of the working people's vocational training.

The speaker made note of the important role of the women's committees, the Young Communist League and the student and pioneer organizations in the country's life. The party must always provide guidance to the work of the youth and other organizations and must regard the education and training of the young people for work and life as one of its loftiest obligations.

Dwelling on the international situation and the foreign policy of the RCP and the Romanian state, Ceausescu said that the plans and programs for Romania's socio-economic development can only be successfully implemented in conditions of peace

and international security, and cooperation with all states, irrespective of social system.

Events of recent years have shown that only the constant struggle of the progressive and anti-imperialist forces and all peoples can ensure that the policy of détente, disarmament, peace and international cooperation is preserved and strengthened.

The international situation has deteriorated as never before in the last few years. It can be said that there has been no tension of this kind in the world since the end of the Second World War. The growth in the danger of a new world war and a nuclear catastrophe makes it necessary for all peoples to do everything to halt this course of events, which is fraught with very grave consequences. That is why the main question of the present epoch is an end to the arms race, to the nuclear arms race first and foremost, transition to disarmament and the securing of stable universal peace.

The speaker said that all governments, all heads of state and all political forces bear a great responsibility before their own peoples and before all humanity.

Romania will resolutely work for the fruitful conduct of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe. The successful completion of this conference would be of great significance for the policy of détente and cooperation and for the strengthening of friendship between the peoples of our continent.

The speaker then stated that Romania calls on all the Balkan countries to strengthen cooperation among themselves and to act in the direction of peace and cooperation between the states of that region. We welcome, he said, the proposals and efforts to create nuclear-free zones in the north and center of Europe and in other regions of the world. We believe that the creation of such zones is an important part of the fight for universal disarmament, above all for nuclear disarmament.

The speaker noted the need to step up the struggle for universal disarmament and dwell on the important proposals to preserve and strengthen peace that have been made by various state and international organizations. We welcome and support the Soviet Union's proposals on disarmament and an end to the militarization of outer space, he said. This is a reflection of a desire to halt the dangerous development of events, curb the arms race and move to disarmament, nuclear disarmament primarily.

We consider it necessary to put a stop to all action aimed at using outer space for military purposes. The UN should assume the responsibility for achieving an international agreement on outer space. It could be possible to convene a world conference and, perhaps, to set up a special body within the UN to protect outer space.

The broad peace movement in Europe and on other continents is a powerful force of our time that is capable of halting the dangerous development of events and preventing a new world war and nuclear catastrophe. We are firmly convinced that by acting together the peoples of the whole world will be able to attain the renewal of the policy of détente, cooperation and peace.

Romania, the speaker noted, has voiced firm sup-

port for the resolution of conflicts and disputes between states by peaceful means only, through talks. Proceeding from this, Romania is for a political settlement in the Middle East, one designed to ensure global peace in that region and a solution to the question of the Palestinian people on the basis of their right to self-determination, including their right to set up an independent Palestinian state. We also believe that there is a need to put an end to the Iraq-Iran war, begin a withdrawal of both sides' troops to areas within their national borders and start talks between these two countries to resolve the disputes and establish relations of cooperation and good-neighborliness between them.

We are for Namibian independence and we give our support to SWAPO in its struggle. We advocate the liquidation of the racist policy and apartheid in South Africa. We consider it necessary to put an end to all interference by South Africa in the internal affairs of the countries of southern Africa.

We hail the struggle of the peoples of Latin America for independent socio-economic development.

We express our solidarity with the people of the Republic of Nicaragua. We believe that the problems of Latin America should be resolved on the basis of the Contadora Group's proposals, through talks, respecting the right of each people to free and independent development with no external interference whatsoever.

In the period under review, Ceausescu said, Romania has carried out many-sided activity to strengthen and develop relations with all states of the world, irrespective of social system.

Relations with all socialist countries continue to strengthen. We have been paying particular attention to broadening cooperation with our neighbors. In this regard I would like to emphasize the constant concern of our party and our state to develop cooperation with the Soviet Union continuously. We will continue to do everything to broaden economic, scientific, technical and cultural cooperation with the Soviet Union and to strengthen friendship and solidarity with the peoples of the USSR.

As a member of the Warsaw Treaty, Romania participated actively in all the meetings and activities of this organization, and consistently supported the resolute actions of the Warsaw Treaty states aimed at disarmament and peace.

The Romanian Communist Party and the Socialist Republic of Romania will continue to advocate firmly the strengthening and development of cooperation and solidarity with all socialist states, and the surmounting of the differences existing between them. We welcome the talks between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China and express the hope that they will lead to a complete normalization of relations between these two socialist countries.

We also believe that it is necessary to begin direct talks between the PRC and the Socialist Republic of

Vietnam so as to halt all military actions and normalize relations between these two states.

We believe that solidarity, unity and cooperation between the socialist states are a factor of special importance for the building of socialism in each country and for the raising of the prestige and strength of socialism and the policy of peace and cooperation throughout the world.

We will broadly develop relations with the developing countries and with the non-aligned countries, Ceausescu said further, believing that the strengthening of solidarity and cooperation of these states is an important factor of the policy of independence, cooperation and universal peace. We attach particular significance to the non-aligned countries' movement in the struggle for a democratic solution to all the important problems of today's world.

Romania strongly advocates enhancement of the role of the UN and other international organizations in the democratic resolution of all international questions on the basis of international law and with the participation of all the world's states.

In the period since the 12th congress, the speaker said, the RCP Central Committee paid special attention to developing relations with all communist and workers' parties and to strengthening the solidarity of these parties. The Romanian Communist Party believes that the interests of the communist and workers' parties make it a requirement of present-day development to hold mutual meetings and consultations, including regional and international consultations and conferences. Cooperation with the communist and workers' parties and with socialist and social democratic parties is of vital importance for the peoples' progress and independence, for cooperation and universal peace. We will continue broadly to develop cooperation with the national liberation movements and the progressive parties of countries that have overthrown imperialist domination and embarked on the road of free and independent development, this being an important factor in the struggle to strengthen independence and attain the socio-economic progress of every people.

It can be said with good reason, Nicolae Ceausescu stated in conclusion, that the documents presented to the 13th congress express the will of the entire party and meet the vital interests of the whole people. Let the 13th congress give a fresh and powerful impetus to the revolutionary struggle, unity and political and organizational strength of the RCP. We assure our foreign friends that the Romanian Communist Party and socialist Romania will continue to do everything to make its contribution to the triumph of the noble ideals of socialism and communism and to the victory of the cause of friendship and cooperation between the peoples, and to the creation of a better and more just world on our planet.

Scinteia, November 20, 1984

A summary

End the Aggression Against the Kurdish People!

Joint Statement by the Iraqi Communist Party CC and the Communist Party of Turkey CC

Units of the Turkish armed forces have unleashed barbarous aggression against the Kurdish people and are currently waging an undeclared war on Turkish and Iraqi territory. They are terrorizing, killing and torturing residents of Kurdish settlements and forcing them to leave their native parts and emigrate.

The anti-people regimes of Turkey and Iraq have recently signed an agreement that is in violation of the bases of international law and morality, an agreement which allows their troops to carry out aggressive actions against the Kurdish people on the territory of both countries. This deal aims to suppress the Kurdish people's national liberation movement and their fight for their national rights. At the same time, this disgraceful agreement and this barbarous aggression is directed not only against the Kurdish people but also against all the progressive and peace-loving forces of both countries. They further the plans of the Pentagon, which is bent on creating an even more intense threat for the Middle East and the Soviet Union, a great friend of the peoples of this region. Turkey, a NATO member-state, is actually expanding this bloc's zone of action. The Turkish rulers fit the role of U.S. gendarme

since they themselves have expansionist and chauvinist objectives. These barbarous aggressive actions and the immoral agreement undercut both countries' sovereignty, make it easier for foreign forces to interfere in their internal affairs and create a threat to peace in this region and throughout the world.

The Iraqi Communist Party and the Communist Party of Turkey demand:

— Immediate withdrawal of the Turkish troops from Iraq's territory!

— Immediate end to the aggression against the Kurdish people, to the deportation of Kurdish communists and operations against the patriotic and progressive forces!

— Elimination of the disgraceful agreement aimed against the Kurdish people and against both countries' patriotic and progressive forces!

The Iraqi Communist Party and the Communist Party of Turkey call on all who advocate peace, freedom and democracy to support the struggle of the Arab, Kurdish and Turkish peoples against the state terrorism and aggressive actions of both dictatorial regimes!

October 26, 1984

Our Alternative to Crisis, Misgovernment and Militarization

Manifesto of Left Unity for the Peruvian People

Being aware of the extremely grave situation in which the government of Popular Action and Popular Christian Party have put the country, taking notice of the vigorous struggle of the people resisting every attempt to silence and subdue them, feeling certain of the need to end the policy of "continuity" which spells still greater evils, and beginning an election campaign which holds the promise of victory for a vast majority, the National Meeting of Left Unity (LU), held in Lima from October 6 to 8, 1984, is directing this appeal to the people of Peru. Sharing the people's hopes, it calls on all the forces seeking change, democracy, justice and peace to join actively in the great historic march toward a new society.

LEFT UNITY AND THE ELECTIONS

Two contradictory elements intertwine in the crucial period through which Peru is going. One of them is the approaching expiry of the government's term in office and the general election set for 1985, and the

other, a most severe economic crisis, an intensifying state terrorism, a dirty war and militarization in a country in urgent need of change.

The people's struggles, including the electoral struggle, do not involve passing aims. They go beyond the exigencies of the moment and are part of a vast process of history directed toward winning state power in order to lay the groundwork for national and social liberation.

As a result of sustained struggle, improved organization of their ranks and the formation of Left Unity, which expresses their hopes, the masses have put the government in isolation. The people are also intensifying their fight in the electoral arena. They are delivering telling blows to official policies, barring the road of both the advocates of "continuity" and those who propose a "different future," or, in effect, a set of old formulas that contain no alternative in the sense of real change and would leave the foundations of the oppressors' rule intact.

The rise of the LU coalition is a reflection of the immense experience of popular struggle, for the parties forming it and the thousands of its members are taking an active part in it. LU, which adheres to a socialist orientation, wants to represent the revolutionary democratic aspirations of the people and is preparing to win the 1985 general election in order to translate the people's right to self-government into reality.

We know that victory is possible; this is shown by the experience of November 1983. However, we also know that victory will be hard to achieve, not only because we lack the power provided by money and control of the major media, but also because the electoral process itself is threatened by anti-democratic, fraudulent and repressive elements by using whom our adversaries want to rob us of victory.

We are in a position to win but electoral support is not the only requisite. A democratic, popular and anti-imperialist government following a policy of non-alignment and committed to a program of real revolutionary democratic changes is possible only if backed by an organized and militant people. The minority, which retains its might, is set and will always be set on stopping us, which means that we need an organization and forces equal to defending our alternative.

We therefore say again that we will never accept any ban ruling out self-government by the people and national and social liberation. An organized people can defend their achievements by using every form of struggle, a democratic uprising included.

LEFT UNITY AND THE ARMED FORCES

Those who would like to stop this vast social movement for a deep-going and just transformation of society are trying to do so from positions of strength, for they have already exhausted their opportunities of misleading and deceiving the masses.

It is these reactionaries that fully back an "anti-subversive" strategy, which is thoroughly anti-democratic and based on state terrorism. It is they who are spreading the falsehood about the "identity" of LU and Sendero Luminoso (the Bright Path) group and who allege that we want to deprive the country of its armed forces and are not interested in national defense.

Actually LU considers that national sovereignty must be defended in every sphere: the economy, international relations, national independence, territorial integrity and the military sphere. However, the present government, like all the right-wing governments of the past, have done little in this respect.

LU is certain that only a people prompted by a national spirit and enjoying benefits created by themselves under a system of true democracy and social justice can be a real bulwark of national sovereignty. We are also convinced that one of the pillars of a people organized to maintain a just social order and committed to a policy of non-alignment is armed forces closely linked with the people.

The armed forces of Peru, which took shape dur-

ing the anti-colonial uprising and produced many outstanding personalities from their ranks, must take account of Latin America's experience showing what state terrorism and dirty war lead to. These were exemplified by recent events in Argentina and the policies of the dictatorial regimes of Chile and Uruguay, which find themselves in complete isolation. Officers, sergeants and privates should also assess the history of the republic and take account of the consequences of using an "anti-subversive" strategy based on state terrorism and ignoring the possibilities of settling conflicts by political means. This is why LU has put forward an alternative to the propositions of Sendero Luminoso and to state terrorism.

LEFT UNITY AND THE CHURCH

Left Unity, being the ideological successor of José Carlos Mariátegui, considers, like he did, that the days of stale liberal and anti-clerical atheism are over. "The strength of revolutionaries," Mariátegui said, "lies in their faith, passion and will. They constitute a religious, mystical, spiritual force." On the other hand, life has shown that in Latin America Christianity can converge with the socialist option and that there can be mutual respect between the Left and the Church which has just stated at the highest level its choice to be with the poor and denounced "the scandalous and irritating inequalities between the rich and the poor which cannot be tolerated any more." As the majority of our people confess Christianity, LU recognizes the humanist message of this religion, a message inspired by solidarity with the poor.

Respecting differences of opinion, delimiting the concepts of religion and politics and making no attempt to blend them for petty ends, as rightists have always done and still do, LU hails the concern which the Peruvian Church constantly shows for the need to respect human rights, and regards the Church as one of the institutions making a positive contribution to the solution of the future problem of national reconstruction.

LEFT UNITY, THE POLICY OF "CONTINUITY" AND THE RIGHTIST FRONT

Now that the country has been in a disastrous state for four years, spokesmen of the second Belaunde cabinet distort history in the grossest manner, trying to distance themselves from the destructive activity of an administration in which they have always played the chief role.

However, the Peruvian people know already and will know how to identify the heirs of Belaundism. LU, which rightly opposes their anti-national and anti-popular policies, rejects any agreement with this party or its minor partners, the Popular Christian Party and Townsend.

Seeing the decline of their prestige and their isolation, the more reactionary rightists are trying to set up a pre-election front of all those who have led the country to a national debacle — the Popular Action Party and the Popular Christian Party plus other alignments, such as the Haya de la Torre Grass

Roots Movement, which represent nobody. However, only a fraud could bring them victory, for the Left is the only force having a future.

LEFT UNITY AND APRA

LU and APRA are the two main forces opposing the present government.

Left Unity, which goes on developing the ideal of a socialist road advanced by Amanta Mariategui, has worked out a precise program for far-reaching, revolutionary changes based on organizing and mobilizing the people and the country as a whole. The APRA leadership has proposed to the country a virtual reversion to the policy that was pursued at the second stage of military rule. It still holds explicitly anti-communist views and refuses to adopt radical measures for the solution of the problems of the country that would affect the interests of powerful domestic bankers and international banks now controlling the main natural resources of Peru. Besides, APRA refuses to take a definite stand on the highly dangerous fascist-like militarization under way or on the need to bring to trial as political criminals those responsible for the present dislocation and corruption.

Left Unity, to which all sectarianism is foreign, sees the struggle carried on by the APRA rank and file and their heroic martyrs as part of the people's history. It is clear, however, that times have changed and APRA has an entirely different leadership now. Aspiring to move into the presidential palace in 1985, this leadership compromises with the government and tacitly accepts the militarization process; as for its program, it hardly differs from that of Morales Bermudez.

Nevertheless, being certain of the need to carry on a great struggle against the government and state terrorism, we continue working without hesitation or compromises prompted by electoral considerations for concrete united action in defense of the people's interests and human rights, against hunger, oppression, the policy of surrender and militarization.

It is not a question of a government alliance, for we have no common program, but of concrete unity of action against the regime and its policies.

LEFT UNITY CALLS ON ALL PATRIOTIC AND DEMOCRATIC FORCES TO UNITE

The tasks facing us require the broadest unity of all who truly aspire to people's democracy, social justice and national sovereignty. This is why we call on the membership of the National Integration Party and Socialist Popular Action to close their ranks; by virtue of their programs, experience of struggle and democratic will, these parties are going to play an important role in the new period that Peruvian history will soon enter.

We also call on all Christian Democrats, independents, democrats and patriots to rally together under the banner of Left Unity, which can guarantee best of all that our national bi-color will not be overshadowed by foreign flags but will fly proudly and independently.

• Together with them we will begin building a new

Peru, for this is our duty to the history of our country and to the generations sharing this aspiration.

FOR REVOLUTIONARY UNITY OF THE LEFT

National Unity reaffirms its revolutionary pledge to the people and its militant unity based on its program supported by the masses.

The days of division and uncertainty are over. This is why we are unaffected by the campaign which the rightist press has launched in an attempt to divide LU into "more unitary" and "less unitary" parties, to bringing about a confrontation between them and inducing them to come out against the coalition chairman. In the face of these facts, the National Meeting reaffirms its confidence in the National Leading Committee and its Chairman, Alfonso Barrantes Lingán.

The LU parties and independents, following the road charted by Mariategui, are advancing a government program whose realization hinges on the people's progress toward winning power. This program will enable the masses to test their untapped forces, assume a responsibility they have never shouldered before and enter a stage that will allow them to begin overcoming the nation's lag as they resist imperialism and the big bourgeoisie and fight for the well-being of the majority and for national sovereignty.

Accordingly, we propose the following:

— democracy for the people; forming an anti-imperialist popular and democratic government committed to a policy of non-alignment, a government that will become an expression of direct democracy thanks to self-government by the masses;

— setting up a planned and centralized national economy that will make it possible — as a result of nationalization and the transfer of monopolies owned by imperialists and members of the big bourgeoisie to the state, as well as a global renegotiation of the foreign debt including a selective deferment of payments — to channel the funds that will have been released toward meeting essential requirements;

— popular well-being, a guaranteed right to life, jobs, food, health and housing;

— a national science and culture for the people perfecting our national identity and giving us access to universal scientific achievements;

— an independent and anti-imperialist foreign policy of non-alignment defending our territorial integrity, strengthening Peru's relations with all countries and demonstrating our solidarity with the peoples fighting for national liberation and social emancipation, which in the case of Latin America finds its highest expression in the heroic fight of the peoples of Nicaragua, El Salvador and Cuba.

We are one force, one hope and one conscience and we are pledged to the future of our country and its people to end oppression and exploitation in any form.

For the Commission, Jorge del Prado, Chairman, Tito Silva (Revolutionary Left Union) José María Salcedo (Revolutionary Socialist Party), Víctor Torres L. (Popular Democratic Union).

Abridged from *Unidad*,
October 18, 1984

Konstantin Chernenko Meets With Leaders of Youth Organizations of Socialist Countries

Konstantin Chernenko, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, met with leaders of youth organizations of socialist countries on November 5, 1984, at the CPSU Central Committee.

Konstantin Chernenko's Speech

Dear friends,

I would like to begin by greeting you warmly on behalf of the Central Committee of our party and the CC Political Bureau.

So representative a meeting of leaders of youth organizations of socialist countries is truly pleasing because it is a clear manifestation of the firm, unbreakable ties of friendship and cooperation that link our parties, states and peoples. It is pleasing because contacts between young people and their organizations at different levels are an important pre-condition for those ties to strengthen and increase.

Improvement of the guidance of youth organizations is one of the communists' primary concerns. The meeting of Central Committee Secretaries of the fraternal parties in Sofia last summer, which was devoted to work with young people, gave fresh convincing proof of this. As you know, the CPSU Central Committee recently approved a major resolution — a programmatic resolution, I would say — to raise the level of party leadership of the Komsomol. That resolution has been discussed in every party and Komsomol organization of the country and concrete measures have been taken everywhere to fulfil it.

I would like to stress strongly that that resolution was not adopted because of any "crisis phenomena" among young people, as our opponents have been making out. We have every reason to be proud of the Leninist Komsomol and of Soviet youth. Young people give a good account of themselves everywhere — in work, in studies, and in military service. They are carrying on with honor the cause of the older generations and, at the call of the party, boldly tackle the country's most important tasks.

You no doubt know what the Baikal-Amur Railway is and of the extremely complex natural conditions in which it is being built. And the contribution of Soviet youth to the opening of end-to-end commercial traffic on that railroad a year ahead of schedule was truly invaluable. I am convinced that young people will also work hard to fulfil the largest ever land improvement program, which was adopted at the recent October CPSU CC plenary meeting.

While giving due credit to the Komsomol and our young people in general for their services, we at the same time clearly see that the objective requirements of the development of Soviet society raise new problems in the work with young people. We are fully aware of their political importance.

Undoubtedly, the rising generation is today incomparably closer to the inspiring goals for which their parents and grandparents began to struggle. They see them with more clarity from the vantage point of the historic achievements of existing

socialism and are heading for them along the straight path of creative work. All this is indeed so. But the new society and therefore the young people now face tasks which are perhaps as great in scope as were those of the revolutionary or transitional period. For the task is fully to realize the immense advantages of socialism, to make every aspect of our society's life accord with the highest demands of scientific socialism and therefore to remove from it all that is incompatible with socialist justice, collectivist principles and the socialist work ethic.

This actually constitutes the essence of the course of improving developed socialism. The new edition of the CPSU program which is to be adopted at the next, 27th party congress is to thoroughly substantiate this course. And, as I already had occasion to point out, the services of the present generation of Soviet people and, of course, Komsomol members and young people to the homeland will be measured first and foremost by how successfully we accomplish the task of perfecting the socialism that we have built.

So you see what a responsibility rests on the younger generation, on those who will have to develop everything into which the initiators of socialist construction put their revolutionary enthusiasm and zest. There must be no failure here. That is precisely why party organizations constantly analyze the processes under way among the young people and concern themselves in practice with molding young citizens of the Soviet land.

Correct and truly effective education of young people is only achieved when all of them participate in the most active manner in the common work of the people. Today we are tackling such innovative tasks as that of making the national economy more intensive, accelerating scientific and technological progress and fulfilling the Food and Energy Programs. We also attach paramount importance to the further development of socialist democracy and to the masses' ever broader participation in the running of public and state affairs. The party and Komsomol bodies therefore have to make a thorough search for ways to ensure the most effective application of the young people's forces, initiative and energies.

We want the Komsomol to have a say in the solution of all questions, both those bearing on the work, everyday life and recreation of young men and women and those constituting problems of nationwide importance, problems of importance to the whole people.

In the spirit of Leninist traditions, the party approaches our young people, the Komsomol, with profound attention and trust, and regards them as a boundless reserve of cadre. I want to speak in this

connection of the great importance of the resolution on cadre policy recently adopted by the CPSU CC Political Bureau. It lays special emphasis on the need for young promising workers to work side by side with veteran representatives of the older generation and to gain necessary experience.

The Komsomol now has unprecedented possibilities for the ideological, political and moral education of young men and women. And it is necessary to use these possibilities to the full. We must take into account the concentrated psychological warfare unleashed by imperialist circles against the socialist countries. That is why we orient the Komsomol toward energetic, purposeful and well thought-out work to educate the young people in the spirit of communist convictions, lofty moral principles and boundless devotion to the homeland and to the great cause of socialism.

Success in this work, as, by the way, in any other work with people, depends to an enormous extent on the very style of the Komsomol's activities. We orient it toward resolutely eradicating formalism, red tape, over-emphasis on form and procedure, window-dressing. For the strength of the Komsomol lies in its being a truly democratic and self-governed organization of young people.

We understand, of course, that some important problems of the young people, particularly socio-economic problems, are too complex for the Komsomol to resolve single-handed. However, it is in this sphere that the foundations of organizational, educational and cultural work are being laid. The CPSU CC requires of the party, government, trade union and economic management bodies that they constantly concern themselves with and resolve in good time matters concerning the education and training of the younger generations and the improvement of their working, housing and living conditions.

There is one more point, comrades. The reality is now such that the peoples of our countries have to fulfil the creative tasks of building socialism in an extremely complex international situation. Life on earth is in jeopardy.

I would like to re-emphasize very strongly that a policy of arms build-up, confrontation and incitement of conflicts is not our policy. And if the world situation gives cause for alarm, it is imperialist reaction, led by the USA, that is wholly and entirely to blame. It is the USA and its allies that have set themselves the insane goal of achieving military superiority over the socialist states. Naturally, we cannot and will never allow this to happen. The CPSU and the Soviet state consistently pursue the Leninist policy of peace and cooperation. We work hard along with the fraternal countries to strengthen further the international positions of the socialist community and to organize a fitting rebuff to any aggressive designs.

Our party highly values the contribution of youth organizations of socialist countries to the struggle for peace and against the threat of nuclear war. We support all the Komsomol's initiatives aimed to accomplish this noble task. I know that at your meeting you discussed preparations for the 12th World Festival of Youth and Students in Moscow. The

festival movement has been tested by time and its importance for the cause of peace and understanding among nations is very great. And, of course, the Central Committee of our party and the Soviet government will give every help to the YCL in organizing the festival so that it will be a truly mass, impressive, anti-war and anti-imperialist event for young people of the entire world.

I would like to wish, comrades, that you will work even more perseveringly to strengthen contacts with progressive and democratic youth organizations on all continents. This will undoubtedly help to promote further the anti-imperialist solidarity of contingents of the international youth movement and to expand the ranks of those who champion peace and social progress.

It is very good that you have exchanged information on the organizational and ideological work of youth organizations in your countries in connection with the 40th anniversary of victory over German fascism and Japanese militarism. The celebration of this notable anniversary offers broad opportunities to popularize the peaceable foreign policy pursued by the socialist community countries. And, of course, to show the indubitable achievements of existing socialism.

I would like to ask you, dear friends, to convey warm greetings and best wishes on your return home from the CPSU Central Committee and the CC Political Bureau to the General and First Secretaries of the Central Committees of the fraternal parties of your countries.

Comrades, allow me to wish you every success in your work. Be firmer friends, be bolder and more energetic and work hard to ensure that the youth organizations of our countries are always dependable assistants of the communist parties. We are counting on this.

Pravda, November 6, 1984

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Fighting Test of the Working Class Movement's Maturity

Statement of the Political Commission of the Communist Party of Bolivia

An atmosphere of intrigue and opportunism reigned at the sixth congress of the Bolivian Workers' Center (BWC). This prevented the working class, the working people belonging to our trade union center, from conducting a serious, profound, and useful discussion of the basic tasks confronting the mass movement, from undertaking the role of the main protagonist in consolidating the democratic, popular and anti-imperialist process, from advancing toward the implementation of the revolutionary political project, and from according paramount attention to economic and social tasks so as to withstand the crisis without forsaking the interests of the working people. To carry out these tasks it was vital to formulate an action program expressed in a political instrument capable of organizing and directing the struggle.

What in fact occurred was an artificial polarization between the forces backing the democratic, popular and anti-imperialist project as the foundation for mass actions and the proponents of the anti-government, obviously anti-communist line reminiscent of anarcho-syndicalism.

The new composition of the Executive Committee reflects the victory of these elements over Democratic and Popular Unity (DPU). However, this in no way signifies that the working class has turned its back on Democratic and Popular Unity. The new Executive Committee is an unstable coalition that is torn by discord and does not mirror the actual balance of strength among the unionized masses. The Unitary Revolutionary Leadership (URL) is nothing more than a convergence of an ill-assorted trade union opposition where ultra-left marginals coexist with "yellow," right-wing leaders, CLAT* agents, and other forces, which while enjoying some influence among the people have taken the easy way by joining the irresponsible chorus of anti-communist anti-officialism.

At the congress itself it became clear that this sort of convergence was ineffective. The aim uniting it — that of excluding the communists from the Executive Committee — cannot serve as an action program, as the basis of cohesion, because it is in fact counter-revolutionary and is used as a cover for the leadership aspirations of a personality in decline.

One can therefore say that the URL won a Pyrrhic victory, for its reputation proved to have been tarnished even before the congress ended its proceedings. It is not an alternative political instrument, nor is it the political leadership of the trade union movement, much less of the working class. Nor will the BWC Executive Committee, from which they failed to exclude the communists (although a visible loss was inflicted upon us), become an effective instrument of Lechin's presidential ambitions on ac-

count of his duality, which springs, on the one hand, from his position as trade union leader and, on the other, from his bourgeois-reformist ideology that does not differ from the views of the other participants in the bloc which today has the support of the oligarchy and imperialism.

The trade union movement will not follow this path. However, the present situation will doubtless generate serious complications for the united and responsible activity of the trade unions.

The documents passed by the congress do not reflect the tone that Lechin and his myrmidons would have liked to give the trade union forum. Here, too, the reason is that when there is no political and economic platform reflecting reality and the need to transform it, oppositional, much less anti-communist postures do not help.

This shows that for the people there is no project other than the democratic, popular and anti-imperialist one that appeared as an alternative in the question of power in a crisis-ridden dependent bourgeois state, which in our region, on the example of fascist regimes, has demonstrated that it can go on existing only by means of violence.

Democratic and Popular Unity retains its significance as a historical project, and it has to be noted that its strategic aims are by no means confined to the situation considerations characterizing the actions of the government, which is, besides, not the sole possible and full-fledged spokesman of the DPU and encounters difficulties caused by the crisis and by the attacks from within and without by the forces opposed to its initial guidelines — while these guidelines, undoubtedly, mirror the choice of the people in the struggle for state power.

To enable the actions of the people to correspond with those of the government within the framework of the DPU project it is imperative to ascertain clearly what can be done in the present circumstances to achieve program aims. But it is also important that the political instrument of the DPU, in other words, the front, should function as a coherent leadership on two mutually complementing levels: at the grass-roots level as an organized force that accepts, safeguards and advances the project, and at the level of the government which gives effect to it by coordinated efforts. Such are the vital conditions for establishing popular rule in the state.

From this it follows that the main task is to reinforce and enlarge the DPU, to put an end to the present shortcomings and limitations to a point where the DPU becomes the factor for mobilizing the people. Effort must be concentrated on this task so as to move the democratic process toward its objective of liberation.

The turning of the BWC Executive Committee into a convergence of forces opposed to the DPU does not imply any suggestion of an alternative de-

*Latin American Working People's Center, a regional association of Christian Democratic trade unions. — Ed.

cision. Such an alternative is simply non-existent, and this was seen clearly in the purely nihilistic, anti-communist stand of the Unitary Revolutionary Leadership. In fact, on account of the government's miscalculations in the face of the crisis, the vacillations, persistent grave economic problems, and the obstacles to giving full effect to the DPU program, in other words, all that is rather the impact of alien influences on the state apparatus or influences directly antipodal to the DPU project, the opposition easily augments the arsenal of its arguments in support of its criticisms.

In this confusing situation effort has been concentrated on belittling the gains that have been made in the period of democracy (workers' participation in the management of COMIBOL,* the sliding wages scale, the freeze on the payment of the external debt to foreign private banks, the total control established over bank accounts, and so on), on brushing aside what is being done, above all by the communists, to prevent the effects of the crisis inherited from the past from falling on the shoulders of the working people. We are not trying to dodge proper criticism of our participation in the government and are not trying to justify the errors and shortcomings implicit in the present political line. But to attribute to us errors that we have ourselves openly denounced, to declare that we had infiltrated the government and are maintaining a stand not only differing from but also contrary to that of the DPU is not only a deliberate provocation but, essentially speaking, support for those reactionary forces that are seeking to emasculate the DPU of its people's, anti-imperialist content.

While we acknowledge that we did not do enough to get the masses to appreciate the democratic, popular, anti-imperialist project and become its principal motor, we are convinced that this project remains an effective political instrument of the organized working people and that with its help they can achieve their aspirations.

It is the duty of the trade union movement to see this prospect, go beyond the abstract defense of the democratic process and the usual trade union grievances, and become the pivot of the consolidation and progress of the liberation project.

It is this clear understanding of the DPU project's political and historical content that was lacking at the sixth congress of the BWC and is still lacking in the trade union and popular movements. We are still in need of adequate determination in our political and ideological exposure of the ultra-left and the anti-communism of the "yellow" elements in the trade unions.

From the aforesaid it may be stated that the sixth congress of the Bolivian Workers' Center (although at the congress we were perceptibly pushed from our positions by elements who do not mirror the balance of strength in the trade unions, much less among the workers, at the grassroots) did not reject the historical, democratic, popular, anti-imperialist project. Criticism of the government, a criticism unsupported by the relevant alternative program, does not

go beyond ordinary selfish opposition rendering the trade union movement ineffective.

We urge the consolidation of the revolutionary political leadership of the trade unions on the basis of the DPU and of those forces that have demonstrated that they are indeed committed to the attainment of the people's, anti-imperialist aims. This is necessary not only to prevent the dismemberment, division and fragmentation of the Bolivian Workers' Center with its present ill-assorted composition, but also to be in a position to regain the initiative in giving effect to our renewed project.

We have the instrument for unity—the program — and it must be carried out in full. The logic of history is on our side. If, in addition, we have the organization capable of mobilizing the people for the attainment of tangible aims and if we are able to defeat the enemies of the democratic process and the project, we shall move to victory with confidence, surmounting the partial and transient divergences that surfaced at the sixth congress of the BWC, and regaining our advanced position as the vanguard of the working class.

On the other hand, the sixth congress of the BWC has allowed us to declare that we communists remain the premier political force in the trade union and, above all, the working class movement — not only for the number of communist delegates (the largest to date) to the congress but also because there is no sector of trade union work in which we are not represented. Had it not been for the maneuvers and manipulations of the credentials commission and of Lechin himself, our position would have been even stronger. This is the result of long years of consistent struggle and organized work, whose achievements cannot be nullified by the losses inflicted upon us at the elections to the Executive Committee.

At the same time, the personality of Lechin is ceasing to be a myth of the trade union movement. His election was not unanimous. The senile leadership ambitions, the outworn anarcho-syndicalism, the opportunism, and the ideological contraband smuggled by the bourgeoisie through the corrupt trade union élite are opposed by a clear-cut class alternative. It is represented by Simon Reyes, who personifies the new revolutionary forces. This must unquestionably be borne in mind when the future is evaluated.

Throughout the 34 years since our party was founded we the communists have invariably been the staunchest champions of the organized unity of the trade union movement, a unity expressed in the existence of the Bolivian Workers' Center, which is the sole leading body of the nation's working people. By virtue of our principles we are enemies of the sectarian dismemberment of the working class and of any form of trade union parallelism, for we know that the strength of the working class lies in its unity. For that reason we have always been opposed to the divisive actions of the right and ultra-left forces. Even in cases when on account of a sectarian conspiracy, anti-communist elements infiltrated the trade union leadership (as was the case at the fourth

*State Ore-Mining Company of Bolivia. — Ed.

Congress and again at the latest congress), our policy was not aimed at kindling debates fraught with the danger of a split and weakening the organizations as such. Drawing upon the support of the lower cells and using the legal means permitted by trade union democracy we are fighting for a correct line and exposing slander in order to guarantee responsible and consistent leadership of the trade unions.

Even in spite of the reservations that we made, the results of the sixth congress of the BWC — having in mind the composition of the Executive Committee (with a few exceptions) — can under no circumstances change our fundamental stand. The Communist Party preserves the immutability of its policy of supporting a strong and united trade union center representing in fact all working people.

But our adherence to unity and our desire to prevent a split should not be mistaken for passiveness. As the party of the working class with indisputable positions among various strata of the proletariat and in the trade union structure, we the communists will exercise our right to revolutionary vigilance and to ideological struggle against anarcho-syndicalist and opportunist tendencies as well as our right to responsible criticism of the present BWC leadership.

Trade union democracy is incompatible with the existence of immune caudillos, who appropriate the right to unchallenged leadership of the trade union movement and try to make it serve their belated political ambitions.

The BWC congress adopted a Political Resolution, by which the Executive Committee must be guided in its work. It deals chiefly with the defense of

the democratic process, which cannot be the duty exclusively of the governmental security apparatus, as Lechin asserted in his recent televised speech. The responsibility for the defense of democracy lies simultaneously with the working class movement, with all the forces that have no intention of permitting fascism and the right-wing elements from once again returning the nation to the dismal night of dictatorship. Priority attention is also merited by the question of implementing the agreements signed in May between the BWC and the government. Fulfillment of these agreements has already commenced and they are in keeping with the spirit of the DPU program. Here, as at the talks concerning the emergency plan proposed by the trade union center, the prevailing desire must be to reach mutually acceptable decisions that will make for a realistic way out of the crisis with account of the interests of the nation, of the people.

The communists will make sure that the congress resolutions are not distorted at the whim of those who abide by adventurist or irresponsible guidelines.

At the same time, acting among the people, in the DPU, and in the government itself, our party will continue the battle to safeguard the interests of the working class and achieve its direct, historical aims.

Anti-communism enjoys no influence among the working people.

Revolutionary unity will prevail over unprincipled conspiracies.

La Paz, September 1984
Unidad, first week of October 1984

The Country's Return to Democracy is Inevitable

Statement by the Communist Party of Chile CC

In the face of the disastrous situation in which the country finds itself and as a result of the Chilean people's struggle, the country's return to democracy is inevitable, although much effort and sacrifice is required to achieve this objective.

Almost all the political parties have been outlining their positions on this question and stating that it would be expedient to arrive at a "constitutional pact." The Communist Party of Chile deems it necessary to set out its position concretely and directly on some main questions.

(1) The democratic regime that will replace the fascist dictatorship should above all ensure that human rights are observed in line with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Pact on Civil and Political Rights, and the International Pact on Economic and Social Rights. In particular, it must eradicate all torture and everything that is degrading to the human being.

It must be one of the chief tasks of the future institutional democracy to ensure the working people's social rights. These rights must be reflected in the constitution and form the basis of new labor

legislation on the organization of the working people, negotiations and strikes, wages, benefits, sanitation and hygiene standards, and industrial safety. The state should guarantee work to those who need it.

As the society's base, the family must be given primary attention. The state will give special protection to mother and child, irrespective of their legal status.

Women must have equal rights with men.

The Mapuche people and the Easter Island residents and other ethnic minorities will have the right to their cultural life, to profess and practise their beliefs and use their language, in which they must be taught.

(2) The democratic regime will be based on the people's sovereign will. The people will elect the local government bodies, members of parliament, and the President of the Republic through direct and secret ballot, with subsequent announcement of the results. All citizens — men and women, civilians and servicemen — over 18 years will have the right to vote.

It is necessary to guarantee the participation of all citizens in elections and to ensure proportional representation in the collective bodies and equal access of the political parties to the mass media, including state and university television.

The people must have the right not only to elect their representatives but also to participate in the running of the country.

The working people must hold in their hands the management of the social security system, participate directly in the administration of state and mixed enterprises and have access to information on the activity of private enterprises.

The block committees must have the means and resources to resolve the local residents' problems and must be involved in the municipalities to participate in the discussions and decision-making related to their specific problems.

(3) The President of the Republic must be elected by an absolute majority. If he does not obtain an absolute majority in the first round of voting, a second round will be held with only the two candidates that received the most votes participating.

The need for more rapid and efficient passage of laws makes a unicameral parliament desirable. If the traditional bicameral congress is maintained, the senate should deal only with strictly defined matters.

The creation of democratic governments enjoying the parliament's broad support will be facilitated by the election of the President of the Republic on the basis of an absolute majority, by the simultaneous election of the executive and legislative bodies, and also by the setting up of a system which makes it incumbent on the President to appoint a head of the cabinet who has the support of the majority of deputies.

This support for the head of the cabinet should be manifested when he is being nominated by the President and each time that he presents his annual government program for parliamentary approval. If he does not have this support, he must be replaced.

The President of the Republic can dissolve parliament once during his term and call unscheduled elections which must be held within 60 days. He cannot exercise this right in the final year of his term.

(4) The political system in Chile must be a multiparty one.

Under the democratic regime the right of all citizens to organize political parties will be recognized. The parties will be guided by the provisions of the electoral law and by their own statutes.

The political parties will have legal status except in those cases where they do not obtain even one seat in parliament or are organized to struggle openly against human rights or to propagandize war and racism. The democratic regime must have legislation to defend itself.

The political and social organizations will have the right to fight for the constant broadening and deepening of democracy and for transformations leading to that goal.

(5) All the bodies and powers of the state should fully correspond to the new democratic regime.

The military institutions must be democratized

and guided by a new military doctrine in place of the infamous national security doctrine.

The juridical bodies should be purged of those judges and ministers with a bad name. The workers in these bodies should be appointed by a supreme judicial council that is democratic in character. All citizens must have the right to quick and full trial free of charge.

The independence of the state authorities should only be understood as the autonomy of each of them and not as the subordination of one to another.

(6) Under the democratic regime education should be inspired by the example of the founders of the homeland, by the liberation struggle of the Araucans (Mapuche), the best creations of national culture, love for the people and respect for the individual, by universal culture and science, adherence to peace and the fraternity of the peoples of Latin America and the entire world.

The state must provide education for all Chileans.

It is necessary to respect the autonomy of the universities and the freedom of the chairs, and to ensure the democratic election of the leading bodies of every center of higher learning, and the participation of the various subdivisions in the work of the university councils.

There should be relations of mutual recognition and respect between the state, the Catholic Church and representatives of other religions as part of a common adherence to human values.

(7) Under the democratic regime there will be different forms of property: state, mixed, private, cooperative, and also working people's self-management, all of which will make possible the greatest economic development through utilization of the possibilities and resources of each sector.

Mineral resources, the large strategic mining and industrial enterprises and the banks and other financial institutions should be nationalized.

A new agrarian reform should be carried out, taking into account the existing situation and the experience of the previous reform.

(8) The state should pursue a foreign policy of anti-imperialist solidarity with the nations of Latin America and the Caribbean and should maintain relations with all countries. It is necessary to adhere actively to the principles of peaceful coexistence, the peaceful settlement of international disputes, non-interference and respect for the peoples' right to self-determination.

(9) The Communist Party of Chile believes that a "constitutional pact" between all the country's democratic forces without exception should offer the country a serious possibility to change the situation. Nevertheless it believes that Chile needs a new political constitution which in the long run should be elaborated by a representative and democratic constituent assembly for subsequent approval by the people in a plebiscite.

The proposals of some reactionary or so-called democratic circles to appoint or elect a congress in the near future, with the possibility of Pinochet's remaining in power until 1989, are unacceptable.

As we said in relation to General Matthei's statements: "Both the executive and the legislative power should be elected simultaneously so that they

reflect the will of the majority, which wants and is capable of pursuing a general policy of eradicating fascism, creating a new democracy and restoring the national economy. This can only be attained on condition that Pinochet leaves, a provisional government is set up and a constituent assembly convened, as was proposed by the Democratic Alliance, the People's Democratic Movement and the Socialist Bloc."

Finally, the Communist Party of Chile states: "Not everything can be done overnight, but some of the government's proposals and deadlines are just delaying measures aimed at prolonging the dictatorship and delaying the restoration of democracy. The Chilean people are politically mature, responsible and capable of creating a new democratic regime even now, simultaneously tackling various questions related to the achievement of this objective."

Nation Shocked at Indira Gandhi's Death

Statement by the Central Secretariat of the National Council, Communist Party of India

The entire nation is shocked and grieved at the tragic death of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi at the hands of assassins evidently acting as the tools of anti-national and dark forces operating inside the country.

It is an irreparable loss for our country coming at a time when we are facing a serious external threat from the U.S. imperialists and from chauvinist communal and separatist forces directed against the unity and security of the country.

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has been pursuing our country's foreign policy of anti-imperialism, safeguarding of world peace and friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and progressive regimes.

As chairperson of the non-aligned movement she has been playing an important role in uniting non-aligned countries in favor of world peace and a new international economic order.

She has stood up for the national liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Her death is a great loss to peace forces throughout the world.

The assassination of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi is a grim warning to our people that black forces of terrorism and murder politics have entered the poli-

tical scene and are out to destroy the unity and integrity of our country and create chaos.

At a time when the country is facing serious internal problems and economic difficulties and when mass discontent on issues like soaring prices, growing unemployment and mass poverty is rising, the void created by her passing away is likely to be utilized by imperialism and internal reactionary forces of chauvinism, communalism and separation.

In such a situation there is urgent need for unity among the patriotic and secular democratic forces on the question of safeguarding the country's unity and integrity as well as world peace. There cannot be two opinions on this.

The Communist Party of India appeals to all patriotic and secular democratic forces of our country to unify and rally the people at the critical hour that our country is facing. It appeals to all sections of our people not to fall prey to divisive and communal forces.

The CPI pays its respectful homage to the memory of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and sends its heartfelt condolences to the members of the bereaved family.

October 31, 1984
New Age, November 4, 1984

Protest Against the Imminent Crimes

From a Statement by the People's Party of Iran CC

The radio of the Islamic Republic of Iran has announced that there will be a so-called open trial in Evin prison of members of the leadership of the People's Party of Iran. But we have reliable information that this process, which the Islamic Republic's judicial authorities claim is an "open" trial is in fact nothing but the latest farce, for closed trials of arrested party members have long been in progress throughout the country. Some of the activists were given death sentences which have already been carried out. Many party members have been sentenced to long prison terms.

As to the trial of People's Party of Iran leaders which representatives of the judicial authorities have said is to "start soon," it should be stressed

that it has long since started in Evin prison. Many comrades have already been given death sentences. Iran's punitive bodies have for almost two years been brutally torturing its victims, using various drugs against them and exerting very strong physical and moral pressure on them. In breach of all universally-accepted standards, they informed members of the PPI leadership a long time ago in writing that each of them had been sentenced to death and forced them to tell their families about this. This was done so as to bring moral pressure to bear not only on the political prisoners themselves but also on their families in order to make them confess during the "trials" to crimes they did not commit. From the viewpoint of progressive humanity, these mean

methods expose still further the real essence of the regime, which claims to be seeking "Islamic justice."

The PPI CC strongly condemns the inhuman methods used by Iran's judicial bodies and calls on the representatives of the progressive and national patriotic forces, and on all who support the ideas of humanism in Iran and throughout the world, to protest against the imminent crimes.

The PPI CC demands that a neutral international group of specialist doctors to determine the physical and moral state of the political detainees and a

delegation of democratic lawyers to familiarize themselves with the methods used to get "confessions" from the Evin prisoners should be sent to Iran, and that the accused should be given the right to choose a lawyer.

There is no doubt that if the responsible judicial organs truly believed their own false announcements they would have to accept these profoundly just conditions. Their refusal is the latest proof that the faked trial is a reprisal and not a real trial.

November 7, 1984
Abridged

USA: 1984 Elections: No Landslide, No Mandate

Gus Hall, General Secretary,
Communist Party USA

All the news flashes, bulletins, headlines and articles about "an electoral landslide", "a shift to the right", "the new political realignment for a conservative majority" and Reagan's claim to a "popular mandate" for his anti-labor, pro-war, racist policies are all attempts by the mass media to put another one over on the American people. It is a continuation of the "packaging and selling of the president." Now we are witnessing a TV-headline blitzkrieg to mold the public's perception of the elections.

There was no swing to the right and no new political realignment. In fact, if Reagan had run on his record or on the Republican Party platform he would have been defeated. Reagan ran away from his record and never talked about issues. The Reagan re-election campaign was conducted by image-makers, script-writers and handlers. The people did not vote for Reaganism or Reaganomics. Many voted for a teflon-coated, TV-created character put over by TV commercials, movie clips and a \$50 million publicity campaign.

NO WIN FOR REAGANISM

Voters did not vote for Reaganism or Reaganomics. In fact, the votes for most of the candidates for Congress and Senate were votes *against* Reaganism and Reaganomics.

Many who oppose every policy and position of Reagan still voted for Reagan because they see the presidency as more of a ceremonial position. They see the president as a spokesman and figurehead. They voted for a Hollywood-type communicator. The emergence of TV as a major factor in election campaigns has fostered this new image and concept of the presidency. Through TV the voters separated the man from his positions and policies and even from his party.

SHORT COAT-TAILS

In a sense there was a split in mass thinking between the person and his policies, between Reagan and Reaganism and a downgrading of the U.S. presidency to a figurehead stature.

Thus, Reagan got the popular vote. But Reaganism provided no political coat-tails for the congressional and senatorial candidates. This is because the people view Congress and the Senate as the real set of political power and decision-making. And they tended to vote for congressional and senatorial candidates based on issues and politics.

The elections are over but the serious problems are still with us. The economy is now beginning to slide into another crisis. Some of the symptoms and signals were on pre-election hold. One out of every three votes for Reagan were votes for an economic upturn. But it was a short-lived upturn and the downward slide had already begun before election day, but not soon enough for the people to realize it.

NO CLEAR ALTERNATIVE

The Mondale-Ferraro ticket did not present a clear, viable alternative to Reaganism. They were not willing or able to challenge Reagan on issues vital to the people, especially on nuclear disarmament and negotiations. For the most part, the Democratic machine didn't work or wouldn't work. And the Republicans were able to label them as the party of higher taxes, an issue most Americans were vitally concerned about.

ILLUSIONS WILL FADE

The election day illusions and the image of a teflon-coated, TV-created president will fade very quickly as the problems and crises become clear and begin hurting. The Reagan reality will soon dispel all illusions as he continues to push his anti-labor, pro-war, racist policies.

Many ideological questions emerged during the election campaign. For instance, the Republicans were able to use a new false patriotism that pushes ideas about "America standing tall." The Reagan camp was able to use racism by inference, by code-words and demagoguery. They used fanatical and false religious concepts as a cover for reactionary policies. They used anti-labor concepts such as "special interests," and "big labor." They used the slander that welfare and unemployment checks,

foodstamps, cheese lines and all government-related programs are taken advantage of by "lazy free-loaders."

LONG-RANGE EFFECTS

Possibly the two most important long-range effects of the elections are the emergence of the new independent people's power blocs and the new image, status and influence of our party.

The movements of political independence — the trade union movement, the Rainbow Coalition, peace, women's, youth, senior and farm movements — all worked along parallel lines during the election campaign. These sectors of the anti-Reagan front must now find ways to become a united force that can determine the course of political events in our country. They can, if organized and united, block the anti-people policies of the new Reagan administration. They can become the decisive force in a turnaround 1986 congressional election. They can become the nucleus of a new people's political party.

COMMUNIST PARTY CAMPAIGN

The second development that will have long-range effects is the communist election campaign. The party's message not only reached but influenced millions. The tremendous impact of the communist campaign and activities cannot be measured by the number of votes. But even the vote is an indication of the effect of the campaign on people's thinking.

The party's campaign influenced people and voters on issues like the big lie, the new ultra-right and

fascist danger, the need for public takeover of industries in structural crisis. The communist candidates, literature and rallies educated people on the relationship between corporate profits and class exploitation, on profits and policies of aggression and war, on racism. And, although socialism was not on the ballot, many people wanted to know about socialism USA. This campaign did much toward popularizing Marxism and socialism USA.

The party is now accepted by wide circles as an important organization with a significant message, with unique but realistic and viable solutions to problems.

REAGANISM BLOCKED AND STOPPED

Most important, the movements of political independence, the components that made up the anti-Reagan front, must not lose sight of the fact that most of the Congress and Senate seats are up for re-election in two years. This can be a most powerful factor in blocking the policies of the Reagan administration. Unity and mass actions can determine the course of political events.

Reagan and Reaganism can be blocked, stopped and reversed. The 1984 election was not a mandate, a landslide or a realignment. The emergence and strength of the people's movements of political independence are victories that can be deepened and extended into a powerful, united fightback movement that can block and stop Reaganism.

Daily World,
November 9, 1984

Bring the Five-Year Period to a Fitting End. Accelerate Economic Intensification

Speech by Konstantin Chernenko at a Meeting of the CPSU CC Political Bureau

Comrades,

At the meeting of the Political Bureau of the CPSU CC today we are considering the draft plan and budget for 1985. In many respects, the coming year is an unusual one. It is the year of active preparation for the 27th congress of the CPSU, and the year of the 40th anniversary of the Soviet people's victory in the Great Patriotic War. All of this will undoubtedly give special political meaning to the great effort lying ahead of us in the new year. It must be marked by the mobilization of all our forces for successfully completing the current five-year plan period and creating a good, sound basis for the 12th five-year period.

The drafting of the plan and budget for 1985 has understandably called for considerable efforts with the active participation of work collectives in all the sectors, local party, government and economic organs, ministries and departments and, of course, the State Planning Committee and the Ministry of Finance. The drafts were scrutinized in detail at the USSR Council of Ministers, and the Political Bureau's Commission for Improving Administra-

tion and Management, and Enhancing the Efficiency of the Economy.

It is now up to the Political Bureau of the CPSU CC to consider these documents, and — most importantly — to indicate the concrete ways of fulfilling the economic and social tasks in the year ahead.

It goes without saying that in the drafting of the plan and budget, account had to be taken both of our achievements and of our shortfalls. Let us recall that for a number of reasons the rate of economic development in 1981 and 1982 turned out to be somewhat lower than planned. Having made a realistic assessment of the situation, the party worked out effective measures aimed to overcome the negative trends and accelerate economic growth. It is now possible to say with satisfaction: the economy has begun to develop more dynamically. *The past two years have been marked by positive shifts in the work of virtually all the sectors of the national economy.*

Take industry, for example. In 1983 and 1984, the increase in its annual output is to average 32 billion roubles, which is 50 per cent more as compared with

the first two years of the current five-year period. Encouraging changes have also been taking place in agriculture. They were dealt with in detail at the October plenary meeting of the CPSU CC. We all remember very well the problems railway transport used to create. Its work is now improving, and one can hope that matters in this industry will further proceed successfully as well. The pre-scheduled opening of working traffic along the whole route of the Baikal-Amur Main Railway Line, that truly whole people's project, is an outstanding event.

And what is most important, comrades, the on-going changes have had a favorable effect on the Soviet people's living standard and have accelerated the growth of the population's real incomes. And that is the main criterion showing that the party's economic policy is correct and the line it has worked out — true. It is also gratifying that all these achievements are based on rising efficiency of the economy and improvement of its qualitative indicators.

What has enabled us to achieve such results?

I think that it is above all the more purposeful and objective-oriented work of our party organizations, and government and state organs at the center and in the localities in directing economic construction.

Further, one must note the vigorous measures taken to overcome the lag along the crucial lines of economic development, to "widen" the bottlenecks, metaphorically speaking.

More exacting demands are being made on cadre of every rank, and their responsibility for the state of affairs in industry, in the region and at the enterprises has been enhanced. The measures taken to strengthen labor and production discipline and organization, and to introduce order have, of course, made themselves felt.

It is clear, comrades, that our efforts have proved to be effective thanks to the whole people's support, thanks to the enthusiasm with which the working people accepted the measures worked out by the party and actively fought to translate them into life. Vivid evidence of this is the workman-like response from the work collectives everywhere to the call of the CPSU Central Committee to achieve an above-plan increase in labor productivity by one per cent and a reduction in costs by an additional half per cent. Let us say frankly that these assignments were not of the easiest, but the overwhelming majority of enterprises have successfully coped with their higher commitments.

I think that the work collectives, workers, collective farmers and members of the intelligentsia who have most distinguished themselves, all those who have made this weighty contribution to strengthening the might of our homeland by their selfless labor deserve our most heartfelt gratitude.

But it is not right to rest content with what has been achieved. In the recent period I have had a number of meetings with the secretaries of the central committees of the communist parties of Union Republics, and territorial and regional party committees. The comrades spoke of the progress in plan fulfillment and of achievements. It was noted at the same time that there is evidence here and there of attitudes of placidity and self-complacency, and an

urge to ease up on the effort. There should be no room for such attitudes. You are aware that many enterprises and even some industries did not manage to achieve results guaranteeing a stable growth of production, and that the lag in far from all the positions has been overcome. This relates especially to the fulfillment of the plan for the range of products. The timely commissioning of production capacities is still not being ensured.

In short, comrades, much work lies ahead. That is why I should like to emphasize most definitely: those who still lag behind, should pull themselves together without delay; those who are coping with the plan should catch up with the frontrankers; those who are in front should not relax their pace. In this way, *the positive shifts in the economy should not only be consolidated, but also multiplied by common efforts.*

Considering in that light, the draft plan for 1985, one could say that, on the whole, it orients the development of the economy correctly. The rates of growth of the key economic indicators are set higher than the average for the four years, and this makes it possible to reach the level of the five-year plan targets on a number of key positions.

The plan lays stress on the intensification of social production. Almost the whole increase in the national income and 95 per cent of the increase in industrial output are to come from productivity. And this means that our economy is moving, step by step, closer to a stage at which the whole product increment in the economy will come from higher labor productivity.

Let us note that the indicators written into the draft plan are more solidly grounded and tied in with each other. The economic priorities and proportions are basically maintained.

A further build-up of our country's industrial might is envisaged. Industries in the fuel and energy complex are to be substantially developed, and the gas industry and the nuclear-power industry are to go on developing at a high rate as in the past. But it is equally important to increase the extraction of oil and coal. This year, the oil and coal workers have regrettably not yet coped with their plan assignments. Everything needs to be done to enable these industries to pull themselves up to the utmost in the remaining period of time, and to ensure stable work from the first days of the new year.

The metallurgists will also have to tackle some responsible tasks in 1985. In the past, we have repeatedly criticized them for failure to fulfill plans. There is now evidence of a definite turnaround for the better, and it needs to be firmly consolidated, with concern primarily for enhancing metal quality and expanding the product mix.

In our day, it is hard to over-rate the role of engineering in the development of every sphere of the economy. Next year's plan takes the right line of accelerating the output of new generations of machines and equipment and increasing reliability of hardware. And it is the machine-builders' duty to cope successfully with these far from simple tasks.

Realization of the Food Program is an object of the party's tireless concern. The saturation of agriculture and all the sectors of the agro-industrial com-

plex with modern hardware is to increase. The supply of mineral fertilizers to the countryside is also to go up. But there should be a fresh consideration of the question of the volume of funds going into the development of the production of mineral fertilizers with an eye to the long term.

Capital construction is one of the key problems. Here, higher growth rates, greater concentration of resources and better provision of materials, machines and mechanisms are envisaged. That gives us ground to hope that the builders will be able to put an end to sporadic rush work, improve quality and start, at long last, to meet their plan targets.

I should like to speak especially about the social section of the plan. In most of its indicators, we are moving up to the level of the five-year plan targets. That pertains to the increase in social consumption funds, construction of dwelling houses, schools, hospitals, polyclinics, nursery schools and day-cares. In 1985 the population's real income is to go up by 3.3 per cent, which is substantially higher than the average for the preceding four years. These targets are backed up with faster rates of development in group B industries. Centralized wage increases for teachers and some categories of workers in agriculture will be continued. Benefits to participants in the Great Patriotic War are to be extended, a start is to be made on increasing minimum old-age pensions for collective farmers, and also of pensions for industrial and office workers who left for their well-merited retirement more than 10 years ago. Other important measures are also envisaged, among which there is a need to emphasize the questions connected with the realization of the school reform.

A few words about our external economic ties. The draft envisages their development along every line and, naturally, most intensively with the countries which are members of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA). Full account has been taken of all the propositions stemming from the decisions and understandings of the CMEA Economic Summit (Moscow, 1984), and that, comrades, is not only an economic but also a political question. The implementation of the adopted decisions should be under constant control by party, government and economic organs.

Finally, the plan takes due account of the needs of strengthening the country's defense capability. We cannot help seeing the mounting aggressiveness of imperialism and its attempts to achieve military superiority over the socialist community. Our country is not going to attack anyone. That is clear to any sober-minded person. But we shall strengthen our defense capability, safeguarding the peaceful labor of the Soviet people and standing up for the cause of world peace.

In assessing the draft plan and budget as a whole, one could say: they accord with the directives of the party's 26th congress and the subsequent plenary meetings of the CPSU CC, and embody with sufficient fullness the new and positive elements that have entered into our country's life in the past several years. The comrades will agree, I think, that we have good grounds for approving the draft plan and budget and recommending that the USSR Council of

Ministers should put them before a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet for its consideration.

The task now coming to the forefront is that of organizing smooth and purposeful work to implement everything that has been mapped out. Here is how the question is formulated: the plan must be unconditionally fulfilled, and wherever possible and necessary — overfulfilled, with the utmost efforts to meet the targets in enhancing the efficiency of production. And smooth work, and scrupulous observance of contractual obligations for product delivery should, of course, be ensured. One should say that here it has been possible somewhat to right the situation over the past two years, but the task is to secure complete fulfillment of contracts everywhere.

Each industry and enterprise understandably has its own tasks and peculiarities, but there is a common task that should nowadays permeate the work of all the industries and all the enterprises: it is the task of better economic management, more efficient use of resources and more productive work. In other words, it is the task of rational economic management. The peculiar aspect of the present moment is to raise the whole of our work to a qualitatively higher stage and to get rationalization to embrace all the units of the production process.

Care must be taken to create the necessary economic and organizational conditions for developing the creative activity of the masses. The practical implementation of this task will provide a field of application for the abilities and knowledge of the worker and the collective farmer, the engineer and the economist, the scientist and the economic executive.

I should like to recall what Lenin said about the "condition for economic revival" being "the raising of the working people's discipline, their skills, the effectiveness, the intensity of labor and its better organization."* Addressing the working people, Lenin said that we have to calculate everything and that everyone must learn to be thrifty.

That is precisely how all the work collectives, all the enterprises and industries should organize their work.

Economies in material resources provide a broad field of activity. The primary task is to be a zealous husbandman striving for the greatest possible economies. I should like to say that there must now be a fundamentally different approach to economizing. What was the old attitude? Economies were regarded merely as some kind of addition to steadily growing and seemingly inexhaustible resources. The situation has now changed substantially, and we must no longer expect a continuous increase in resources. In our day, economies tend to become the key source for ensuring the growth of production.

In 1985, economies must provide almost 60 per cent of the economy's additional requirements in fuel and energy resources and rolled ferrous stock. Taut targets have also been set for economies in other types of raw and other materials. This makes it perfectly clear that it will be possible to fulfil plan targets only with strict observance of the envisaged input norms. That is why the ministries and production collectives should draw lessons from the

*V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 258.

omissions of the previous years, when targets for reducing material inputs were frequently left unmet. At each enterprise, a clearcut plan for practical action in economies must be drawn up, and stringent control instituted over its fulfillment.

The drive for economies should, of course, permeate not only production but also all the other spheres of our life, including everyday living. After all, one-fifth of the fuel and electric power goes to meet everyday needs and so should be used more thriftily.

The comrades are aware of the initiatives of the best collectives in Moscow, the Ukraine and the Urals, namely, an above-plan economies fund at every enterprise, in every region, territory and republic. This is, I think, a useful beginning in the spirit of the times, and it should be supported. Why not take the approach, say, that each work collective, emulating from front-ranking enterprises, should set itself *the task of working two days a year on economized fuel, and raw and other materials?*

That would, incidentally, induce a concrete and vigorous search in the localities for ways to reduce the cost of production, to run down all kinds of super-normative inventories, and cut back on unproductive expenditures. Such work could be backed up in the teams and workplaces by the introduction of personal economies accounts. All these matters must, of course, be reflected in the work collectives' socialist obligations.

The proposal of comrade Vladimir Shcherbitsky and other comrades to allocate the resources of this fund for social needs, primarily for improving medical services for the population, deserves approval.

Special attention should be given to *the rational use of labor* and enhancement of its productivity. How the workers are positioned, how efficient are their working techniques, and how every hour of labor time is used need to be analyzed in depth. That is well met, for instance, by the initiative of a number of work collectives to carry out a certification of workplaces, and it is highly important that workers, technicians and engineers themselves are directly involved.

Workplace certification organically includes a drive for fuller use of production capacities, machinery and equipment. A vast potential incorporating the labor of millions of Soviet people has been accumulated over the preceding years, and it can no longer be tolerated that in engineering 14 per cent of all equipment does not function in the course of the working-day, while no runs are made by one truck in three. That is intolerable mismanagement and waste of social labor. The situation must be sorted out concretely and at each enterprise so as to secure better use of the available facilities.

You are aware that the party's Central Committee recently endorsed the experience of the Dnepropetrovsk Combine Harvester Works in the certification of workplaces and their rationalization. Ministries, local party, government and trade union organs should ensure the spread of this important initiative everywhere.

The next question. Rational economic management means constant improvement of product quality. Everyone understands that the drive for quality is

inseparable from honest fulfillment of assignments by each working person.

The 1985 plan sets forth important targets for quality improvement, but these should be seen as a minimum of what needs to be done.

Let us be frank: both in industry and in other sectors, the state of product quality is so far not of the best. There are complaints about the quality of individual types of metal products, the low reliability of some machines and mechanisms, and the dull and lack-luster dyes turned out by chemical workers. The state of affairs in building is likewise unsatisfactory. The team leaders of house-building combines acted honestly, as workers should, in writing the letter addressed to all the builders in the country. As everyone well remembers, they call for a resolute improvement in the quality of the housing being erected. No wonder their letter met with such a wide response, while the CPSU Central Committee adopted a special resolution in support of it.

The sectoral ministries, and the central economic departments must provide a reliable basis for the efforts to improve quality. Not a single opportunity should be lost sight of in applying modern hardware and technology, in introducing solid bonuses for the design and development of new products, tangible price rebates on outdated products, the raising of working skills, and many other things. The review of obsolete standards and regulations which fail to induce enterprises to improve the technical and economic characteristics of their products need to be reviewed much faster.

Extensive introduction of scientific and technological achievements in production is understandably the basis of effective development in our day. The draft plan orientation toward the development and engineering of new types of machines and equipment, and expansion of the scale on which high technologies are introduced and products renewed should be given a positive appreciation.

A broader view of the problem of developing science and technology causes some concern over the state of affairs in this field. That is why the Political Bureau has deemed it necessary to consider the questions of accelerating scientific and technological progress and improving management of it in every unit of the economy at the next plenary meeting of the CPSU CC. It should be prepared in such a way that its decisions ensure a radical turn-about along this highly vital line of our development.

We also need to deal more vigorously with the *improvement of management, and of the whole economic mechanism*. This effort has been inaugurated with the experiment in extending the independence and responsibility of enterprises under five ministries. Another 21 Union and Republican ministries will join in the experiment next year. In addition, enterprises providing everyday services in many regions are to be switched to new conditions. Proposals are being prepared for improving the activity of building organizations, improvement of design and costing work, and increase of material incentives to builders for timely commissioning of facilities. New methods are being worked out for efficient cooperation between the branches of the agro-industrial complex. The use of collective forms of organization and re-

muneration of labor in the economy is being extended.

In short, the work of improving economic management is proceeding along a wide front. The returns will largely depend on the improvement of style and methods of activity by ministries and departments and of all the other elements of economic administration and management. It would apparently be useful to continue slimming down the administrative apparatus, doing away with superfluous accounting and all kinds of paper makework.

Comrades,

All our efforts to accelerate the development of the economy are ultimately aimed at being able to set aside more funds for social needs and to raise the population's living standard more rapidly. Indeed, that is what our plans are aimed at. I should like to deal with only one matter: *the need to improve resolutely the provision of manufactured goods and services to the population.* The working people's incomes have been growing from year to year, and that is natural for our society. But it is also natural for consumer demand to be increasingly shifting to high-quality products: fashionable clothes and footwear, modern and reliable televisions, refrigerators and other technically perfect household appliances.

But those are precisely the high-quality goods that are in short supply. Industry has turned out to be unprepared for this change in demand. It has continued to turn out an excess of goods of relatively low consumer standards, while there are not enough of the high-quality goods for which there is a heightened demand. So we find that against the background of an overall growth of the commodity mass there is a glut in some lines of products and a shortage in others.

What other explanation is there — except gross miscalculations — for the obvious shortage of high-quality footwear, especially children's footwear, on sale? Does it make sense that the shelves of shoe stores are now crammed mainly with summer footwear, while it is hard to buy the required footwear in season? Now and again this or that set of products, sometimes most simple to make and most necessary for every day tend to disappear from the store shelves. That is, in particular, an indication that those who run the USSR Ministry of the Light Industry have failed to ensure the necessary flexibility in studying and taking account of the market outlook, and have not taken care to restructure a number of important lines of production. The same reproach could be addressed to many other branches of engineering turning out consumer goods, and also to merchandising organizations. Indeed, it is merchandising that must erect a reliable barrier to the penetration of low-quality goods onto the store shelves and always take a principled stand in all things for the interests of the consumers.

At the end of last year, the Political Bureau passed a decision on the elaboration of a complex program for the development of the production of consumer goods and services. Our party line here is perfectly clear: it is to ensure accelerated development of all the branches and units of the economy employed in the production of goods and provision of services to the population. For that purpose there is a need to

effect their technical re-equipment, to provide them with raw and other material resources, and to make it more worthwhile for workers to turn out more high-quality goods for the population. Comrade Geydar Aliyev, who heads the CPSU CC Political Bureau Commission for Direction and Control of the Elaboration of the Complex Program has informed us that work on the program is nearing completion, and that it will shortly be put before the Political Bureau for its consideration.

But even now it is necessary to involve in the output of goods and the provision of services to the population all the ministries, enterprises and associations without exception. Primary importance must be given to these matters, the local organs must use the broad potentialities and rights vested in them in order to administer the resources wisely and saturate the market with the goods in short supply more rapidly.

Comrades,

The success of any major undertaking directly depends on *the further raising of the level of party direction of the economy* and the utmost intensification of party-political work among the masses, and that is where the style of leadership in accordance with present-day requirements is of exceptional importance.

There is a need to ensure systematic analysis of the state of affairs in the economy of every region and every enterprise, to conduct a well-qualified and ceaseless quest for optimal solutions of pressing problems, correctly to select cadre, painstakingly to foster them, and to make stringent demands on them. It must be an indefeasible law that all actions by party committees and Soviet and economic organs, and all organizational and propaganda measures should be timely and well justified.

That is the kind of approach that largely marks the activity of the central committees of the communist parties of the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Lithuania, and Georgia, and of the Moscow City and the Leningrad, Kaluga, Chelyabinsk, Ulyanovsk and a number of other regional party committees. It is quite natural, therefore, that their plan fulfillment is being perseveringly secured and tangible results in intensifying production achieved.

By contrast, wherever party committees fail fully to display their organizing role, their influence on the solution of problems in developing production and satisfying the needs and requirements of the population is relaxed. That, in particular, was made evident in the discussion at the CC Secretariat of a report from the Kalinin Regional Party Committee. Such shortcomings need to be resolutely corrected, and sluggishness, formalism and pronouncements for effect eradicated wherever they may appear.

Efforts to mobilize the work collectives for unconditional fulfillment of the plan of the final year of the five-year period should be a prominent part of the range of duties and concerns of party committees. Life shows that the more intelligible our explanations to the people both of our general problems and of the tasks of each enterprise, each section and each working person, the higher are the production indicators.

Relying on the grass-roots party organizations, our people's labor and creative initiatives should be

channeled into practical action. Full use must be made of such a powerful instrument as socialist emulation. Production results largely depend on how it is organized in the work collectives, what forms are worked out and how emulation publicity is ensured.

It is no secret, after all, that the lag of a large number of enterprises is frequently covered up with a facade of outwardly favorable overall indicators. Here is a characteristic example. Within the first nine months of this year, the front-ranking collectives of the Ministry of the Industry of Structural Materials on the whole reduced the costs of production by 117 million roubles down from the plan, but nearly one in four enterprises simultaneously exceeded the plan level of inputs. For the same reason, economies for the ministry as a whole were less than half as large.

We also need to give more attention to the so-called "middle-rankers," that is, those who more or less fulfil the plan, but do not want to strain themselves and are in no hurry to join the front-rankers. There we have our reserves, and these are considerable reserves. One should also bear in mind that those who do not strive to improve their work today, could well join the ranks of the laggards tomorrow.

We expect our trade unions and Young Communist League to act vigorously in the drive for plan fulfillment, development of emulation, and the spread of front-ranking experience. They have a

duty to develop workers' initiative, to promote the adoption of upwardly-adjusted plans and to have the best conditions for highly productive labor created in every work collective.

The vanguard role of the communists must be fully manifested. This means above all that every party member should set a personal example of honest work, initiative and creativity, a high level of organization and discipline. But that is not enough. The most important criterion of the party spirit today is not only how the communist works and behaves, but also how resolutely and vigorously he or she combats shortcomings and works to bring about a general improvement of the state of affairs.

The efforts of the mass media should be concentrated on the crucial lines. What is necessary just now is support for new ideas, unflagging control of obligation fulfillment, and a skilful blend of prompt information, sharp signals and constructive criticism with vivid reporting about everything that is positive, about every instance of heroic labor effort.

In conclusion, allow me to express the confidence that the communists and all the other working people will adopt the 1985 plan as a program for concrete action and will successfully fulfil it. We have every possibility of bringing the five-year plan period to a fitting close and to mark the 27th congress of our Leninist party with high achievements in labor.

Pravda, November 16, 1984

from the press

Tasks of the Peace Forces

Uwe Post

A secret Pentagon report to the U.S. Congress says, according to *The Washington Post*, that this year one Pershing II missile is installed in the FRG every week and that the number of missiles deployed since December 1983 totals 45. Four complete Pershing II batteries (with nine missiles in each) have been sited near Mutlangen and another near Heilbronn. One of the five Pershing II batteries is put at the ready by rotation, which means that it is equipped with nuclear warheads for a first strike against the Soviet Union. By the autumn of 1985 the number of missiles is to double and by late 1985 all Pershing II missiles (108 under the plan) are to be installed if the present plan and schedule for the weekly deployment of missiles are unchanged.

Early in 1986, the deployment of 464 Cruise missiles will begin in Western Europe; 96 of them are to be sited in the FRG and the rest in Britain, Italy and the Netherlands. However, the Dutch government has not agreed to deployment, which is a gain for the peace movement in that country.

The continuing deployment of nuclear first-strike weapons against socialism is increasing both the threat of a nuclear war that would destroy humanity and the risk of its starting from West German soil.

Contrary to the allegations of the right, Pershing II and Cruise missiles are not making peace more durable. Their deployment is the military aspect of the "crusade" against communism which the Reagan administration has declared and is preparing for according to plan. Now as in the past, it is aimed at guaranteeing NATO, a bloc under the tutelage of U.S. imperialism, military strategic superiority over the socialist countries (a first-strike capability) by the late 80s.

The fact that the peace movement, including the popular meetings held in November 1983, concentrated on preventing deployment with due regard to the threat posed by Pershing II and Cruise missiles is evidence of something more than a consensus among the most diverse political forces on the orientation of their action linked to the date on which the deployment of missiles was to begin. This concentrated orientation of action was also an objective expression of the fact that the peace movement as a very broad alliance had taken a stand against the most dangerous thrust of imperialist war planners even though not all political alignments emphasized the imperialist character of U.S. and NATO policy.

This means that the continuing struggle against

deployment in all its phases is not just based on a minimum tactical consensus but made necessary as a struggle for survival, which is made only too evident by the weekly installation of one more Pershing II.

This is not to say, however, that the peace movement should not concern itself more intensively than before with military strategic concepts, "security policy" measures and plans for armament involving the deployment of "decapitating" weapons. They often prompt a section of the population to join in the peace movement, and they can help develop the movement politically.

It is unquestionable that the autumn maneuvers held by NATO in line with the "Air Land Battle" doctrine shed light for the first time on the threat to world peace. The protest of the peace movement in Hildesheim and Fulda, which drew attention to this threat and tried to show what the testing of "forward defense" means, was necessary even though such protests do not yet reach the consciousness of all people. This can come about only if peace fighters succeed by joint effort in linking civic disobedience with actions intended to enlist maximum participation. The latest stage in the peace movement as a movement against Pershing II and Cruise missiles has shown that majorities can be mobilized where political demands and solutions are put forward with reference to the threat which nuclear first-strike weapons present to humanity. More and more people realize that the insane nuclear arms race which would make whole regions of the globe, such as Western Europe, or even outer space, battlefields of a nuclear holocaust (see the Pentagon "guideline document" on "decapitating the Soviet Union") is posing a direct threat. This was made all the more obvious by the nation-wide poll held on June 17, 1984 and by this year's Easter marches.

Nevertheless, the breakdown of the Geneva talks on medium-range missiles as a consequence of the decision to deploy Pershing II and Cruise missiles,

made in the autumn of 1982, made more difficult the peace movement's realistic orientation to a struggle against deployment. Many doubt that the deployment process can still be stopped. Hence it is not enough to merely point to the dangerous implications of deployment. There is a search for new demands and orientations, which is partly due to the rapid militarization of West German policy being carried on under the patronage of the U.S. administration, a development which expresses itself in, among other things, the increased role of the Western European Union and the simultaneous lifting of WEU restrictions on arms production in the FRG. Bonn's bid to secure missiles that could also carry nuclear warheads causes concern and so does the gradual incorporation of the West German military-industrial complex in corresponding international structures. Is the FRG to become a bridgehead of the imperialist "crusade" bristling with nuclear weapons?

This makes every European initiative in favor of disarmament welcome provided it does not obscure, nor is intended to obscure, the fact that the deployment of Pershing II and Cruise missiles, the "Air Land Battle" doctrine and the "Rogers Plan" imply a massive arming of West German imperialism and its transformation into a spearhead against socialism. All the "Europeanization" of the so-called security policy sought by certain ruling quarters in Western Europe does is guarantee Europe a share in profits from the arms race and to justify the ambition to possess nuclear arms, and leads to a further increase in military budgets at the expense of jobs.

It follows that in a search for new political orientations and solutions, the peace movement must not overlook the ongoing deployment process as the core of the present nuclear threat. The most pressing common task is to stop and reverse this process, with the peace movement stepping up its political pressure in favor of resuming negotiations. This means that there is a case for protesting against every element of imperialism's military strategy: the militarization of space, the race in conventional arms and plans for the formation of a European nuclear force.

The Soviet Union has put forward proposals making it possible to proceed at once to disarmament talks; they include the following:

- signing a treaty on non-use of armed force;
- an immediate freeze on nuclear armaments;
- reversing Soviet counter-measures provided all the deployed Pershing II and Cruise missiles are dismantled; reducing the number of Soviet medium-range missiles provided U.S. missiles are removed from Europe;
- creating nuclear free zones.

The Soviet Union has taken some unilateral steps; it has committed itself to non-first use of nuclear weapons and announced a moratorium on space weapons.

The peace movement's mass actions set for October 20 offer the opportunity to reaffirm the demand for an end to the deployment of nuclear medium-range missiles and for their dismantling.

Unsere Zeit,
October 19, 1984

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U.S. Arms Ring Nicaragua

In his speech at the 39th session of the UN General Assembly, Cuban Foreign Minister Isidoro Malmierca said that "driven by the triumphant air of the shameful invasion of tiny Grenada," the government of the United States is preparing fresh attacks on the free peoples of Latin America and on its seething national liberation movement.

What is happening in Central America confirms this view, especially given that the United States has refused to sign the revised Contadora Act, a document with meaningful proposals paving the way for a peaceful settlement.

The data which we have obtained from *The Miami Herald* and other publications add to the picture and clearly indicate how the stage in Central America appears to be set for a new interventionist adventure by U.S. imperialism.

When Ronald Reagan entered the White House in January 1981, there were only 17 U.S. soldiers in Honduras, including advisers and the military attached at the embassy in Tegucigalpa.

Since then, and especially since 1983, more than 30,000 U.S. soldiers have passed through Honduras to participate in the Big Pine I, Big Pine II, Grenadier I, Grenadier II and Lempira military maneuvers. In one of these maneuvers alone, about 5,000 U.S. soldiers participated.

U.S. military maneuvers in Honduras have cost more than \$75 million.

In the last two years, the United States has built military airfields in San Lorenzo, El Aguacate, Jamastran, Puerto Lempira, Cucuyagua and Trujillo to facilitate the landing of C-130 cargo planes. They have also enlarged the runway at the La Ceiba and Palmerola airports. The latter spot serves as the headquarters for Pentagon forces and as a base for about 15 OV-1 and OV-2 spy planes, which periodically fly over El Salvador to obtain information on the movements of FMLN guerrillas which is then passed on to the Salvadoran military for acts of repression.

The U.S. forces in Honduras have also built supply lines and rearguard bases for thousands of Somocistas trying to overthrow the government of Nicaragua. The CIA station directing operations against Nicaragua is located at the El Aguacate air base from which the planes and helicopters that have participated in the bombing and strafing of Nicaraguan territory take off. The two U.S. mercenaries — Dana H. Parker and James Powell, who were aboard the Hughes 500 helicopter which was shot down on September 1 while attacking the Nicaraguan military training center in Santa Clara — departed from the El Aguacate base.

There are two radar stations for espionage operations — one on La Mole Ridge and the other on Tigre Island in the Gulf of Fonseca. The latter has a range of 380 kilometers, which means it covers most of Nicaragua and El Salvador and parts of Honduras, Belize and Guatemala. This base is operated by 185 members of the U.S. air force and it is the communication center for all U.S. installations in Honduras.

The so-called Regional Military Training and

Security Center was established in Puerto Castilla in northern Honduras, where over 100 Green Berets have trained 4,900 Salvadorans and 3,700 Hondurans. The training of Salvadoran soldiers there has led to some bickering between Honduran military personnel and the United States. Recently Honduras announced a halt to the training of Salvadoran soldiers at Puerto Castilla until it is turned into regional center. There are reports that the United States is planning to have the so-called School of the Americas move to Honduras from the Panama Canal Zone, from where it was recently removed as a result of the Torrijos-Carter treaty.

Within a 13-mile-wide band around San Lorenzo, where there is a naval base, U.S. occupation forces have created an anti-tank barrier with mines, supposedly to prevent Sandinist tanks from advancing into Honduras. This is one of the false claims made by the Reagan administration to justify its military presence in Honduras.

In late September, there were an estimated 1,400 U.S. soldiers in Honduras. Last May, as part of his election campaign strategy aimed at projecting the image of a leader who was willing to talk, Reagan ordered a reduction in U.S. troop strength, but since August the number has increased again. A 250-man military intelligence battalion with 10 spy planes has arrived in Honduras in order to support the Salvadoran army. Additional air support later came from Fort Hood to the Palmerola air base, including 200 soldiers and more than a dozen Huey and Chinook helicopters. There are about 400 U.S. soldiers at the Palmerola base.

The U.S. embassy in Tegucigalpa has a staff of 300 advisers, technicians and military engineers. It occupies two large fortified buildings. After Mexico, the next largest CIA station in Latin America is in Honduras. U.S. Ambassador John Negroponte is a well-known CIA agent who served as a political officer for the CIA in Vietnam.

In 1981, when Reagan took office, U.S. military aid to Honduras was \$5 million. In the last three years U.S. aid to Honduras has come to \$488 million, of which a third has gone to strengthen the Honduran army and the U.S. military presence in the country.

There is also growing U.S. military involvement in El Salvador as José Napoleon Duarte brazenly acknowledged in a recent interview for *Playboy*. The United States tells Salvadorans how to fight the FMLN guerrillas. "Decisions such as how many planes and helicopters to buy, how we spend our money, how many trucks we need, how many bullets and of what caliber, how many pairs of boots and what our priorities should be, are made by those who provide the money," Duarte explained.

Officially, the United States has 97 military advisers in El Salvador, who are known to be the ones directing the counter-insurgency battalions.

The Seals, who are the navy's equivalent of the Green Berets, are training the Salvadoran naval forces and coast guard in underwater mining. Their base is at La Union on the Gulf of Fonseca.

Thanks to the additional money by Congress, the

Reagan administration has strengthened the Salvadoran army. In two years it has increased from 15,000 to 42,000 men. The Salvadoran army has received infantry supplies, submachine guns, mortars, communications equipment, infra-red detectors and modern helicopters and planes.

If the United States claims there are no plans to invade El Salvador or Nicaragua, then why this deployment of combat troops and equipment in Central America?

If the United States says that charges regarding its aggressive intent against Central America are absurd, then why does it refuse to sign the revised Contadora Act, which paves the way for negotiation and regional peace?

As Isidoro Malmierca said at the UN, "The scene appears to be set, in fact, for a new intervention adventure. The necessary military, infrastructure and logistical conditions exist, and now the commanders are only waiting for the political decision to intervene."

But as the Cuban Foreign Minister also said, those who decide to send U.S. troops to invade Central America should also prepare for their forces becoming bogged down, for a progressive wearing down of their forces and for a mass war with no quarter against the invader until the peoples in the area have achieved definitive victory.

Abridged from *Granma* Supplement,
October 21, 1984

On the Vatican's Document Denouncing Liberation Theology

Cold War Manifesto

In connection with the publication by the Vatican of a document entitled "Instructions on Some Aspects of Liberation Theology," Cardinal Ratzinger, President of the Congregation of the Faith, who signed the document on behalf of Pope John Paul II, guardedly pointed out: "We are not condemning a political choice as such (meaning the acceptance of some Marxist ideas) but rather a confusion between this choice and the faith". But in fact the essence of the document is quite clear — to warn Christians against participating in the national liberation movements of Latin America. It is there, notably in Peru, Brazil, El Salvador, that liberation theology was born.

"In certain areas of Latin America," we read in the Vatican's document, "consciousness of injustices is sometimes accompanied by a pathos borrowed from Marxist texts, which are groundlessly presented as being based on scientific analysis." What the Congregation of the Faith calls "pathos," "is not the presence of social stratification and the inequality and injustice which attach to them but the theory of class struggle as the main law of historical development . . . which is accepted by the followers of liberation theology."

The document puts forward three arguments.

"Class struggle understood in this way divides the Catholic Church and (. . .) it is with this in mind that one must judge the realities of the Church." The Vatican rejects this approach which leads to denunciation of cooperation with the authorities.

In the Vatican's eyes, the liberation theologians are also guilty of presenting "involvement in class struggle as an integral part of Christian charity," and of considering the rich not only an "object of hate" but also "primarily a class enemy to be fought." "For the sake of love for one's neighbor," the document recommends, "it is necessary to choose the non-violent roads of dialogue and persuasion."

The dictatorial regimes and the big landowners of Latin America are not afraid of such methods.

And, finally, the use of the concept of class struggle is dangerous for religion because "atheism and negation of the human being, of his freedom and his rights underlie the Marxist ideology." A false claim, even if repeated numerous times, cannot take the place of analysis and at best can become a propaganda argument. Let us quote Lenin in this regard: "The chief thing in the doctrine of Marx is that it brings out the historic role of the proletariat as the builder of socialist society." This is precisely what the document published in Rome refuses to recognize. According to it, the liberation theologians "are trying to create a destructive alliance of the poor of the Scriptures and the proletariat of Marx." Poor people who unite and organize are, in effect, too dangerous.

It is therefore only natural that the document labels as a "disgrace of our times" not the terrorist regimes prevalent in Chile, Paraguay, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, but the "atheistic totalitarian regimes that have seized power through revolutionary and violent means under the pretext of liberating the people."

The Vatican's document will serve as an alibi for those who, in various countries of Latin America, are persecuting the so-called "internal enemies." The killing in Chile of the Catholic priest André Jarlan places this beyond doubt. The head of the Latin American Episcopal Council, Monsignor Quarracino, admitted that "the use of this document for political purposes is not excluded." This Argentinian priest had earlier been much more restrained about the military, which committed crimes in his country.

Yet again there is evidence of the clear coincidence of interests between the Vatican of John Paul II and the White House of President Reagan. The latter regards as a main zone of "U.S. vital

interests" the countries of Latin America, where a half of the world's Catholics will be living at the end of the century.

It needs to be added that the Vatican document shows the enormous attraction of Marxism among

all who strive for justice and freedom, and the might of the people's liberation movements in Latin America. In the final analysis, it is the people who write history, including the history of the Church.
L'Humanité, September 6, 1984

In the Role of Pinochet's Protector

The Pinochet regime continues to sow violence and terror. It could be said that there is nothing new in the dismal sequence of events in the 11 years of tyranny. But this is not so. The tyranny, which has been dealt very hard blows in the past year of powerful mass actions for democracy, is again acting defiantly and arrogantly.

Why is it doing this? And on whose international solidarity is Pinochet still able to bank? The answer is quite simple. Bloody dictatorships like those in Chile or El Salvador do not, of course, strike an emotive chord in the Reagan administration. For the USA, the "danger" is situated somewhere else: in Nicaragua or Cuba. Washington no longer has in its vocabulary such words as "backwardness" (with its baggage of poverty, degradation and conflicts) and "cooperation," saying that the magic of the free market will resolve all problems. But was it not in Chile that the Friedman school's economic "liberalization" experiment was first carried out?

What is more, a cold war wind is blowing, prompting the placing of an ideological watershed between "good" and "evil": and what is evil if not communism? So long live an anti-communist like Pinochet.

In this situation of restoration the Vatican has prepared a document strongly condemning liberation theology.

Maybe it is a matter of a theological argument, a doctrinal dispute? This is not so and we probably also underestimated the negative political impact of a whole series of acts which the Pope has recently carried out. We must try to understand whether or

not there is presently a departure from the principles which inspired the encyclicals "Peace on Earth" and "The Peoples' Progress." And not only in relation to the Third World but also in relation to the other important aspects of the Vatican's foreign policy.

Precisely because we respect and take into consideration the role which Catholics play throughout the world, precisely because we have always advocated a policy of dialogue, we cannot ignore what is happening. Undoubtedly, the recent reports on the bloody events in Santiago (a priest is also among the victims) are a new unexpected background for the words written in the forementioned document. And this uncovers for us in all its brutality the dual reality of the exploited and oppressed world.

We think that millions of Latin American Catholics (and not they alone) were hit by a message which makes illegal the struggle for political, social and spiritual liberation. We mean the Chilean Catholics who are fighting against Pinochet shoulder to shoulder with the communists (Marxists). Are they not on the side of those who are right? And can they be satisfied with a wish expressed by *Osservatore Romano* about "free demonstrations" when one considers that this newspaper said not a single word of condemnation about the Pinochet regime's disgraceful acts (while the Vatican's document labelled national revolutions a "disgrace")?

Abridged from *L'Unita*,
September 6, 1984

John Paul II and Washington

Pope John Paul receives a secret weekly briefing from the CIA, and it has become his most trusted source on world affairs, according to a book published in London yesterday.

"Fridays are the days the CIA station in Rome delivers its weekly intelligence summary to the Pope," write British authors Gordon Thomas and Max Morgan-Witts in *The Year of Armageddon*.

They say the Pope studies the data after dinner and if anything needs amplification, he sends for the CIA station chief the next day.

A Vatican spokesman in Rome declined to comment on the book's assertions. Similarly the U.S. embassy would not comment.

The book says the briefing generally contains highly-classified CIA documents on Soviet operations, economic assessments, political evaluations and sometimes military predictions.

According to the authors, the link with the Vatican goes back almost 40 years from the day one of the CIA founders, General William Donovan, was received by Pope Pius 12th.

"From that day Donovan bowed his head before the Pope, and the CIA has remained ensconced, virtually without interruption, as the prime intelligence adviser to successive pontiffs," they say.

The book says Pope John Paul began his association with the CIA less than a month after being elevated from a Polish cardinal to the papacy in 1978. He received the CIA station head in Rome in an audience so secret no minutes were made.*

"It is the CIA which keeps him continuously informed on the situation in Central America, provides him with accurate evidence of the spread of liberation theology, reports the latest behavior of left-wing clerics in Nicaragua, El Salvador and the many other troublespots where the interests of the Holy See and the U.S. intersect," the authors write.

Morning Star,
August 24, 1984

*The Vatican has formally denied the reports of cooperation with the CIA but the authors of *The Year of Armageddon* still maintain that their information is reliable since, according to them, it comes from high-ranking persons close to the Pope himself. — Ed.

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