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Communiqué on a Meeting of Top Party and State Leaders of the Warsaw Treaty Member-States

A meeting of top party and state leaders of the Warsaw Treaty member-states was held in Warsaw on April 26, 1985. Taking part in the meeting were:

— from the People's Republic of Bulgaria: Todor Zhivkov, General Secretary of the Central Committee, Bulgarian Communist Party, Chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, head of delegation; Grisha Filipov, member of the Political Bureau, BCP Central Committee, Chairman of the PRB Council of Ministers; Petr Mladenov, member of the Political Bureau, BCP Central Committee, PRB Minister of Foreign Affairs; Dobri Dzhurov, member of the Political Bureau, BCP Central Committee, PRB Minister of People's Defense; Dimitr Stanishev, Secretary of the BCP Central Committee;

— from the Hungarian People's Republic: Janos Kadar, General Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, head of delegation; Gyorgy Lazar, member of the Political Bureau, HSWP Central Committee, Chairman of the HPR Council of Ministers; Matyas Szueros, Secretary of the HSWP Central Committee; Peter Varkonyi, member of the HSWP Central Committee, HPR Minister of Foreign Affairs; Istvan Olah, member of the HSWP Central Committee, HPR Minister of Defense;

— from the German Democratic Republic: Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the Central Committee, Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Chairman of the State Council of the German Democratic Republic, head of delegation; Willi Stoph, member of the Political Bureau, SUPG Central Committee, Chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers; Hermann Axen, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the SUPG Central Committee; Heinz Hoffmann, member of the Political Bureau, SUPG Central Committee, GDR Minister of National Defense; Egon Krenz, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the SUPG Central Committee, Deputy Chairman of the GDR State Council; Gunter Mittag, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the SUPG Central Committee, Deputy Chairman of the GDR State Council; Oskar Fischer, member of the SUPG Central Committee, GDR Minister of Foreign Affairs;

— from the Polish People's Republic: Wojciech Jaruzelski, First Secretary of the Central Committee, Polish United Workers' Party, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic, head of delegation; Henryk Jablonski, Chairman of the PPR State Council Jozef Czyrek, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the PUWP Central Committee; Zbigniew Messner, member of the Political Bureau, PUWP Central Committee, Deputy Chairman of the PPR Council of Ministers; Stefan Olszowski, member of the Political Bureau, PUWP Central Committee, PPR Minister of Foreign Affairs; Florian Siwicki, alternate member of the

Political Bureau, PUWP Central Committee, PPR Minister of National Defense;

— from the Socialist Republic of Romania: Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, President of the Socialist Republic of Romania, head of delegation; Constantin Dascalescu, member of the Political Executive Committee, RCP Central Committee, Prime Minister of the SRR Government; Constantin Olteanu, member of the Political Executive Committee, RCP Central Committee, SRR Minister of National Defense; Ion Stoian, alternate member of the Political Executive Committee and Secretary of the RCP Central Committee; Stefan Andrej, alternate member of the Political Executive Committee, RCP Central Committee, SRR Minister of Foreign Affairs;

— from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics: Mikhail Gorbachov, General Secretary of the Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, head of delegation; Nikolai Tikhonov, member of the Political Bureau, CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; Andrei Gromyko, member of the Political Bureau, CPSU Central Committee, First Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs; Sergei Sokolov, alternate member of the Political Bureau, CPSU Central Committee, USSR Minister of Defense; Konstantin Rusakov, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee;

— from the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic: Gustav Husak, General Secretary of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, head of delegation; Lubomir Strougal, member of the CPCz CC Presidium, Chairman of the Government of Czechoslovakia; Vasil Bilak, member of the Presidium and Secretary of the CPCz CC; Bohuslav Chnoupek, member of the CPCz CC, CSSR Minister of Foreign Affairs; Milan Vaclavik, CSSR Minister of National Defense.

The participants in the meeting reviewed the question of extending the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance concluded in Warsaw on May 14, 1955, and signed a protocol renewing the treaty for the next 20 years, with a subsequent prolongation for another 10 years. They exchanged views on topical problems of European and world politics.

The meeting noted the great importance of the Warsaw Treaty, which for 30 years has been reliably helping to develop and strengthen the member-states' all-round cooperation, to ensure their sovereignty and security and the inviolability of their borders, and to assure the joint drafting and pursuance of their peace-loving foreign policy, and has been playing a notable role in the cause of preserving and consolidating peace in Europe and throughout the world.

The states represented at the meeting spoke in favor of the development of all-round, equal and mutually advantageous international cooperation. They have never supported the division of Europe and the world into opposing military blocs. Today, too, they advocate simultaneous dissolution of their alliance and the North Atlantic bloc, with disbandment of their military organizations as the first step.

But as long as the NATO military bloc exists and the threat to European and universal peace remains, the socialist states will strengthen their defense alliance while intensifying the struggle for disarmament and peace, for removal of the military blocs. Their unanimous decision to extend the Warsaw Treaty is dictated by the need to ensure the reliable security of the allied countries and their close cooperation in international affairs. Proceeding from the extent of the military threat, the Warsaw Treaty member-states will continue to take necessary measures to maintain their collective defenses at a proper level. The Warsaw Treaty member-states reiterate that they do not seek military superiority but neither will they allow military superiority over themselves. They want to secure a balance of forces at the lowest possible level.

Assembled on the eve of the 40th anniversary of the end of the Second World War, the most devastating and bloody war in humanity's history, the participants in the meeting noted the great importance of the victory of the freedom-loving peoples over fascism. A high price was paid for victory. The Soviet people, who made the decisive contribution to the rout of fascism, and the peoples of many other

countries gave tens of millions of their lives for victory. Memory of the fallen, the duty to the present and future generations require that the lessons of the war should be remembered.

In the present international situation it is more necessary than ever to unite the efforts of all peoples and states, all peace-loving forces, irrespective of political orientation, to stop the world's slide toward a nuclear holocaust.

The communist and workers' parties, the parliaments and governments of the Warsaw Treaty member-countries will continue to struggle to avert the danger of nuclear war which threatens the world, to stop the arms race — the nuclear arms race first and foremost — on Earth and prevent one in space, to move to disarmament, and renew the process of détente and cooperation in international relations. In pursuance of these goals the socialist countries represented at the meeting are prepared to develop a peaceful dialogue with other states in a spirit of good will and trust and to work for broad international cooperation in the interests of ensuring universal peace and security.

The meeting took place in an atmosphere of friendship and complete mutual understanding, and confirmed the identity of its participants' views on the key issues of European and world politics.

It was agreed that a meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member states will take place as scheduled in Sofia this autumn.

Pravda, April 27, 1985

A reception was given on April 26 in Warsaw in honor of the participants in the meeting of top party and state leaders of the Warsaw Treaty member-countries.

Wojciech Jaruzelski, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the PUPP CC, Chairman of the PPR Council of Ministers, spoke at the reception. Mikhail Gorbachov, General Secretary of the CPSU CC, spoke on behalf of the delegations which took part in the meeting.

Wojciech Jaruzelski's Speech

Dear comrades and friends,

There are moments of particular importance in the history of peoples and countries. Such was the case 30 years ago when the Warsaw Treaty Organization was being set up. This meeting, too, is such a moment.

The protocol signed today extending the Warsaw Treaty clearly confirms the unity and political and defense might of the countries of real socialism. It also expresses our resolve to ensure that mankind's supreme right — the right to a peaceful life — is reliably and effectively secured.

The military blocs in Europe are certainly not our invention or our aim. The establishment of the socialist defense alliance was a response to the inclusion of the FRG's military potential in the already existent North Atlantic Pact. Similarly, today's decision is a response to the latest stage of the aggressive plans of the Western military deal, which has been concluded for an infinite period.

After all, it is not for defense purposes that the arms build-up fever is being intensified, long-term multi-billion dollar contracts signed, plans of so-called deep strikes against the territory of the socialist countries have been worked out, new U.S. nu-

clear missiles are being deployed in Western Europe, and other militarist measures taken.

So the decision to prolong the Warsaw Treaty was forced on our community. On more than one occasion weakness, feuds and inadequate defenses in Europe have tempted the aggressor. One does not put aside the shield when the other side is taking up the sword. We will never make such an error! Those forces in NATO which hope to gain unilateral advantages and hegemony are again deeply mistaken.

We do not seek military superiority. We want to maintain the equilibrium. It is a real guarantee of security, and is the more effective the lower the level of military parity. The more urgently the arms build-up spiral is transformed into an arms limitation spiral, the more tranquil will be the life and the cooperation of the peoples of our continent — from the Atlantic to the Urals.

Throughout the 30 years it was not calls for "crusades" but rather countless peace initiatives, appeals and proposals to reach a businesslike compromise that have come from the East. Today we reaffirm this desire of ours to achieve concord and peace. We restate our preparedness to dissolve immediately the Warsaw Treaty if there is a simultane-

ous dissolution of the North Atlantic Pact.

Our defense alliance has but one aim — to defend the peaceful constructive work and historic gains of our peoples. This alliance is the indestructible bulwark of the socialist community and at the same time a key factor of the stabilization and the territorial and political system in Europe.

Comrades,

This meeting is a clear expression of the far-sightedness of our Marxist-Leninist parties. The decision which they inspired meets both the supreme state interests of each of our countries and the collective requirements of the entire socialist community.

The Warsaw Treaty is a model of international relations of a new type. The ideas of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance expressed in it are a manifestation of full respect for the member-countries' independence and sovereignty. The combination of the principle of socialist internationalism and the community of national interests leads to a situation in which all that is common is national and all that is national serves the whole community.

For Poland the Warsaw Treaty is, on the historical scale, the implementation of that which in the past was the goal of the progressive aspirations of outstanding daughters and sons of our people: "internationalization of the Polish question" which would inseparably link Poland with the revolutionary, progressive course of history. At the present stage this internationalization means that our allies guarantee independent Polish statehood, fair borders for People's Poland and our own internal socialist decisions.

We held our meeting in the very hall in which the decision to establish the Warsaw Treaty Organization was taken 30 years ago. As was the case then, People's Poland was, is and will continue to be a reliable link in the socialist community. It was with our country that world imperialism planned to start the so-called "dismantlement" of socialism, to which end it spared neither funds nor effort. It did not hesitate to use pressure, declare a boycott and restrictions or conduct vile propaganda aggression. This is not only a thing of the past but also a present-day reality.

But we have proved that this plan has collapsed in Poland and is always doomed to failure!

Comrades, we have gathered in Warsaw, the unconquered city which the Hitlerite barbarians condemned to destruction, which was razed to the ground, which has time and again been burned down and rebuilt from ashes, a city whose residents, as our revolutionary poet said, "have never bowed before the enemy."

Today, dear comrades and friends, you laid wreaths at the Unknown Soldier's Tomb and the memorial complex for Soviet soldiers. We highly appreciate the fine and heartfelt manifestation of your attitude to us — the laying of flowers at the monument to the heroes of Warsaw.

This expression of your reverence is in sharp contrast with the immoral nature of those Western politicians who are soon to make a "pilgrimage," so to speak, to a real ash-heap of history — the graves of SS criminals and butchers.

We in Poland cannot and do not want to forgive this unprecedented outrage upon the sufferings of

millions of people. He who intends to reconcile the SS and today's Europe will not meet with understanding or approval here — not today, not ever.

Comrades, the monument to the heroes of Warsaw is embodied in the figure of the ancient Greek Goddess of Victory — Nike. It is a symbol of the end of defeats and a symbol of our greatest victory: the country's liberation, the taking of the road of revolutionary transformations, the building of independent, socialist statehood, and our people's historic advance.

The Polish people know well the price of the victory. Even today, under the roadways and squares of Warsaw, which rose from the ashes, we still find the remains of those who defended our city in 1939, of participants in the Resistance movement, of ghetto fighters, of insurgents of 1944, and of Polish and Soviet soldiers of liberation. The streets along which you drove today were for a long time the site of barricade ruins. On your way you passed numerous memorial plaques immortalizing the victims of public executions of civilians by Hitler's punitive squads.

Our unanimous voice, heard today from the capital of Poland, is therefore of special moral significance.

From Warsaw we appeal to all the peoples of Europe, to the former participants of the joint struggle in the ranks of the anti-fascist coalition and to the youth, who know those inhuman years only from accounts. We appeal to all people without exception, to everyone who, irrespective of differences in views or cultural and professional distinctions, wants to and can think responsibly and realistically.

Let us try — in spite of so many contradictions — to avert from our continent the specter of a new war. Let us try once again to reach accord and restore the atmosphere of reason and cooperation that has been so profoundly disturbed by the cold war forces.

The socialist countries do not threaten anyone. They do not want a growth in international tension or a perennial arrow after a target or shell after an armor. Not one people will gain from this, either now or in the future.

Dear comrades,

The postwar chronicle has special dates which cause deep reflection. This year we have major jubilees: the 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism and the 30th anniversary of the Warsaw Treaty. Each of them is a reminder of how much human blood was shed and how much effort it took to create and strengthen the first brotherly and indestructible alliance in history.

The foundation of our strength is above all the selflessness of the working class and of all the other working people, and the patriotic enterprise of the friendly peoples. Worthy of high praise are the members of the Joint Armed Forces, the party and state, public and economic workers, the scientists and designers, the diplomats and journalists. Their service and labor, their high ideological conviction and creative thought have been multiplying our alliance's real strength and increasing the firm confidence that the socialist part of Europe will staunchly uphold its security and effectively promote world peace.

But we have particular feelings of respect and

gratitude for the peoples of a socialist power — the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. It was its army that extinguished the fire of the crematoria of Maidanek and Oswiecim, saved the heritage of European culture and routed Hitler's empire of death.

The Land of Soviets has been and will continue to be the main defense shield of our peoples, who are building socialism. Based on Lenin's ideas, the Soviet Union's peaceful policy and persistent struggle for just international relations are widely approved of and understood. They serve the historical interests of all the forces of peace and progress on our globe.

We greet with full understanding the position of the Soviet side at the current Geneva talks. It is constructive, clear and honest. We wholly and entirely support the notable initiatives put forward by comrade Mikhail Gorbachov, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The only reasonable way to improve and develop East-West relations is to curb the arms race and return to the policy of détente and equal cooperation. The tone of international relations must be set by patient dialogue and not crude, boastful monologues, by compromise and agreements and not a striving for hegemony.

On the world scene, the steps by the United States aimed, among other things, to spread the arms race to space, are particularly dangerous today.

In Europe, what is worrying is the coupling of the

present Washington administration's policy of confrontation with the activation of the forces of revanchism and obscurantism, primarily in the FRG. The mounting calls in the West to erase territorial and political realities in Europe and annul the imprescriptible Yalta and Potsdam agreements ratified by the Final Act of the European Conference are an outrageous attempt to undermine peace on our continent.

The countries of the socialist community are guided by a clearly fixed line: be both principled and flexible, always see to defenses and to hold talks where that is possible and expedient.

It is high time for Europe, which historically has experienced many trials, to be again an example of the implementation of fruitful initiatives aimed to strengthen the bases of security and enrich the nations' peaceful cooperation.

The legal act signed today is an expression of our unity, cohesion and strength. It will undoubtedly promote socialism's progressive and peaceful mission.

Dear comrades, allow me to propose a toast to:

The successful development of all the countries of the socialist community!

Friendship, cooperation and concerted action of the fraternal parties, countries and peoples!

The Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty!

Peaceful coexistence and constructive cooperation in Europe and elsewhere!

The health and well-being of all the top party and state leaders present here and of all our dear guests!

Long live peace and socialism!

Mikhail Gorbachov's Speech

Dear comrade Jaruzelski,
Dear comrades and friends,

Permit me on behalf of the Soviet delegation and on behalf of all participants in the meeting first of all to express heartfelt gratitude to the leaders of the Polish United Workers' Party and the Polish state for their hospitality. We also convey a fraternal greeting to the residents of heroic and beautiful Warsaw, to all the working people of People's Poland, and wishes for success in building socialism.

An act of historic importance was completed today here in Warsaw, the city that has given its name to our alliance. The Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance signed 30 years ago has been prolonged. It was renewed, as comrade Jaruzelski said, with the conviction that our alliance is vital for all its members, vital for strengthening peace and the security of the peoples.

Vladimir Ilyich Lenin stressed: a revolution must be able to defend itself. And in the Warsaw Treaty the peoples of our countries have a staunch defender of revolutionary gains. What has the Warsaw Treaty given us all? It has given us the possibility to do peaceful creative work. The inviolability of our borders has been reliably ensured. A stout barrier has been placed in the way of the latter-day subverters of socialism and claimants to world domination.

History knows no other alliance like ours where relations are based on the full equality and comradely mutual assistance of sovereign states. An alliance which is, in the true sense of the word, an

alliance of peoples. An alliance which threatens no one but is wholly devoted to defending peace. We build relations with countries of the other social system on the principle of peaceful coexistence — the only reasonable basis, especially in the nuclear age.

Our countries' major initiatives aimed to consolidate peace in Europe and ensure détente are associated with the Warsaw Treaty. Today's meeting reaffirmed our common readiness to continue to search collectively for ways to remove the threat of war and expand international cooperation. We want to make the confrontation of the two military and political alliances less acute, a situation which would be in the interests of all peoples on earth.

It was not the Soviet Union and the other socialist states that initiated the split of Europe and the post-war world. That was done by the creators of NATO, while our alliance was only formed six years later. Since then we have repeatedly expressed readiness to dissolve the Warsaw Treaty if NATO agrees to do likewise. This principled position still stands. But regrettably the other side has never had such an intention. On the contrary, before our very eyes it has been advancing new aggressive doctrines and accelerating the build-up of both nuclear and conventional arms. And this now forces us to think of further strengthening the Warsaw Treaty Organization.

Humanity faces a choice: rectify the unfavorable course of events or the risk of nuclear war will grow.

And this risk is intensified many times over by U.S. military plans in outer space. Whatever their authors say and however they justify themselves, the essence of these plans is clear: to acquire the ability to deal a first nuclear strike and to do so with impunity. Since the USA and NATO flatly refuse to follow the USSR's example and pledge not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, their intentions are particularly dangerous.

The development of weapons for Star Wars is just beginning. But it is already making the present-day world feverish, destabilizing the entire system of international relations and leading to an even sharper political and military confrontation. Neither the initiators of that provocative undertaking nor those who are being persuaded to join in should forget that.

We take a fundamentally different approach: do not make space a new source of the war danger, do not create space strike weapons, but scrap the existing anti-satellite systems. Simultaneously we propose an agreement on a radical reduction of nuclear weapons and a move toward the complete elimination of nuclear weapons.

A simple and natural step such as a freeze on both sides' nuclear potentials suggests itself. But the objection is raised that agreeing to that means enhancing the Soviet military superiority. First, there is no such superiority. We have repeatedly proved that with figures, and Washington has not once been able to disprove them. And second, who said that we want to stop at a freeze? On the contrary, we insist that drastic nuclear arms reduction should follow.

We have already suggested that, for a start, both sides should reduce their strategic offensive arms by one-quarter. But neither would we have objections to making deeper mutual cuts. All this is possible if an arms race does not begin in space, if space remains peaceful.

The Soviet Union and the Warsaw Treaty countries do not seek superiority either on Earth or in space. We are not striving to compete to see who will build a higher nuclear fence. But we will not allow the military-strategic parity to be upset. That is a common and firm position of the Warsaw Treaty members. If the preparations for Star Wars continue, we will have no choice but to take counter-measures, including, of course, a build-up and improvement of offensive nuclear arms.

The just ended first round of Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space arms showed that they are not plain sailing. It is clear that the talks can be a success only if the principle of equality and equal security is observed and the accord on the final objective of the talks and on interconnected resolution of the questions being discussed is adhered to.

As announced, the Soviet Union has unilaterally halted the deployment of medium-range missiles and the implementation of other counter-measures in Europe. The moratorium took effect on April 7. The world public and many sober-minded U.S. and Western European politicians have assessed this step of ours at its true worth. We have the right to expect that Washington and the other NATO capitals will be more serious and thoughtful in assessing our initiative, and will in their turn, exercise restraint on the issue of siting U.S. missiles in Western

Europe. For mutuality on that issue could assist in moving the Geneva talks toward practical decisions and could also play a role in the settlement of more complex problems.

The Warsaw Treaty has been in effect for almost one-third of a century and throughout that period it has been the initiator of constructive ideas directed toward détente and arms limitation, toward developing European cooperation. The Treaty's growing prestige in international politics has a positive effect on the general climate in the world. And that is the result of collective efforts, of each fraternal country's contribution.

Comrades, on the eve of the 40th anniversary of the great victory over fascism we once again recall the vow made by the victors over the graves and ruins of World War II: war must not recur! We remember that and we remember what the war lessons teach. And one of the principal lessons is the example of cooperation by the powers of the anti-Hitler coalition. Today we call upon all states of Europe and other continents to rise above differences and become partners in the fight against the new danger threatening all humanity — the danger of nuclear extinction.

By renewing the Warsaw Treaty we once again express our firm conviction that war can and must be prevented through joint efforts. Such is the will of the peoples of our countries. That is the goal of the policy of our parties and governments and of all the activities of the defense alliance of socialist states.

To further cooperation of our parties and states, to their stronger unity and cohesion on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism!

May the fraternal alliance of socialist countries, the Warsaw Treaty, grow stronger!

To the people's socialist Poland, to the health of comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski and the members of the Polish leadership, and of all participants in our meeting!

To lasting peace on earth!

Pravda, April 27, 1985

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Address by the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers to the Peoples, Parliaments and Governments of All Nations on the 40th Anniversary of the Ending of World War II

Four decades ago the freedom-loving peoples triumphantly ended the battle against fascism, which had set out to gain world domination.

The history-making victory over Hitlerite fascism and Japanese militarism was won by the joint efforts of the peoples and armies of the anti-Hitler coalition, the partisans and fighters of the Resistance movement, the anti-fascists, democrats and patriots, millions of fighters for freedom.

It is generally recognized that the decisive contribution to the defeat of the forces of fascism and aggression and humanity's salvation from enslavement was made by the Soviet Union and its Armed Forces.

Hitlerite fascism threatened the very existence of European and world civilization. The Second World War claimed 50 million lives. The war forced on the Soviet Union bereft 20 million of its sons and daughters of life. No family remained unscathed by the flames of war. Our pain and sorrow will never subside; the grief of soldiers' widows, mothers and orphans is inconsolable. The aggressor destroyed one-third of our national wealth.

Both the tragedy of the war and the happiness of the great victory will forever remain fresh in the people's memories. The harsh and instructive lessons of the war cannot be forgotten.

One of the main lessons is that aggression must be fought resolutely and in concert before the flame of war is ignited.

That is what the Soviet Union persistently worked for on the eve of the Second World War.

The means of warfare have since undergone a qualitative change. While throughout humanity's history wars claimed hundreds of millions of lives, a third world war would spell universal destruction. Should a nuclear holocaust sweep the planet, it would not leave so much as an oasis of life on it.

Faced by the deadly fascist menace in the years of the Second World War, states with different social and political systems were able to unite against the common foe and proved the possibility of effective political and military cooperation to achieve a single goal common to all humanity — freedom and peace. Today, too, the peoples' cohesion can be a formidable obstacle to those who are pushing the world to a nuclear catastrophe. The forces of peace and prog-

ress are now incomparably more powerful than those of reaction and aggression.

Since the end of the war the Soviet Union has spared no effort in working to prevent another catastrophe, achieve disarmament, and reach negotiated settlements of disputes. The peoples of Europe have been living in peace since the spring of 1945. The principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems has been increasingly gaining ground in international life in inter-state relations.

On August 1, 1975, the states participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe signed the Final Act in Helsinki outlining the ways to overcome the confrontation stemming from the character of their past relations, and to achieve better mutual understanding. The foundations of détente, which had demonstrated its indisputable advantages and benefits for all, were laid by the pooled efforts of the states.

The peoples are celebrating the 40th anniversary of the victory in a strained and dangerous situation which has resulted from the U.S. and NATO course toward upsetting the military-strategic parity and securing military superiority over the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Treaty member-states. But the hopes of dominating the world and dictating to others, including the Soviet Union, are futile and dangerous for all peoples.

The situation in Europe, over which the whirlwind of two devastating world wars has swept, is very worrying. Huge masses of armed forces and arms directly confront each other on that continent. U.S. first-strike nuclear missile systems continue to be deployed in Western Europe, and there is increased activity of revanchist elements that are intent on questioning the outcome of the war and postwar development, above all the postwar political and territorial realities in Europe.

Certain forces inside and outside Europe have not dropped their dangerous plans to undermine the historic Yalta and Potsdam agreements, which laid the foundations of the postwar peace. These agreements have been dependably serving the Europeans' security interests and deterring militaristic and revanchist ambitions for 40 years. All attempts to encroach on these agreements are doomed to failure.

The Earth is the common home of all peoples, of

all humanity. The Soviet people need no foreign lands. We do not impose our outlook or way of life on anyone. The heralds of the "crusade" and "psychological warfare" are wasting their time trying to misguide the international community with stories about a "Soviet military threat." History and the hard facts of today say something entirely different. The Soviet Union has never attacked anybody, but it has itself had to repel aggression on more than one occasion. The Soviet people need peaceful conditions for their creative endeavor and for the continued improvement of their society of developed socialism. Universal and complete disarmament and a stable and just peace are our ideal and our unflinching concern.

The maintenance of peace has always been the supreme objective of the Communist Party and the Soviet state. The foreign policy of peace bequeathed to us by Lenin is enshrined in the constitution of the Soviet Union. It stems from the very nature of socialist society.

It is our conviction that war is not inevitable. There can be no ends that could justify starting a nuclear war. Nor are there any international issues that cannot be settled at the negotiating table. Détente and businesslike cooperation can and must be the natural and invariable state of international relations. Reason must prevail over recklessness and insanity.

The Soviet Union calls upon the peoples and states, their parliaments and governments to do everything possible to prevent an arms race in space and terminate the one on Earth, to limit, reduce and then totally scrap nuclear weapons.

There can be no agreement on nuclear arms limitation and reduction if outer space is militarized. The militarization of space would precipitate an uncontrolled arms race in every area, lead to yet another and still more dangerous round of the arms race, and drastically reduce strategic stability.

It is judicious for relations between the nuclear powers to be governed by certain norms. These should, in our view, envisage the prevention of a nuclear war, renunciation of the propaganda of war, and a commitment not to use nuclear weapons first, not to allow them to be spread, and to seek to reduce and eventually eliminate nuclear arms. The Soviet Union is prepared to reach agreement at any time with the other nuclear powers on joint acceptance of such norms and on making them mandatory.

On the 40th anniversary of the great victory over fascism, the Soviet Union reiterates its unilateral commitment not to use nuclear weapons first and once more calls on the other nuclear powers which have not yet done so to do likewise.

The document entitled "The Basic Provisions of a Treaty on Mutual Non-Use of Armed Force and the Maintenance of Relations of Peace," which the Soviet side has submitted to the Stockholm Conference, is in keeping with the objective of easing tension. This initiative aims to achieve the principal goal of the conference. The keynote of the proposed treaty would be the obligation not to be the first to use either nuclear or conventional arms against each other and, consequently, not to use armed force against each other at all.

We call on the governments of the States of Europe, the USA and Canada to take effective steps

to rid the European continent completely of both medium-range and tactical nuclear weapons. Europe must also be freed of chemical weapons. Nuclear-free zones in the Balkans, in the North of Europe and in other parts of the continent, and a pledge not to increase and to reduce military spending would help to strengthen peace and security there.

The Soviet Union calls on the states participating in the Stockholm Conference on Confidence and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe and in the Vienna talks on mutual reduction of armed forces and arms in Central Europe to take necessary measures without delay to secure mutually acceptable accords.

Our country advocates settlement of the situation in the Middle East, Central America, Southeast Asia and other regions by peaceful means and wants the seats of tension and inter-state conflicts to be liquidated without interference in the states' internal affairs. In common with other peoples, the Soviet people emphatically demand independence for Namibia and the elimination of racism in South Africa.

Together with the other states concerned, we will seek to attain a reshaping of international economic relations on a fair and democratic basis, renunciation of all forms of exploitation, and the non-use of trade and economic ties as a means of political pressure. The USSR will continue consistently to support all those who are fighting against social and national oppression, racial discrimination and genocide, for true democracy and equality, for real human rights and freedoms without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion.

It is in our common interest actively to enhance further the role and effectiveness of the United Nations Organization as an international instrument of the people's peace and security and in pursuance of the lofty goal enunciated in its Charter — "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war" and to "live together in peace with one another as good neighbors." We welcome the UN appeal to the peoples and states to mark the 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism. That will be a tribute to the memory of the millions who died in the Second World War.

It is a sacred duty of those who participated in the war against fascism and those born since to uphold humankind's right to life.

Taking into consideration the great mission of all states, their parliaments and governments to preserve world peace, and conscious of its responsibility for the fate of peace and humanity, the Soviet Union calls on all peoples, parliaments and governments to heed the voice of reason, and take vigorous joint action to halt the slide toward the abyss of nuclear disaster, bar the way to a new war and work for the total elimination of nuclear weapons. The Soviet Union is prepared to consider any initiative or proposal in favor of peace.

May the 40th anniversary of the great victory give a fresh powerful impetus to the common efforts of the peoples and states to improve the international situation and strengthen peace. Humanity can and must end the 20th century and enter the 21st confident of its future.

Pravda, May 10, 1985

Immortal Exploit of the Soviet People

Report by comrade Mikhail Gorbachov at a ceremonial meeting in Moscow to commemorate the 40th anniversary of the Soviet people's victory in the Great Patriotic War.

Dear comrades and friends, distinguished guests,
The four years of war were long and harsh for our people, and the road to victory was hard. And then came that bright day in May when the Soviet soldier, the Soviet person could say: a righteous cause has triumphed! The enemy has been smashed! Victory is ours!

The Soviet people and their valiant armed forces inflicted a crushing defeat on fascist Germany, defended the homeland's freedom and independence, and brought liberation to the peoples of Europe. The defeat of fascism and the victorious end of the war were an event of fundamental, history-making importance which opened up before saved humanity new ways to social progress and the prospect of a fair and lasting peace on the planet. Our victory is not a thing of the past. It is a living victory of the present and the future.

The CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Soviet government whole-heartedly congratulate the heroic Soviet people on the 40th anniversary of the great victory! A happy holiday to you, my dear fellow citizens!

On this day the motherland is paying tribute to the courage, valor and heroism of its sons and daughters, of everyone who, arms in hand, did their full patriotic duty, did everything to bring the spring of victory.

A happy holiday to you, dear heroes of the front-lines, partisans and underground resistance fighters! Glory to your combat achievements for the sake of your homeland, for the sake of life on Earth!

Continue to bear with dignity and honor the high title of veteran of the Great Patriotic War, a title so dear to the entire Soviet people!

Today the country is paying tribute to the valiant work and unmatched staunchness of our home-front, of each and every one of those who made the weapons, smelted metal, and grew grain, who were bringing nearer the hour of victory in factory shops and on coal-faces, on railways, in fields and on livestock farms, in research laboratories and designing offices.

A happy holiday to you, dear comrades! Honor and glory to all those whose life and work in the years of war were devoted to one sacred duty: "All for the front, all for victory!"

The Soviet people's respect for and gratitude to the war and labor veterans are limitless. It is to you, comrades, that the country owes the victory, and it will never forget what you accomplished then, from 1941 to 1945, on the battlefields and with unprecedentedly hard work.

All new generations of Soviet people are brought to emulate your glorious deeds; from these deeds they learn to be brave, courageous and staunch, boundlessly loyal to the communist ideals, and ready to surmount all obstacles, overcome all difficulties when the homeland calls on them to do so.

The sacrifice made by our people for victory is great indeed. The war claimed 20 million Soviet lives. Almost every family lost kith and kin, was scarred by the war. The pain of bereavement and sorrow for the fallen will never ease. But there would have been no victory were it not for their heroic lives sacrificed for the homeland.

The memory of the immortal exploits of those who were the first to go into battle, who blocked embrasures with their bodies, rammed enemy planes, threw themselves under enemy tanks with hand-grenades, who, as marines, faced the enemy in hand-to-hand fighting, who sank enemy ships, derailed enemy trains, who courageously fought on the invisible front, who braved death on the battlefields, whom neither torture nor fascist dungeons and camps could break, will forever remain in the eternal flame, the majestic memorials and modest obelisks, in literature and the arts, in the hearts of our contemporaries and our posterity.

Everlasting glory to the heroes who fell in battle for the freedom and independence of the Soviet homeland!

Let us observe a minute of silence in honor of their memory.

Comrades, many countries and peoples forged a united front against the aggression of German fascism and Japanese militarism. Soviet people remember and highly value the contribution made by all who fought in World War II to the defeat of the common enemy and appreciate their combat services in the struggle for freedom, peace and justice.

Allow me warmly to welcome the foreign guests who have come to Moscow to celebrate with the Soviet people the 40th anniversary of the great historic event which is held dear by all honest people on our planet.

I

Comrades, the last war went down in our homeland's history as the Great Patriotic War. Soviet people understood full well that the future of their socialist homeland — whether our peoples would be free or be enslaved, whether they would have their own statehood, language and culture or lose everything and sink into historical oblivion — was being decided in that life-and-death struggle. The mortal danger befalling the country and the tremendous force of patriotism stirred the whole country to action in a popular, sacred war. Soviet people drew their strength from the great Leninist ideas. They were inspired by the heroic chapters of our history and the people's struggle against foreign invaders. They rose to defend their homeland.

In class terms our war against Nazi Germany was the biggest armed conflict between socialism and the main forces of imperialism. The young Soviet state, then less than a quarter of a century old, was carrying out grandiose social transformations. The new social system was increasingly revealing its creative

potential. We needed peace and only peace. The party and the Soviet government did everything to prevent war. Our foreign policy and diplomatic efforts served that objective.

As the threat of war grew, the country prepared to give a fitting rebuff to the enemy in case of aggression. The party urged Soviet people to be vigilant, to hate fascism and be ready to defend their socialist state. It always saw to it that the army was equipped with reliable weaponry and advanced materiel. The powerful industry built in the first five-year-plan periods was the base on which the country strengthened its defenses.

Much was done in that pre-war period. However, for various reasons, we were unable to do everything we needed and to do it in time.

The beginning of the war was rigorous. A brutal and treacherous enemy attacked us. It had already tested its war machine and forced the economies of the European countries it had occupied to work for it. Its aggregate military and economic potential was twice that of the Soviet Union. The enemy had the advantage of surprise attack. Some miscalculations on our side also played a part.

Fighting pitched battles, the Red Army retreated deep into the country. That retreat to Moscow, Leningrad, the Volga and the Caucasus was our bitterest experience. The Nazi invasion brought our people unheard-of suffering, pain and hardships. We faced a number of critical situations during the war, but from the outset it revealed the mighty strength of moral spirit generated by the whole tenor of life in a socialist society and the profound realization that the country's future was in the hands of each and everyone. Even at the most difficult moments the people did not lose their faith in victory, their faith in the party, and in the triumph of our just cause. The whole world was amazed by and admired the endurance of the Soviet soldiers and the courage of a great people.

The blitzkrieg plan worked out by the German generals was frustrated from as far back as 1941 by the heroic rebuff which the enemy met on Soviet soil. The world remembers the unflinching staunchness of the Brest Fortress, Moscow, Leningrad and Stalingrad, Kiev and Minsk, Odessa and Sevastopol, Novorossiisk and Kerch, Tula, Smolensk and Murmansk. But cities are heroes only when their defenders are heroes. The war convincingly proved that. On the defense lines of Sevastopol alone as many enemy soldiers and officers were killed as Hitler's army had lost in all the theaters of military operations before its attack on the USSR. In the fierce battles our army exhausted the enemy, amassed experience and strength and learned to win.

The country held out and turned the tide. The Soviet armed forces routed the fascist hordes near Moscow, Stalingrad and Leningrad, and in the Caucasus, and inflicted crushing blows on the enemy on the Kursk Bulge, in right-bank Ukraine and Byelorussia and in the Yassy-Kishinev, Vistula-Oder and Berlin operations.

What determined the victorious outcome of these battles, each of which has no equal in history? What helped us to win a war which had started so inauspiciously for us?

The sources of victory were the nature of

socialism, of the Soviet way of life, and the national character of the Great Patriotic War. The war, as the most rigorous test, was extremely graphic and tangible confirmation of the fact that it is the masses who are the determinant force of history. Soviet citizens of different nationalities defended their socialist homeland, displaying mass heroism in battles and labor. They were rallied and roused by the example of the great Russian people, whose courage, fortitude and indomitable character was an inspiring example of an unconquerable desire for victory.

Millions participated in the war but they did not act as a faceless mass in this battle unprecedented in scale. Their heroism vividly reflected the high personal qualities of the Great Patriotic War soldiers — from Private Alexander Matrosova to Marshal Georgy Zhukov.

The combat banners of our armed forces are covered with ever-lasting glory. Born of the October Revolution, the Red Army was the people's army. The Soviet soldiers were notable for their utter devotion to their homeland and for their fortitude and skill in combat. They displayed their very high moral qualities in raging battles. Our immense sacrifices during the war and the atrocities perpetrated by the enemy did not darken their minds with a blind thirst for vengeance. Entering Germany as victors, the Soviet people did not transfer their hatred of Nazism to the German people. The fighting was still rumbling as they helped the German people organize a peaceful life.

The talent of our generals and other military commanders was fully revealed in the huge and unprecedented battles. Born of the masses and educated by the party, they showed themselves to be worthy heirs and successors of the best traditions of the national art of warfare. The superiority of Soviet military science and of the generals' thinking — their strategic foresight, the creative character of their decisions, their persistence and activeness in attaining the aims set, and their ability to fuse the high morale of the officers and men with the crushing might of the latest military equipment — was evident in the battles against a strong and experienced enemy. The whole country knows the glorious names of the outstanding generals and military commanders of the Great Patriotic War. All war veterans, our Armed Forces and all Soviet people are proud of them.

The involvement of the whole people in the war was vividly expressed in the formation of the two-million-strong people's voluntary corps, in the struggle of the underground workers on the occupied territory, and in the large scale of the partisan movement. Behind the frontline, in the enemy rear, there was one more front — that of the partisans. Over one million avengers of the people participated in the fighting. The ground burned under the aggressor's feet, and several of the invaders' divisions perished in those flames of righteous fire.

Vladimir Lenin used to say that war is a test of all the economic and organizational forces of each nation. And the Soviet economy stood this very hard test with honor. The socialist organization of industry and agriculture conclusively demonstrated its advantages.

In the very difficult situation, within time limits

which seem fantastic even today, we moved over 1,500 large industrial plants and sizeable material resources and assets deep into the country. Just one year after the enemy attack, the eastern areas of the Soviet Union accounted for more than three-quarters of all military output. The advantage of the socialist economy was manifested particularly convincingly in its high efficiency. Though our steel and coal output was one-fourth or one-third of that of Germany and the countries occupied by it, we produced nearly twice as much military hardware.

What made the Soviet war-time economy efficient were the firm authority of the state plan, the discipline and strict responsibility for one's task, the initiative, resourcefulness, and bold ideas and selfless efforts on the part of the workers, collective farmers, engineers, designers and scientists, and the organizing abilities of the production managers.

Faced with a terrible danger, our country truly became a single military camp. The Soviet working class displayed unparalleled heroism and staunchness. At critical moments workers' battalions joined the army in the field, with plants continuing to operate even when the enemy was literally at the factory walls and shells and bombs were exploding close by. By its high consciousness and organization the working class reaffirmed its role as Soviet society's leading force and did everything for the victory.

The worker-peasant alliance, the socialist system of agriculture and collective farming stood the test of the war. Despite the fact that the country's main grain-growing areas had been captured by the enemy and that there was a shortage of manpower and machinery, the countryside provided troops and home-front workers with food, and industry with raw materials. Collective farmers, state-farm workers and the personnel of machinery pools did everything possible to help rout the enemy and honorably discharged their patriotic duty before the homeland.

Like the rest of the people, the Soviet intelligentsia geared their efforts to victory. Our talented and industrious scientists, designers and engineers produced types of aircraft, tanks, field guns, mortars, and other weaponry which outperformed the enemy's military hardware. That was truly a mighty weapon of victory.

Impassioned journalism and eloquent prose, patriotic songs, films, plays, poems and posters inspired people to fierce struggle against the enemy.

The people will never forget the exploit of the Komsomol members and all the young people of those flaming 1940s whose teens and early manhood and womanhood coincided with the war. The generation that did battle with the enemy was born after the October Revolution, molded by the socialist system, imbibing from childhood its revolutionary and collectivist morals and psychology. And it did not flinch; it moved boldly forward to the firing lines and stood all the trials of the hard war years, demonstrating that a country capable of bringing up and educating such young people could not be conquered.

The same was true of the home-front. Young men and women, teenagers worked arduously at factories and plants, and in the fields of collective and state farms. It is usually said that they did not know what it was to be tired. Of course they knew fatigue

but they also knew that the embattled homeland was badly in need of their labor. And today millions of our contemporaries recall their wartime childhood and youth with particular fondness.

It is with deep gratitude that we speak of the heroism of Soviet women. Indeed, war is not for women. But, defying danger, they went into attack on a level with the men, fought courageously against the hated enemy, removed wounded soldiers from the battlefield, and nursed them back to health at medical stations and hospitals. Millions of fighting men owe their lives to the women's valor and compassion. Nor will the people ever forget their glorious feats on the labor front. Soviet women bore all the hardships of wartime life and all the grief of loss, displaying tremendous will-power and retaining the warmth of never-fading love. Our admiration for Soviet women patriots knows no bounds and our gratitude for all they did for the victory is profound.

Planning aggression against our country, the fascists were banking on bringing the peoples of the Soviet Union into conflict and kindling national strife. Reality collapsed these expectations. Humanity knows no other example of war bringing all nations and nationalities of a country so close together to combat an aggressor. The peoples' fraternal unity very clearly demonstrated the wisdom and foresight of the Leninist nationalities policy, and the great socialist union remained firm and unshaken.

The Herculean work in battle and on the home-front were guided by the party, its Central Committee, and the State Defense Committee, headed by Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks).

The party committees became real military headquarters and political organizers of the masses. They were active everywhere — in soldiers' trenches, in partisan detachments and underground. Political workers inspired soldiers with impassioned words and their personal example. "The history of the Great Patriotic War," *Pravda* wrote in 1942, "will include as one of the glorious and honorable figures that of the political worker, submachine-gun in hand, wearing a camouflage cape and helmet, leading the fighting men to the achievement of a lofty and noble goal — the defeat of the German fascists and the liberation of their homeland."

The communists went to the most dangerous and crucial areas of the struggle. Four in five of them either fought in the army or worked at munition plants. Members of the Central Committee and the best party cadre were sent there. Three million communists died in the battles against the fascist invaders. Over five million people joined the party in those heroic years.

Lenin's party was a fighting party fused with a people at war. During the hardest — war — stretch of our history it lived up to its enormous responsibility for the homeland's fate and led the country to victory. Our party's political and moral authority strengthened in the war years and the title of communist rose still further in the people's esteem. And we, the members of Lenin's party, will always cherish and be proud of that.

It was not only our arms, economy and political

system that won in the war. This was a victory of the ideas for which the revolution had been made and for which Soviet people had fought and died. This was a victory of our ideology and morality, which bear the high principles of humanism and justice, over the misanthropic ideology of fascism.

The Soviet Army creditably accomplished its great mission of liberation. It came to enslaved Europe as the liberator and fought to end war and fascism and to ensure that the peoples of Europe would enjoy an enduring peace.

As we observe Victory Day, we pay due respect to the combat valor of the soldiers of the allied U.S., British and French armies. We will never forget the steadfastness and courage of the Yugoslavian people and their People's Liberation Army. We think highly of the selfless struggle of occupied but unsubdued Poland. The Polish and Czechoslovak armies fought shoulder to shoulder with our forces on Soviet territory, and then in the liberation of their own countries.

Partisans, underground patriots and, in the last phase of the war, the armies of Bulgaria and Romania, along with Hungarian units, contributed to the defeat of Hitlerism. The Albanian and Greek peoples fought tenaciously against the occupationists. We remember the courageous, though unequal, struggle of the German communists and all anti-fascists against the Hitler regime.

Soviet people highly appreciate the bravery of the Resistance fighters. In its forefront were the communist parties of France, Italy, Norway, Denmark, Belgium, the Netherlands and other West European countries. They inspired and rallied their peoples to resist the Nazi tyranny and fight for their freedom and national independence. Many communists sacrificed their lives on the altar of victory over the enemy. The French Communist Party went down in history as the party of the shot.

True to its allied obligations to the end, our country played a major role in defeating militarist Japan. We acted in close military cooperation with the Great Chinese people. The soldiers of the Mongolian People's Republic actively fought along with us against the common enemy. The patriots of Vietnam, Korea and other Asian countries stoutly resisted the Japanese invaders.

Recalling the events of that time and the people's joint struggle against their common enemy, we can proudly state that the outcome of World War II was decided on the Soviet-German front. It was there that the fascist aggressor suffered more than 70 per cent of its losses.

The Soviet people's feat in the Great Patriotic War is great and unforgettable. The war years are a record of an infinite number of experiences — the bitterness of loss, the joy of victory, the valor displayed in hard-fought battles and the modest greatness of day-to-day work.

Our victory greatly enhanced the Soviet Union's international prestige. It aroused a surge of patriotism in Soviet people. For us victory has been and will always be a source of inspiration from which we will draw energy to carry out our immense development plans, increase the might and raise the prosperity of our homeland, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Victory in the Great Patriotic War is a holiday which we will always celebrate.

II

Comrades, the main, most valuable thing that victory gave us is the possibility to live and work in peace. The war was a test that showed that our social system is invincible and that its vitality is inexhaustible.

Peacetime makes its own high demands and is a serious test of a society's ability to ensure steady economic growth, constantly improve social relations and better people's working and living conditions.

Summing up the results of the past 40 years, there is ample reason to say that in peaceful development, too, socialism has conclusively demonstrated its enormous possibilities and advantages.

People of the older generation remember the horrible picture of destruction presented by the regions liberated from the invaders: the bomb-scarred earth, houses burned to cinders and dead blast furnaces and coal mines. Almost 1,700 towns and cities and 70,000 villages lay in ruin. Nearly 25 million people were homeless. Tens of thousands of industrial and agricultural enterprises had been put out of operation. The flames of war gutted nearly one-third of the national wealth created by the people. But no one can ever measure the most horrible and irreparable loss — the millions of lives of Soviet people.

The enemies of socialism hoped that the destruction and damage inflicted on our country would doom it to backwardness and dependence on the West. But they miscalculated once again. The hard and dedicated work of the workers, collective farmers and intellectuals raised from the ashes the cities and villages, factories and plants destroyed by the enemy. It took the USSR just three years to restore industrial production to the pre-war level and five years to restore agricultural output.

That was a fresh feat, a feat in construction, which the Soviet people accomplished in the difficult post-war years. It showed quite clearly what a people inspired by the great goals of socialist construction can achieve. Since then the country has made major progress in all areas of economic, social, political and cultural development.

Soviet society today is a society with a highly-developed economy. The country's national income has risen more than 16-fold and industrial output 24-fold against the pre-war level. Our industry has increased its output twice as fast as in the developed capitalist states. Today the USSR produces more cast iron, steel, oil, gas, cement, mineral fertilizer, machine-tools, tractors, combine-harvesters and many other products than any other country in the world.

Profound changes have occurred in the structure and scientific and technological level of production. New industries such as the atomic, space missile, electronics and microbiological industries have been created. Major integrated production complexes have been or are being formed across the country — in central regions, in the Urals, Siberia and the Soviet Far East, in Central Asia and the Transcaucasia. The country is criss-crossed by a ramified network of power transmission lines and oil and gas

pipelines. Canals stretch for thousands of kilometers. The once arid steppes have been transformed and marshlands have become fertile. The homeland's economic map has changed beyond recognition in these decades.

The society's main productive force, its creative potential, has changed substantially. The USSR now has competent well-trained personnel. The occupational skill, general culture and specialist knowledge of factory workers and collective farmers have considerably increased. We have a large contingent of engineers and scientists. In the postwar period, Soviet science and technological thought have repeatedly demonstrated outstanding success in very important areas of world scientific and technological progress. The Soviet Union built the first nuclear-power station and nuclear-powered ice-breaker, and launched the first sputnik. Soviet citizen Yuri Gagarin was the first man to see the Earth from a space orbit.

Soviet society today is a society of an ever higher standard of living. Rapid economic growth has made it possible, while continuing to pay attention to further build-up of the national economic potential, to begin to turn toward fuller satisfaction of the working people's needs and to score impressive results in this area as well. Real per capita incomes are over six times higher than they were before the war. Housing construction has assumed vast proportions. The network of hospitals and polyclinics, kindergartens and day nurseries, and public service facilities has appreciably expanded.

Soviet society today is a society of high standards of education and culture, and of full intellectual life of the people. While before the war only five in every hundred workers primarily engaged in physical labor had a secondary or higher education, the present number is 82. Our contemporary is person with a broad cultural and political outlook and high intellectual requirements.

Soviet society today is a society which has resolved major social problems. The entire system of social relations has reached a new stage of development, and the alliance of the working class, farmers and the intelligentsia has been strengthened. We have advanced still further towards obliterating the essential distinctions between town and country and between physical and mental labor. The prosperity of the nations and nationalities is organically combined with the process of their drawing closer together in all areas. A sense of belonging to a single family — the Soviet people, as a new social community of different nationalities without precedent in history, is well ingrained in the mind and heart of every person.

Soviet society today is a society of true democracy, respect for the dignity and rights of citizens, and their great sense of responsibility. The working people's involvement in the affairs of the country and of their work collectives is becoming increasingly broad and active, and the system of the people's socialist self-administration is being improved.

Forty years after the great victory, the Soviet Union is a mighty and thriving power, confidently blazing the trail into the communist future.

Our successes are obvious. But the dialectics of

development is such that the frontiers crossed extend the historical horizons and set more complex and more challenging tasks for the people. We, too, are today facing such tasks. They mean, essentially, that it is necessary to achieve a new qualitative state of the society in its economy, of its system of social and political relations and institutions, and of the totality of the working and living conditions of millions of Soviet people.

The April 1985 plenary meeting of the CPSU CC centered on pressing problems. The party sees it as its main task to accelerate considerably society's social and economic progress. This task is dictated by life itself — both by domestic conditions and the international situation. There is a need, first of all, to ensure intensive and dynamic economic development, relying fully on the latest achievements in scientific and technological thought. That is the basis which will make it possible to raise living standards, enhance the country's economic might and defenses, and attain all-round improvement of developed socialism.

High end results and the best use of resources are now the main criterion of economic progress. It is from this angle that the economic situation must be assessed. In a short time we must reach world highs in labor productivity, quality and production efficiency as a whole. This is an imperative of the day.

The main road to that goal runs through scientific and technological progress. Our growth rates and the course of our economic competition with capitalism are going to depend largely on how we accelerate this progress and on the rapid and efficient introduction of the achievements of science and technology into the economy.

In short, at this new historical stage Soviet society faced formidable tasks. But we have all possibilities for successfully coping with them and will surely reach our goals.

We are confident that the advantages of the socialist system will also serve Soviet society well in the new historical conditions. But that makes it necessary to take urgent and largely new measures to bring the forms and methods of socialist economic management and social administration into correspondence with modern-day conditions and requirements of development.

Underlying our strategy of managerial streamlining is Lenin's idea that "socialism must achieve this advance in its own way, by its own methods — or, to put it more concretely, by Soviet methods." It is necessary to give the economic mechanism forms and structures to maximize production efficiency and improve quality, and help that mechanism to speed up scientific and technological progress.

The people's vibrant creativity is the assurance of all our achievements. The working people's profound interest in the fate of their socialist homeland and their labor and political activity is what has always greatly accelerated society's progress, and made it possible to overcome all difficulties and obstacles. And today it is very important to give maximum scope to the masses' social initiative and direct it toward resolving the fundamental problems of speeding up socio-economic development.

Nothing promotes a working person's activity so

much as confidence that the principle of social justice will be applied without fail. The party is going to do all in its power to ensure this. By erecting a firm barrier to all deviations from socialist principles and to all sorts of negative phenomena, by closing all sources of unearned income while enhancing the role of material and moral incentives for conscientious and efficient work, we will fulfil important socio-economic, political, ideological and educational tasks, arouse the profound interests of millions of working people in the attainment of the targets set and raise their political awareness and level of organization still higher.

Looking forward to the next, 27th CPSU congress, the party's Central Committee is taking measures to ensure that the party's political course fully meets the requirements of social development, and the interests and aspirations of the broadest strata of the working people. It is to that end that it constantly improves its work and the forms of party and state leadership.

Of extreme importance for us today is the ability to act, as Lenin taught, "by virtue of authority, energy, greater experience, greater versatility, and greater talent." There needs to be fewer words, assurances and promises and more real steps, practical results, responsibility, principledness, coordination of work, attention to people, and personal modesty. That is the main yardstick for assessing all cadre, their ideological integrity and competence; that is the essence of party requirements as to style and methods of work.

The efforts to speed up socio-economic development, establish firm order everywhere, and tighten organization and discipline, are strongly approved of and fully supported by the Soviet people. The CPSU CC, its Political Bureau and the Soviet government highly value the people's trust in the party's policy and will continue to exert every effort to live up to it.

The party's entire policy is based on profound faith in the Soviet people's creative powers and abilities. A people who have conquered the enemy in open battle, held out in the difficult years of postwar recovery and scored outstanding achievements in developing their socialist homeland will likewise prevail in the new historical conditions and will meet any challenge posed to us by the times in a fitting manner.

The party clearly sees the tasks facing the country and the ways to tackle them successfully, and it has been mobilizing the Soviet people to bring about a new and powerful development of the economy in order to enhance further the people's well-being. In this we see the worthy continuation of the cause for which Soviet people fought selflessly during the stern war years and in the years of peaceful socialist construction.

III

Comrades,

Returning now in our minds and hearts to the victorious spring of 1945, we naturally ask ourselves whether the hopes of the millions of people who fought to enable us, our children and grandchildren to live in peace and happiness, have materialized.

Yes, they have! But much still has to be done to preserve our planet — humanity's common home — both for us, the living, and for the future generations, and to eliminate wars from people's life once and for all.

Forty years is not a short period of time by any standard. Time passes. Those born after the victory have become mature people, and their children are now adults. For the majority of people World War II is an event not linked with their personal experience. But the war left such a legacy that its results and lessons continue to influence the whole course and character of world development and people's consciousness.

The beginnings of World War II appeared long before the first battles took place on the fields of Europe and on the expanse of oceans. Its sinister shadow loomed over humanity when some politicians were unable and others did not want to prevent the establishment of Hitlerism in power. Today we know more and better than we did at that time about those who helped the Nazi ruling clique to arm itself, build up a potential for aggression and prepare for military adventures, and how.

The attempts of the leading groups of monopoly capital to manipulate German Nazism's expansion, directing it eastwards, were the limit of political irresponsibility. The Munich collusion will be registered forever in the book of the shame which has covered the names of those who so persistently instigated Hitler to attack the Soviet Union. And only those who suffer from deep political sclerosis do not remember this.

It is no longer material which of the bourgeois political and state leaders of the 1930s sincerely erred and which were guided by selfish class interests. History will not change its verdict: the "Munich policy" of the Western powers and their connivance at Hitler's aggression had resulted in very tragic consequences for all the peoples of Europe. Criminal is the word to describe the line pursued by those who, ignoring the persistent Soviet Union's appeals, refused to act in a united front to stop the Nazi adventurists. Time will never remove from them the responsibility for a holocaust which could have been prevented if enmity for socialism had not blinded the then Western leaders.

Regrettably, history is repeating itself. And today, more than ever before, it is a question of being vigilant against the intrigues of those who are pushing the world to an abyss — this time a nuclear one. One should have a clear and complete idea of whence the threat to humanity in our day. The Soviet Union states this just as strongly as it did before the war when it warned against the imminent danger. Another reason why we have to talk about that is that even today the malicious myth of a "Soviet military threat" made so much of by Nazism is still in circulation.

However much the falsifiers of history may try to rewrite it, the peoples of the world know that it was the Soviet Union which first sounded the alarm and warned against the approaching danger of fascism. It is the communists who proposed a clear program of struggle against the Nazi plague when it was still in embryo. Finally, it was the Soviet Union which ad-

vanced a series of proposals aimed at curbing the high-handed aggressor. But at that time, too, all this was declared "communist propaganda."

It took the occupation of almost the whole of Western Europe, the seizure of Paris, the bombing of London and the attack on Pearl Harbor to collapse the cynical expectations and dash the groundless hopes. It was only after the Red Army's brilliant victories that the agreements on cooperation with the Soviet state in the struggle against fascism began to materialize.

The expansion of the fascist threat made Western politicians look at the world more realistically. The whole experience of the anti-Hitler coalition indisputably proves that states with opposite social systems can pool forces in struggle against a common enemy, find mutually acceptable solutions and work effectively for a common goal.

Soviet people have not forgotten the material aid which the Allies gave our country. Though it was not as big as the West is wont to claim, we are nevertheless grateful for that aid and regard it as a symbol of joint actions. Though belated, the opening of the Second Front in Europe was a substantial contribution to the common struggle.

The favorable atmosphere of the cooperation between the Allied Powers and the realistic assessment of the new situation in the world following the defeat of fascism were reflected in the postwar settlement and in the decisions of the Allied conferences in Tehran, Yalta and Potsdam. Those decisions, and the UN Charter and other international agreements of those years are imbued with a spirit of cooperation. They provided a solution to the complex problems of the postwar structure, including the territorial ones, that accorded with the interests of the long-awaited peace.

It is particularly appropriate to recall all that today, when all the world's peoples have one common enemy — the threat of nuclear war, and one main task — to remove that threat.

Twice in this century the imperialist forces unleashed bloody world wars in a bid to achieve their class aims, strengthen their positions and further their egotistic interests. But history willed otherwise. Is it any wonder that both wars, which started as adventures of imperialists — arrogant, convinced of their impunity and confident that international law is written with an invader's fist — is it any wonder, I repeat, that both of those adventures not only ended in the defeat of those who unleashed them but also in both cases caused a series of crises that shook the very system that breeds wars.

In defending their homeland's freedom and independence, the Soviet people also carried out the great internationalist task of saving world civilization from fascism. The defeat of fascism consolidated the positions of progressive democratic forces, resulting in the triumph of a new social system in a number of European and Asian countries. A first workers' and peasants' state was also born on German soil. In the course of the popular struggle against Nazism and Japanese imperialism, a struggle which closely merged with the masses' aspirations for deep social change, the appeal of the ideas of socialism visibly grew, while communist parties in

many countries gained in strength and became a powerful force.

The postwar years have seen the formation and great progress of a world socialist system, and the creation of a community of socialist states. The new social system firmly established on Earth, has proved its viability. It has awakened the creative power of millions and made possible history-making accomplishments within a short period of time. Socialism is now a mighty world system which is exercising an enormous influence on humanity's development and future and is an invincible factor of peace and a guarantor of the peoples' security.

The states of that great community have invaluable experience and a smoothly functioning mechanism for coordinating their policy. They act as one on international matters and consistently uphold the cause of peace and disarmament and the principles of peaceful coexistence. The Warsaw Treaty Organization, its Political Consultative Committee and the Joint Armed Forces of the allied states have a special role to play in this. So long as there is a threat to peace and security, the Warsaw Treaty member-countries will continue to do everything necessary to protect themselves against any encroachments. Confirmation of this is the unanimous renewal of the treaty by all its signatories.

The profound transformations in the postwar world are also linked to the collapse of colonialism. Dozens of independent states have sprung up where colonies and semi-colonies used to be. True, their development has been uneven, there has been ebb and flow, achievements and tragedies. True, the developing countries still face very difficult problems — some inherited from the past and some generated by the policy of neocolonialism.

But it is also true that at present the system of colonialism has been almost completely eradicated and that many young national states are playing an ever more noticeable progressive role in world politics. With the active support of socialist countries, they have been waging a persistent struggle to establish a new, more just world economic order. The non-aligned movement has become an important factor of present-day international life.

As we see, comrades, the political map of the world has undergone radical changes in the 40 years since the victory.

The sphere of imperialism's domination has markedly narrowed. Its possibilities to maneuver and to dictate to sovereign states and peoples with impunity have been substantially reduced. The alignment of forces inside the capitalist world itself has also changed. The defeat in World War II of such a beast of prey as German imperialism, the defeat of militarist Japan, and the weakening of the once powerful British and French rivals gave U.S. imperialism the lead in the capitalist world in all important economic, financial and military indicators. The fact that the USA was actually the only major country which got fabulously rich out of the war also helped to further the claims of the U.S. ruling class to world hegemony.

In the very first postwar years imperialist reaction, displeased with the social and international-political results of the war, tried to take a kind of

historical revenge and hurl back socialism and the other democratic forces. This strategy was spear-headed against the Soviet Union while the USA's economic might and temporary monopoly on atomic weapons served as its levers. This monopoly was viewed by the U.S. upper crust as a means of pressuring us and other socialist countries militarily and politically, and of intimidating all peoples.

That is why, when speaking about the results of the postwar decades, it would be wrong to see only those which we sincerely welcome and support. Unfortunately, we also see many things which cause growing anxiety. Certainly, the present-day world in no way resembles the world of the 1930s, but far from everyone in the West have given up the attempts to talk to the Soviet Union in the language of threats.

The cold war launched by the Western bellicose quarters was nothing but an attempt to revise the results of World War II and deprive the Soviet people, the international forces of progress and democracy of the fruits of victory. Those goals, of which no secret was made, were expressed in the ideology and policy of "the rolling back of socialism", "massive retaliation", "brinkmanship", etc. This undermined international trust and considerably reduced the possibilities of the constructive international cooperation of states that had begun within the framework of the anti-Hitler coalition.

U.S. militarism leads the forces posing a military danger to humanity. U.S. policy is increasingly bellicose, and has become a perpetual negative factor in international relations which we cannot afford to overlook. The aggressive designs of that country's ruling élite are evident in its attempts to undermine the military-strategic parity — the basis of international security — in the whipping up of the arms race, especially the nuclear arms race, and in its dangerous plans to militarize outer space. Barbarous doctrines and concepts for using nuclear weapons are being devised, and hundreds of military bases and facilities have been set up on all continents. A policy of state-sponsored terrorism is being pursued against Nicaragua, and an undeclared war is being waged in Afghanistan.

The U.S. is trying to impose on the international community its claims to an exclusive and special mission in history. Nothing else can explain its imperious demands for "zones of vital interests" and for the "right" to interfere in the internal affairs of other states and "encourage" or "punish" sovereign countries and peoples as Washington chooses. The U.S. even ignores its own political and legal commitments.

Something should also be said in no uncertain terms about the increased danger of West German revanchism, in whose revival the present U.S. leadership is so actively involved. At their meeting in Bonn a few days ago, the leaders of the seven leading capitalist states, "marking" the 40th anniversary of the end of World War II in their own way, even dared to question the territorial and political realities in Europe that had emerged after the rout of Hitler's Germany and in the course of postwar development. Some politicians have appeared who are prepared to forget and even justify the Waffen SS

cutthroats; worse — to pay homage to them, committing an outrage upon humanity's very memory of the millions shot, burned and gassed.

Aware of the extent of the military danger and of our responsibility for the world's fate, we will not allow the military-strategic parity between the USSR and the U.S., between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO, to be upset. We will continue to adhere to that policy, as we have learned well, once and for all, what the past has taught us.

In a word, the situation remains complicated, even dangerous, but we believe that there are quite real possibilities to curb the forces of militarism. The conviction that a world without wars and weapons is actually realizable, that such a world can be built in our times, and that all we need is vigorous action now, today, to bring it about is gaining in strength in the minds of people the world over.

This conviction is reinforced by the experience of the policy of peaceful coexistence and the practical results of the cooperation between the states of the two systems. There are many such examples and they are prompting ever broader masses to oppose aggression and coercion in international relations. There is growing understanding of the fact that peace will be durable if peaceful constructive coexistence, equal and mutually advantageous cooperation between states with different social systems are elevated to the rank of the supreme universal laws governing international relations. There can be no doubt that the anti-war movement will continue to grow, ever more effectively obstructing the adventurist actions of the forces of aggression.

The only reasonable way out today is to promote active cooperation between all states in the interests of a common peaceful future, and to create, use and develop international mechanisms and institutions which would make it possible to find the optimum correlation of national and state interests with those of humanity as a whole.

We urge the most diverse social and political forces to promote sincere cooperation based on good will in the name of peace. It is not an easy task, it cannot be fulfilled in the short term, and requires a fairly high degree of trust in relations between countries. The course of events could change drastically if tangible progress is attained at the Soviet-U.S. Geneva talks on nuclear and space weapons. Such is our conviction.

The experience of the 1970s is, in our view, truly invaluable in this regard. It was then that good political, legal, moral and psychological foundations were laid for the cooperation between the states of the two systems in new historical conditions, covering, among other things, such sensitive areas as each sides' security. But the results could have been greater still had the West displayed a responsible attitude to the success of détente.

We firmly advocate renewal of the process of détente. But that does not mean simply going back to what was achieved in the 1970s. We must set our sights much higher. From our point of view, détente is not the ultimate objective of policy. It is an indispensable, but no more than transitional stage from a world crammed with weapons to a reliable and comprehensive system of international security.

The Soviet Union is prepared to take that road. It must be the supreme obligation of governments and of responsible state leaders to seek all opportunities to remove the danger of nuclear war. I would like to repeat once more today, on this anniversary that is so memorable for all of us, that the Soviet Union is emphatically in favor of a world without wars, a world without weapons. We say over and over again that the outcome of the historical contest between the two systems cannot be decided by military means.

Our adherence to the policy of peaceful co-existence shows the strength of the new social system and our faith in its historical potential. It meets the interests of all countries and peoples and is permeated with a spirit of true humanism and with the ideals of peace and freedom which inspired Soviet people even in the years of the last war.

To uphold humankind's sacred right to live and to ensure a stable peace is the duty of the living to the millions of those who fell for freedom and social progress, is our common duty to present and future generations.

Dear comrades,

The great Soviet people, in a soldier's greatcoat or a worker's overalls, with the Bolshevik Party at their head were the main protagonist in the war and the architect of victory.

As we celebrate Victory Day, we bow to the memory of the fine, courageous sons and daughters of our homeland who gave their lives for the sacred cause of defending the homeland.

As we celebrate Victory Day, we glorify the war and labor veterans, the Soviet person, soldier and worker, our heroic working class, the collective farmers, and the people's intelligentsia.

As we celebrate Victory Day, we glorify all of the homeland's nations and nationalities, which are united in an unbreakable fraternal family — the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

As we celebrate Victory Day, we glorify the Soviet soldier and our valiant Armed Forces.

As we celebrate Victory Day, we glorify the Leninist Communist Party, the party of the victorious people.

Let the Soviet people's exploit in the Great Patriotic War live forever!

Pravda, May 9, 1985

From Yalta to Geneva From Vietnam to Nicaragua

Gus Hall, General Secretary, CPUSA,
Interviewed by "World Magazine"

Question: This is the 40th anniversary of the defeat of Hitler fascism and the 10th since the U.S. suffered a defeat in Vietnam. How do you see the significance of these two events?

Answer: The political side of all wars must of necessity be defined either as just wars or unjust wars.

Thus, any policy of military action that is in support of corporate profits I define as an unjust war. I did my best, for example, in opposing the U.S. aggression against Vietnam because it was an ugly, unjust imperialist war. On the other hand, I not only supported but volunteered to serve in the U.S. Navy in the war against the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo fascist axis.

President Eisenhower said, "We are so concerned with the far-off Southeast corner of Asia — because if we lose all that, how would the free world hold the rich empire of Indonesia?" (Of course, Eisenhower's use of the words "free world" is a code word for U.S. corporate interests.)

It is of no small significance that the great majority of the American people fully supported the war against fascism and in the same numbers opposed the U.S. war against Vietnam.

Question: What was it about fascism that so aroused the American people against it?

Answer: The American people saw the war against Hitler fascism as a just war. Fascism became a threat to the national independence of all countries.

Hitler fascism was out to establish brutal, militaristic dictatorships dominated by the most reactionary sectors of the monopoly corporations, not only in Germany but worldwide.

Fascism is capitalism in the raw. It is dictatorial corporate rule that strips all democratic and human rights.

Question: Why are Reagan, Wall Street and big business circles in all capitalist countries so uptight about celebrating or even observing such a turning point in history?

Answer: In a sense it is a continuation of the schizophrenic-split personality problem most of the leaders of capitalist countries suffered from during the war. They were forced by a unique set of circumstances to fight what many of them considered the "wrong war," as they privately revealed.

They had helped to prepare Hitler fascism to fight a war against socialism, against the Soviet Union. But Hitler ran amuck. So they had to join with the Soviet Union to fight Hitler fascism. But even during the war they never gave up trying to turn Hitler against the Soviet Union, to fight the "right war."

After all, Hitler fascism had represented the

Krupps and Thyssens, who were their capitalist class kinfolk. They were forced to act against Hitler fascism, but they were determined to preserve capitalism, including in Germany.

Reagan and Wall Street are not for observing the 40th anniversary because it was a defeat for their class relatives.

Reagan is not for taking note of the anniversary because of his fear that the world will use the occasion to make comparisons and point to the similarities in the foreign policy of Hitler and his own administration.

Hitler's foreign policy was aggression against Poland, France, Czechoslovakia, the Netherlands and other countries in Europe. Reagan's foreign policy is aggression against Nicaragua, Grenada, Cuba, El Salvador, Lebanon, Vietnam, Afghanistan and Kampuchea.

Hitler supported all the reactionary, fascist, militaristic regimes the world over, like Franco in Spain, Mussolini in Italy and Tojo in Japan. Reagan also supports all the reactionary racist regimes the world over, like Pinochet in Chile and Botha in South Africa.

Hitler pursued extreme anti-Semitic and racist policies. Who can deny that Reagan pursues racist policies, at home and abroad?

Reagan is also fearful of the anniversary observances because people would again make comparisons and applaud the decisive contribution made by the Soviet Union in the defeat of fascism — at the horrible expense of 20 million Soviet people and the devastation of industries, cities and farms.

Question: How do you see the role of the American people in opposing the aggression against Vietnam and observing the 10th anniversary of the U.S. defeat?

Answer: It is always easier to support one's government when it is right. It is much more difficult when one has to oppose one's government when it is wrong.

It is to the great credit of our people that in spite of all the obstacles they rallied in great numbers against the U.S. aggression in Vietnam. They built a powerful anti-war movement that culminated in the pullout of American troops. The lesson here is that the people can stop the unjust and dangerous policies of the Reagan administration.

So, for the American people, it is an observance of the end of an unjust war. For the people of Vietnam it is a celebration of a victory in an unjust war.

Question: What are the lessons we should draw while observing these anniversaries?

Answer: 1. That it is always necessary to differentiate between just and unjust wars, and just and unjust foreign policies.

2. If the policy of war serves the interests of corporate profits, it is unjust. On the other hand, if a war is fought for national independence, democracy or freedom from colonial domination or oppression, it is a just war.

3. Because of the new balance of forces in the world, unjust wars will ultimately suffer defeat.

4. Policies of aggression and the arms race must be stopped before they turn into military confrontation. The nuclear arms race must be stopped before it turns into a nuclear winter. The preparations for Star Wars must be stopped now before they reach a point of no return.

5. People united in struggle can influence policies and events. But, even more important, people united can determine whether there will be war or peace.

6. Finally, we must see the dangerous similarities to the actions that led to the war in Vietnam in today's actions by the Reagan administration.

Through lies and demagoguery, President Johnson coerced Congress to pass the Tonkin Gulf Resolution. By that act, Congress sanctioned the war against Vietnam.

In this sense, Reagan's manipulations to get Congress to appropriate the \$14 million to finance the counter-revolutionaries in Nicaragua is a dirty trick to win official sanction for the war against Nicaragua. This new dimension to the war is more important and ominous than the \$14 million itself.

Throughout the Vietnam War, opportunities arose when the war could have been brought to an end. Today, at this moment, the world is presented with a new opportunity to put an end to the nuclear arms race: the U.S.-Soviet talks in Geneva.

There is no greater priority or task before the American people than to express their demands for the Reagan administration to change course and seriously negotiate a nuclear arms reduction agreement.

If the Reagan administration is serious, it will responsibly consider the interim proposals made by the Soviet Union to put an end to all escalation of nuclear missiles.

The lesson of the vote in Congress on the MX missile is that a few votes would have made the difference.

Therefore, while demonstrating, marching, protesting and organizing, the peace forces must give greater attention to the electoral scene.

Senators and members of Congress must know that the peace movement is keeping a score sheet on who votes for war and who votes for peace. All of them should be put on notice that in 1986, whether they keep or lose their seats will depend on how they vote on crucial issues.

The April days of protest should serve to raise the daily peace activities to new levels.

Bombard Congress on the issues. "Burn" the wires of local offices of your legislators, Fill their mailboxes with peace demands. Visit, write, picket, march and rally for peace, disarmament and peaceful coexistence.

Daily World, April 18, 1985

A Shining Example of Cooperation between Countries with Different Social Systems

Press Trust of India (PTI) Interview with Mikhail Gorbachov

Press Trust of India (PTI), the Indian news agency, requested an interview from Mikhail Gorbachov, General Secretary of the CPSU CC.

On May 18, Comrade Gorbachov handed his replies to SPK Gupta, PTI correspondent in Moscow. The interview follows.

Question: On the eve of your forthcoming meeting with our Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi how do you assess the state and prospects of Soviet-Indian relations in the context of the struggle for peace and disarmament?

Answer: First of all, I would like to stress that the leaders of India are received with a special feeling in our country, reflecting the Soviet people's sincere liking and respect for the great and friendly Indian people. Different generations of Soviet and Indian people have written bright chapters into the history of our friendship, which Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi did so much to develop.

Our attitude to India reflects the Soviet Union's principled and invariable support for the struggle of the peoples against imperialist oppression, for stronger independence and social renewal. This course was bequeathed to us by the great Lenin and we are undeviatingly committed to it. We have inherited what can without exaggeration be called a unique, priceless asset. Indira Gandhi said that we are bound by relations not only between our governments and not even by political and economic cooperation alone; our relations are an intertwining of the fervent hearts of our two creator-nations. Her vivid words aptly describe the level and the entire multiformity of our relations.

I would like to take this opportunity to pay tribute once again to the bright memory of the outstanding daughter of the Indian people, whose name is forever inscribed in the history of Soviet-Indian friendship. The International Lenin Peace Prize awarded her is in recognition of her tremendous contribution to the struggle for durable peace and friendship among nations.

An Indian saying has it that the shortest road is one on which people meet each other halfway. Our two peoples have been following just such a road for decades. That is why our ties are always developing. The high level, dynamism and many-sided nature of our relations, based on the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation, is a source of satisfaction.

We highly value India's contribution to the common efforts to preserve peace and avert the nuclear threat. As the current head of the non-aligned movement, which has become an important factor in international relations, India is doing much to strengthen its unity and beneficial influence in the world.

Soviet-Indian friendship is an asset not of our two peoples alone. It is an important factor of peace and stability in the present tense situation and an exam-

ple of how fruitfully countries with different systems can cooperate if they are guided by the ideals of peace, the principles of mutual respect and equitable cooperation.

We are optimistic about the prospects of Soviet-Indian relations. The last time Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and I met, both sides reaffirmed their desire to further strengthen cooperation. I am sure that the forthcoming discussion of a broad range of questions of bilateral and international relations will give new content to our traditional ties in the interests of the Soviet and Indian peoples and of peace in Asia and worldwide.

And, of course, I personally will be pleased to renew contacts with the Indian leader, who is greatly respected in our country.

Question: The initiatives of the heads of state and government of six countries representing four continents embodied in their declarations of 1984 and 1985 have been widely welcomed in the Soviet Union. How do you think they could be put into practice?

Answer: We have a high opinion of those initiatives. The ideas voiced in the documents of the heads of the six countries and the Soviet initiatives are headed in the same direction. The ultimate goal of which the declarations speak — to eliminate nuclear weapons from humanity's life — fully corresponds to the foreign-policy goals of our country.

When entering into the Geneva talks with the United States we agreed that their aim was to prevent an arms race in outer space, terminate it on Earth and begin radical reductions of nuclear arms, with a view to completely eliminating them.

And it is possible to begin with what the leaders of the six countries proposed, i.e. to stop the development, production and deployment of nuclear weapons, freeze nuclear arsenals and start to reduce them, prevent the arms race from spreading the space, and conclude a treaty banning all nuclear tests.

We have proposed as a first step that further arms build-up be halted, that the USSR and the USA should impose a moratorium on the development, including research, testing and deployment of attack space weapons for the duration of the Geneva negotiations and freeze their strategic offensive armaments, and that the deployment of U.S. medium-range missiles in Europe and the build-up of our counter-measures be discontinued.

The Soviet Union has already unilaterally imposed a moratorium until this November on the

deployment of its medium-range missiles and has suspended the implementation of other counter-measures in Europe. True to its word, the USSR has been strictly abiding by the terms of this moratorium. We are entitled to hope for a more serious and thoughtful assessment of our initiative by Washington and its NATO partners, and for restraint in U.S. missile deployment in Western Europe. Reciprocity in this matter could help place the Geneva talks on a practical footing.

And, finally, on the question of ceasing nuclear weapons tests. We have repeatedly urged the USA and other nuclear powers to do so. The USSR has been proposing that the nuclear states declare a moratorium on all nuclear explosions until the conclusion of a treaty on the universal and complete prohibition of nuclear weapons tests. It could be instituted as of August 6, 1985, i.e. on the 40th anniversary of the tragic atomic bombing on Hiroshima, or even earlier.

The Soviet Union is ready to resume immediately the talks on the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons tests which broke down through the fault of the USA. It is high time to put into effect the 1974 and 1976 Soviet-U.S. treaties on the limitation of underground nuclear weapons tests and on underground nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes, which have not yet been ratified — again not through the fault of the Soviet side.

Of course, special responsibility for the destiny of the world rests today with the nuclear powers, and primarily with the USSR and the USA. But the Soviet Union has never looked at the world in the context of Soviet-U.S. relations alone. We are deeply convinced that all states can and should take part in the search for realistic solutions to urgent problems and in the easing of international tension. The voice of millions of people in different countries in favor of effective measures to end the arms race and reduce arms stockpiles and against attempts to use negotiations as a cover for the continuation of this race, is of tremendous importance.

Question: What could you say about the prospects for a durable peace and development of cooperation in Asia, specifically in the Indian Ocean area?

Answer: I would like to stress that we highly value India's contribution to the strengthening of peace and stability in Asia, and its realistic and considered approach to the key problems of the region.

As to the Soviet Union, it has always advocated peace and security in Asia, and equitable cooperation between the continent's states. This fully applies to the Indian Ocean area. We support the idea of converting it into a zone of peace.

It is common knowledge that for a number of years the USA has been preventing the convening of an international conference on this question. It has also unilaterally broken off the Soviet-U.S. talks on limiting military activities in the Indian Ocean, even while the USA itself is constantly building up its military presence there.

The Soviet Union has repeatedly voiced its readiness to resume the talks. At the Soviet-Indian summit in 1982 the Soviet Union proposed that all states whose ships use the waters of the Indian Ocean should, even before the convening of a conference, refrain from any steps which might aggravate the situation in the region. This Soviet proposal remains valid. Specifically, the states concerned should not send large naval formations there or hold military exercises, and those non-littoral countries which have military bases in the region should not expand or modernize them.

The struggle for a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean now hinges on the convening of an international conference on the issue. I would like to stress our desire to work vigorously with other interested states to ensure that such a forum is held and that the Indian Ocean eventually becomes a sphere of vital interests of the states located on its shores, and not of any others, a zone of peace rather than one of tension and conflicts.

In conclusion allow me, through your agency, to wish the Indian people happiness, prosperity and peace. We wish the government and all citizens of India success in the efforts further to strengthen national unity and cohesion, and in the work for the social progress and prosperity of your great country.

Pravda, May 20, 1985

Great Awareness of the Responsibility for Preserving Peace

Unsere Zeit Newspaper Interview with
German CP Chairman Herbert Mies

Question: While U.S. President Reagan was renewing his call for a crusade against socialism, you had a meeting and talks with CPSU CC General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachov. What made the most striking political and personal impression on you in that meeting?

Answer: The most striking political impression? Probably the absolute concord of our desire to work purposely to avert a new war. The policy of the

aggressive forces of imperialism, U.S. imperialism above all, is increasing the danger of war. We are fully at one in our belief that outer space must be closed to all types of arms. It is necessary to halt the build-up of the arsenals on Earth and to reduce them drastically. That is the main and primary task that needs to be tackled for the sake of the present and future generations. Great awareness of the respon-

sibility for preserving peace and for ensuring even more successful development of the socialist society in the USSR — that is what made the strongest impression on me during the meeting with Mikhail Gorbachov.

In past years when I got to know Mikhail Gorbachov and in this meeting as well, I saw in him a person who deeply respects the German anti-fascists and their struggle against fascism and war and highly values the German communists' staunchness and courage and their loyalty to the national interests of their people and to proletarian internationalism.

That, and the vehemence with which he upholds what he wrote in his reply to the Heilbronn Peace Council's letter ("our country is convinced that co-operation and good-neighborly relations between the USSR and the FRG could benefit both our peoples and the cause of universal peace") made one of the strongest personal impressions on me. I will not forget Mikhail Gorbachov's meeting with SUPG CC General Secretary Erich Honecker, with Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin Chairman Horst Schmitt, and also with me following a morning meeting with veterans of the Great Patriotic War who had come from all corners of the Soviet Union. Then there was a meeting with German communists, who had been invited to the opening of a memorial museum of German anti-fascists in Krasnogorsk and to the stonelaying ceremony of the monument to Ernst Thälmann in Moscow. That made a very strong impression on me.

Question: How does Moscow assess the chances of achieving détente in relations between the two world powers?

Answer: In exactly the same way as Mikhail Gorbachov assessed them in mid-April during his meeting with the speaker of the House of Representatives of the U.S. Congress Thomas O'Neill. The Soviet leadership sincerely wants to normalize Soviet-U.S. relations. It proceeds from the fact that in the nuclear age peaceful coexistence between the USSR and the USA is the only reasonable alternative. The reason for the present tension in relations between these two countries is not some inevitable and insurmountable clash of their national interests but rather, essentially, the U.S. side's unwillingness to drop its provocative plans to spread the arms race to outer space because of its policy of anti-communist crusade.

Of profound concern is the contradiction in U.S. policy between the many statements of intention regarding nuclear arms reduction and the feverish build-up of those arms in daily practice. All this, and much more besides, gives the Soviet leadership sufficient ground for anxiety and for concluding that the USA is trying to use the Geneva talks as a cover for the realization of its military arms build-up program. Nevertheless the Soviet leadership has not given up hope that the talks will be successful. It is oriented toward finding the ways to reach mutual understanding and peaceful development and not toward hostility and confrontation.

I would like to recall Mikhail Gorbachov's words

to the effect that this is a time when the people who shape the two countries' (i.e. Soviet and U.S.) policy must of necessity hold dialogue between themselves.

Question: How does Moscow assess relations with the FRG on the 40th anniversary of liberation?

Answer: Those who want to know how Moscow assesses these relations on the 40th anniversary of liberation will not overlook the thousands upon thousands of meetings currently being held between war veterans and relatives of the 20 million Soviet people who perished during the war. The Soviet people and the USSR party and state leadership would undoubtedly like to look at relations with the FRG with optimism and witness a strengthening of the good ties which developed in the 70s thanks to the Moscow Treaty. But the conditions for that do not exist at present because of Bonn's support for Reagan's policy of confrontation. There is currently less optimism with respect to those relations, and the attitude to them is more critical than it used to be.

Certainly, the Soviet party and state leadership and Mikhail Gorbachov understand the great importance of relations between the Soviet Union and the FRG and they are certainly convinced that this cooperation benefits both peoples and universal peace as well. But it is equally to be expected that there is growing concern over the fact that the response to the unilateral moratorium and the suspension of the deployment of Soviet medium-range missiles in countries friendly to the Soviet Union has been a continuation of the deployment on FRG territory of Pershing II missiles — that first-strike nuclear weapon. Both the whole Soviet people and the CPSU leadership were deeply worried by the fact that a war danger is again emanating from German territory, i.e. from the territory of the FRG. Similar worry is caused by Bonn's actual sanctioning of the U.S. plans in the area of the so-called Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), the plans to militarize outer space.

All that, particularly against the background of the 40th anniversary of victory and liberation, raises the question as to where the Federal Republic is heading. The Soviet leadership hopes that all the forces of reason and realism in the FRG will succeed in averting a new catastrophe in relations between the two peoples and use the advantages of peaceful co-operation on the basis of the principles of equality and equal security.

Question: While Reagan and Kohl visited the Bitburg cemetery with the graves of SS men, you — Erich Honecker, yourself and Horst Schmitt — along with the Soviet party leadership and Moscow and Krasnogorsk residents did justice to the struggle of the German Resistance against the Hitlerite regime. What was the meaning of that demonstration?

Answer: We clearly showed the special meaning of that demonstration in the meetings at the memorial museum of German anti-fascists in Krasnogorsk and in Ernst Thälmann Square in Moscow, and in the communiqué on our meetings with Mikhail Gorbachov. For us that was a ceremonial confirmation of our loyalty to the behests of the anti-fascists' struggle: No to fascism! No to another war! Friend-

ship with the peoples of the Soviet Union!

While the Bitburg visit demonstrated a spirit of hostility to the Soviet Union and of justification of fascism, the meetings in Krasnogorsk and in Thalmann Square in Moscow, which again recalled the 20 million Soviet people and the 6.5 million Germans who perished in the war, show something else. That

was a manifestation of a striving for a durable peace and friendship between our peoples, a manifestation of the perpetual profound respect for the contribution of all German anti-fascists, the Resistance fighters, to the liberation of the peoples from fascism and war.

Unsere Zeit, May 10, 1985

congresses & plenary meetings

On the Political and Organizational Activity of Party Committees and Organizations in 1984

Resolution of a Plenary Meeting of The Romanian Communist Party CC*

The year 1984 was marked by a strengthening of the party's cohesion and unity and political and organizational ability to mobilize all the nation's forces to ensure the socio-economic development of the homeland and its advance to new frontiers of progress and civilization.

Propaganda activity and political and educational work were increasingly directed toward fulfillment of the working people's tasks in every area. Measures were taken to arm the communists and all working people with the theses, ideas and directives of RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu, which are of immense theoretical and practical significance. The broad political, ideological, cultural and educational events organized in the run-up to the 40th anniversary of the anti-fascist and anti-imperialist revolution of social emancipation and national liberation and the party's 13th congress were important in raising the political level of the communists and all working people and in conducting their patriotic and revolutionary education. The qualitative level and effectiveness of the cultural and educational events held as part of the "Song of Romania" festival was raised.

The plenary meeting underscored that the party bodies and organizations have been focusing on strengthening the party ranks. In 1984, 132,001 working people were recruited into the RCP. Of those, 86,139 (65.26 per cent) are workers, 20,539 (15.66 per cent) — peasants, and 25,323 (19.18 per cent) — intellectuals; 51.40 per cent of those admitted are women, and over 77 per cent came from the Young Communist League.

RCP membership stood at 3,465,069 on December 31, 1984, i.e. 94,726 more than on December 31, 1983; the communists make up 22.17 per cent of the able-bodied population, and 32.91 per cent of the employed. Almost 76 per cent of all party members work in the sphere of material production.

The party's social composition is as follows: 55.67 per cent — workers, 15.67 per cent — peasants, 20.65 per cent — intellectuals and office workers, and 8.01 per cent — pensioners and housewives.

The number of women party members reached 1,126,162 at the end of 1984, that is, 60,930 more than on December 31, 1983, and the percentage of women RCP members grew from 31.61 to 32.50. Important changes have occurred in the education structure of party members: in 1984 the number of party members with a higher education increased by 22,655, with secondary education — by 48,362, and members who have completed technical and vocational schools increased by 25,946.

At the end of 1984 the party consisted organizationally of 40 district organizations and the Bucharest municipal organization, 55 municipal, 188 city and 2,705 communal organizations, 6,344 organizations at enterprises and institutions and on farms, 72,735 primary organizations and 12,694 party groups.

While stressing the successes scored, the RCP CC plenary meeting noted that there were also some shortcomings in the party bodies' and organizations' style of work, which meant that the results attained were less than what was possible.

The focus of all forms of political and educational work will continue to be the further elaboration of the theses, ideas and directives contained in the report presented at the RCP 13th congress and in other party documents, and their linkage with the concrete tasks of each enterprise and each worker so as to ensure that the working people are more vigorously mobilized to fulfil the plan targets completely.

Summarized from *Scinteia*,
April 3, 1985

*Held on March 26 and 27. — *Ed.*

In the Name of Peace and Progress

From a Report by William Kashtan, General Secretary,
Communist Party of Canada

The 26th convention of the Communist Party of Canada was held in Toronto from April 5 to 8, 1985. Comrade William Kashtan, CPC General Secretary, delivered a political report on the party's activities and the tasks of the Canadian communists.

The convention unanimously approved the basic provisions of the report and the main political document — "The Road Ahead," which defines the CPC's immediate tasks in its struggle for the working people's interests, peace and Canada's independent foreign policy orientation.

Elections were held to the CPC Central Committee. William Kashtan was re-elected CPC General Secretary at the first sitting of the new CPC Central Committee.

The world is faced with two choices, the path of confrontation and aggression which leads to war, the path taken by the aggressive forces of U.S. imperialism and its NATO allies, in their effort at reversing the course of history. Or the path of peaceful coexistence, of détente and disarmament based on equality and equal security, the path fought for by the Soviet Union, and the advanced sections of the peace movement. Underneath this is the struggle of the peoples to assert their right to decide their own destinies, to control their own resources, to achieve their freedom and independence. In its effort to halt the march of history U.S. imperialism threatens nuclear war and the destruction of human civilization.

This is why the priority in today's world is halting the arms race, removing the danger of nuclear war and taking practical measures to achieve disarmament.

The world breathed easier with the agreement by the Soviet Union and the USA to open negotiations on the questions of arms control, an agreement undertaken on the initiative of the Soviet Union.

This agreement stated: "The sides agree that the subject of negotiations will be a complex of questions concerning space and nuclear arms — both strategic and intermediate-range — with all the questions considered and resolved in their *interrelationship*. The objective of the negotiations will be to work out effective agreements aimed at preventing an arms race in space and terminating it on Earth, at limiting and reducing nuclear arms and strengthening strategic stability."

This is the essence of the Geneva Accord. The key word here is *interrelationship*, the implementation of all parts of the agreement.

If the arms race were to spread to space which is what Reagan's Star Wars aims for, it would destabilize the situation, accelerate the arms race and the danger of nuclear confrontation.

If the U.S. administration persists in continuing its space program it will jeopardize arms control negotiations. This has been made clear for the whole world to hear. The Soviet Union has declared that if the U.S. administration breaks its agreement this will undermine the prospects of arms control negotiations. It stands to reason that the Soviet Union will do all in its power to prevent U.S. military superiority over itself and its allies.

Thus a good beginning could have a bad ending

due to the dangerous course pursued by the U.S. administration.

What it underlines is that Washington has not given up its effort at achieving a first strike and winnable nuclear strategy and *military superiority*.

What should be pressed for now in Canada to facilitate the negotiations is a freeze, an immediate moratorium on space weapons tests, a freeze on tests, production and deployment of nuclear weapons, an end to deployment of medium-range missiles in Europe.

What is important here is that the Mulroney government be made to speak up against the U.S. Star Wars program including its policy of militarization of space, as some other NATO allies of the USA have done. We have such examples in Greece, New Zealand, Australia, Spain, Holland. Unfortunately, instead of taking such a course our government has endorsed that program. Not only has it endorsed it, but giving way to U.S. pressures, it has undertaken the modernization of the DEW Line, or the North Warning System as it is now called. Despite the denials of the government Mr. Weinberger was more truthful when he stated the Star Wars research "is an inextricable link with the modernization of the DEW radar line." The Pentagon sees modernization of the DEW Line as an essential part of its Star Wars nuclear strategy.

There is already declarations by Mr. Caspar Weinberger that there might be a time when U.S. launchers will be placed on Canadian soil directed at the USSR and other socialist countries. Canada will thus become a launching pad for attacks on the Soviet Union, despite weak denials by Mr. Clark, Canada's Minister of External Affairs.

Canada's membership in NORAD is undermining rather than reinforcing Canada's sovereignty and independence. The "partnership" with the USA spells real danger to Canada and the Canadian people. It could open the door to destruction of Canada.

Canadian government support of the Star Wars program and modernization of the DEW Line is part of a sharp turn in foreign and economic policies by the Mulroney government toward a policy of continentalism and more rapid integration into the U.S. empire. It has declared its intention to support U.S. foreign policies, to increase support to NATO, to increase military expenditures in Canada, to pursue

a course of free or freer trade with the USA.

It reflects the fact that *the dominant sections of Canadian monopoly* have opted for a policy of continentalism. Canadianization is being replaced by Americanization.

What is taking place is the economic and military integration of Canada into the U.S. empire.

In return for this line-up with the global strategy of U.S. imperialism, monopoly interests in Canada expect to get substantial *war orders* from the Pentagon including "enhanced trade" with the USA. The minimum they expect is that Canadian monopoly will be protected from the effects of protectionism in the USA.

In return for these "favors" the Canadian government has sold out Canada to U.S. imperialism. It has been drawn into support of U.S. foreign policy and U.S. nuclear military strategy. It is now lined up with the U.S. in arms control, in its position on East-West relations and in turning Canada's north into a U.S. military base. As we have had occasion to say previously, the government will now say "ready, aye ready" when called upon by the Reagan administration. It will now be speaking with an American, not a Canadian voice.

Is there no alternative to the pro-U.S. course being taken by the Mulroney government?

Yes, there is an alternative — independent economic development based on nationalization under democratic control.

There is an alternative to free trade which would undermine Canadian industry and independent Canadian development, that of multilateral and bilateral trade with all countries based on mutual interest.

Yes, there is an alternative — the pursuit of an independent foreign policy, opposition to the U.S. Star Wars program, support for a nuclear freeze and non-first-use of nuclear weapons, making Canada a nuclear weapons free zone and annulling Cruise missile and all U.S. weapons testing on Canadian soil — withdrawing Canada from membership in NORAD and NATO.

There is an alternative to support of U.S. policies of confrontation, that of peaceful coexistence and support for a policy of equality and equal security for all countries. Peaceful coexistence of differing social systems is the rational alternative to the U.S. policy of force to resolve differences.

The Canada-wide struggle for Canadian independence has taken on a new urgency as has the fight for an independent foreign policy, a democratic Canadian culture and economic policies leading to full employment.

In this connection, of particular significance is the emergence of the *Council of Canadians* embracing non-monopoly interests, professionals and intellectuals, Liberal and New Democratic Party members and, not least, sections of the trade union movement. This movement arises in opposition to the continentalist policies of the Mulroney government and its sell-out of Canada to the Reagan administration. This finds reflection in its three-point program calling for independent economic development and opposition to free trade, an independent foreign pol-

icy, a strengthened Canadian culture.

The emergence of the Council of Canadians coincides in time with another important event, a meeting of peace activists from all parts of the country in Vancouver to explore the possibility of the formation of a Canada-wide peace coalition. We understand that agreement was reached to meet in Toronto in November to establish such a peace coalition. This is a welcome development with a great potential, that of uniting all peace movements under one umbrella around demands whose essence is support for an independent foreign policy for Canada.

The slogan of action adopted some time ago by our party and made a central issue in the federal election — "Unite to stop U.S. imperialism, for peace, jobs and Canadian independence — Put Canada First" — has particular significance today, and is in fact already reflected in various ways throughout the country. We must work to make it the slogan of the Canadian people in defense of Canada's sovereignty, and independence and peace.

While the U.S. Star Wars program, deployment of new U.S. missiles in Western Europe and its accelerated arms program all add to the danger of war, world war is not inevitable. The balance of forces on a world scale has not changed in favor of imperialism. Despite the efforts of U.S. imperialism to crush the national and social liberation movements, it has not succeeded. The peace forces are gathering new strength. Above all socialism, the decisive force for peace, has become stronger. It is that strength based on military strategic parity which has prevented imperialism from unleashing war.

Our party which called for the convening of an international conference of communist and workers' parties as far back as 1981, welcomes the fact that more and more parties have come out in favor of such a conference. The present international situation makes coordination of effort more pressing than ever. We will continue to work in this direction.

The 40th anniversary of the defeat of fascism is a good occasion to call again for such a world conference directed to unite communist and workers' parties, the anti-imperialist and peace forces of the world in common and coordinated effort to prevent nuclear war.

As a recent statement of the CPC CEC on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the defeat of fascism stated: "Don't allow the fatal mistakes that led to World War II to be repeated. This time a like mistake could result in the end of human life on earth. The common enemy is the arms race and a nuclear war no one could win. Peaceful coexistence, détente, disarmament based on parity and equal security is the path to peace today. War can and must be prevented before it starts. This is the important lesson of the Second World War." Nor should one overlook other lessons: that anti-Sovietism and anti-communism are a source of military danger to the world, and that united action of all peace forces against imperialist aggression can prevent a new world catastrophe.

In the present tense international situation communists see as their task not only the struggle to end

exploitation and oppression but also and *in the first place* to save human civilization from nuclear war. This adds a new dimension to the historic mission of the working class.

What is increasingly evident is that state-monopoly capitalism has been unable to rid itself of its inherent contradictions. Canada, like other capitalist states, is engulfed by the crisis of the world capitalist system.

In Canada cyclical crises and structural crises tend to merge. Cyclical crises have become more frequent, deeper and last longer. Rates of production have declined. Excess industrial capacity continues. The financial system tends to become more unstable, the budget deficit keeps growing, unemployment keeps rising. A relatively new phenomenon is bank and trust company bankruptcies.

The basic direction of the government is to find a way out of the crisis at the expense of the working people through a policy of restraint, deficit cutting, high unemployment, and worsened conditions for working people.

This is seen in the continued attack on universality of social programs and on social programs as such, despite Prime Minister Mulroney's declaration that it is a "sacred trust." Attacks on social programs go together with attacks on real wages which continue to lag behind the rate of inflation thus hindering recovery. The right to strike is being threatened and in some cases curtailed.

Working people are learning that their hard-won gains are not permanent under capitalism.

The monopoly offensive, seen most harshly in British Columbia but developing in other parts of the country also, has created a new situation for the working class. The conditions of class struggle have changed. The times of "easy" corporate concessions have gone, replaced by monopoly's policies of confrontation in order to exact maximum profits through concessions from workers. Mass unemployment created by the workings of the economic system and by specific economic policies is the weapon used by monopoly and governments to keep wages down, force concessions from workers and weaken the trade union movement.

Experience has already shown workers that they will not be able to maintain gains without waging sharp battles on two fronts — where necessary and possible on the strike front, but combined now, more than ever, with the battle for new economic and social policies, the battle for jobs and for policies of full employment, linked to the struggle for peace and independence.

Monopoly and its government, under cover of consultations, continue efforts at involving the trade union movement into some form of class collaboration. There may even be some crumbs thrown in to make it appear attractive.

This is seen in some of the proposals being advanced by monopoly-financed research institutes. The C.D. Howe Institute advises the working class and working people that the way out of the crisis lies in curtailing wages and replacing collective bargaining by "gainsharing" policies. It tells the working people that "we are all in the same boat" and must

tighten our belts. We have seen how and whose belts have been tightened. Workers' wages since 1977 have been below the rate of inflation. A recent report shows that in the past three years, wages have declined by about one per cent annually. While the conditions of the working class and working people as well as working farmers have deteriorated, corporate profits have increased by 45 per cent this year. This has been taken out of the hides of the working people through speed-up, modernization and rationalization of industry and by policies which redistribute income in favor of the corporations. The banks too have been "tightening" their belts, reporting a profit increase of 15 per cent. So much for being in the same boat.

The growing offensive against the working class and working people is engendering a growing counter-offensive by the organized workers in both private and public sectors and by the progressive and democratic forces of society. As our draft resolution emphasizes: "Providing there is unity around a clear-cut democratic alternative program, the monopoly offensive can be blunted."

The temporary setbacks experienced by sections of the working class are beginning to be replaced by growing anger, growing militancy, a growing number of strikes and a more organized fightback. The class struggle is sharpening.

All technological changes achieved to date in conditions of capitalism have led to more unemployment, not only for workers in industry but also for white-collar workers. Working people are not opposed to technological change. But they do expect and properly so, that they and the people generally will be the beneficiaries of technological change, not its victims.

The scientific and technological revolution raises in sharp focus the need for a fundamental change of society to ensure that the Canadian people will benefit from technological change.

Communists in the trade union movement advance these basic ideas while demanding that the working class have a say over all questions concerning technological change and plant closures. They demand that where new technology is introduced employees must be guaranteed opportunities for retraining and new jobs without loss in pay. They demand that legislation be adopted to prevent the transfer of productive capacities to other countries at the expense of jobs in Canada.

Alongside these measures communists will fight more aggressively than ever for nationalization of key industries under democratic control. Such nationalization should start with natural resources, U.S. branch plants in Canada, the banks and other financial institutions.

Such measures must go together with a \$10 billion all-Canada public investment program to create jobs and build the country. Public affordable housing, the extension of health services and the educational system, measures to protect the environment, the extension of the transportation system, the creation of recreational areas and green belts, a universal free child-care system, a comprehensive training and retraining program are among the areas to which such

an investment program should be applied.

Instead of curtailing unemployment insurance as is being pressed for with the aim of building up a pool of cheap labor, unemployment insurance must be extended to cover the entire period of unemployment and increased to 90 per cent of a person's earnings. A special fund should be established for young people presently not eligible for unemployment insurance. Welfare benefits should be drastically increased. While these measures do not remove the cause of capitalist economic crisis, they help ease the consequences of the crisis for working people.

Not only the working people in the cities but also the family farmers feel the effects of the crisis. Bankruptcies have not been higher since the 1930s. Among farmers, too, a spirit of militancy and fightback is shaping up. The basis exists for unity of workers and farmers around a common program of action directed against monopoly. Our party must give every support it can to the demands of the farmers and to their growing struggles.

This applies with equal force to the fightback of the cultural community. The government's restraint program is weakening Canadian culture and the Canadian identity and opens the door to its further Americanization, to its privatization. This has evoked widespread opposition from the cultural community. That restraint program is not separate from the pro-U.S. imperialist orientation of the Mulroney government and its more open pro-monopoly policies. It is a destructive right-wing program which must be defeated. The fightback on this front cannot be left to the cultural community alone. At its heart it ties together the struggle for a democratic Canadian culture with the struggle for Canadian independence, peace and social progress.

The marked fightback is particularly to be seen around issues of equality for women. These range around economic equality in the workplace to ending discrimination, to the right of choice. All reflect the growing demand of women for full equality, a demand the Communist Party fully supports and will continue to fight for.

While the issue of the national rights of the French Canadian people seems to have temporarily subsided, it would be shortsighted to believe that the issue is gone and forgotten. It remains a constant factor in the political life, not only of Quebec, but of the country as a whole. This is why the party will continue as before to campaign for the right to self-determination and equality for Quebec and for the right of veto in the Canadian constitution.

Our party must also give continuing attention and support to the just demands of the Native peoples. The government has been compelled to recognize in words their rights to self-government. But with increasing opposition from provincial governments, they may side-step the issue. The working class and democratic movement must extend their hand of cooperation to the Native peoples around these and other issues.

What stands in the way of progress today is the power of the monopolies, the transnationals, the banks who place their profit interests above everything else. It is that power which must be broken if Canada is to strengthen its independence in economic, foreign and cultural policies. It is that power which must be curbed if the working class is to protect and advance its interests and win a policy of full employment. It is that power which must be curbed if the process of fundamental change is to be realized.

No other party except the Communist Party of Canada states these facts. No other party except the Communist Party of Canada helps the working class to understand these basic facts, and demands that new priorities be established, priorities based on the maximum satisfaction of people's needs, not the maximum profits of the corporations and the wealthy.

In this period of a growing crisis of the system communists correctly link up the defense of the immediate needs of the working class and working people with the struggle for fundamental change for socialism.

We have every reason to be optimistic, looking at the world we can see the processes of change that are developing on all sides. In Latin America there is a new upsurge of struggle as the people set back the forces of militarism be it in Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay. In Central America, despite the efforts of U.S. imperialism to destroy the Nicaraguan revolution it has been unsuccessful and will continue to be unsuccessful. Despite its efforts to hold up the reactionary forces in El Salvador the people will achieve their victory. In the Middle East it has been chased out of Lebanon and this process will continue in other countries also. In South Africa, despite its efforts to hold up the criminal apartheid system, a process of disintegration is beginning in that country. The people will yet achieve their victory due to their heroic struggle and the role of the African National Congress and of the South African Communist Party. In Kampuchea the efforts to hold up the Pol Pot group collapsed like a pack of cards. In Afghanistan despite all the efforts of U.S. imperialism the people are carrying out their democratic revolution.

Despite the temporary retreat of the British miners, that heroic struggle is not over. The lessons of that struggle will not be forgotten. New ways, new forms of struggle will develop.

In our own country as we have shown, the struggle continues, the fightback on many fronts continues to develop. Now a new dimension to that struggle finds expression in opposition to the pro-U.S. imperialist orientation of the Mulroney government and against those who would push Canada to the right.

As we said in the draft resolution: "The 26th convention is faced with great tasks and responsibilities. We are confident we will face up to them."

Abridged

Latin America's Debt Burden Makes a New Economic Order an Urgent Necessity

From an Interview Given by Fidel Castro
to the Mexican Daily *Excelsior*

The economic crisis and the debt will unite the Latin American countries much more than the War of the Malvinas did. The War of the Malvinas was a war waged by a European country against a Latin American nation, but it wasn't something that affected the Latin American countries' vital economic interests. That solidarity was truly selfless. In the case of Latin America's economic crisis and foreign debt, however, the solution of this problem is a matter of survival for the Latin American countries.

There is talk of the crisis of the 30s. The present crisis is worse than the one in the 30s. At that time, Latin America's population was less than a third of what it is now; today's social problems are incomparably greater than the social problems in the 30s.

The most important thing, though, is that, at the time of the crisis of the 30s, Latin America had practically no foreign debt. Now, we have a bigger crisis, incomparably greater accumulated social problems and a debt of \$360 billion. A mathematical analysis of this situation shows that this debt cannot be paid, and this is so whether you analyze the situation as a whole or whether you consider the situation in the individual countries; in some cases, it's more serious than in others, but it is serious in all, without exception.

According to the latest official data gathered by the United Nations' Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean, Brazil owes \$101.8 billion; Mexico, \$95.9 billion; Argentina, \$48 billion; Venezuela, \$34 billion; Chile, according to calculations that, in my opinion, are very conservative, \$18.440 billion; Peru, \$13.5 billion; Colombia, \$10.8 billion; Costa Rica, a small country with a population of around 2 million, \$4.050 million; Panama, with a similar population, \$3.550 million; and Uruguay, \$4.7 billion. And these are conservative figures, since, according to reports by distinguished Uruguayan and Chilean friends, Uruguay's real debt is \$5.5 billion, and Chile's is \$23 billion. That is, the official figures are lower than the real level of the debt. In many cases, it isn't easy for the international agencies, or the governments of the countries themselves, to know the real amount of their debts, because, in addition to the controlled debts, there are other ones to private bodies that aren't reported.

A figure of \$105 billion is mentioned for Brazil, around \$100 billion for Mexico and \$35 billion for Venezuela, but none of the figures that are mentioned frequently is lower than the ones given in the

official data of the international economic agencies.

Some countries, such as Argentina, are using 52 per cent of their exports to pay the interest on their debts. Bolivia is using 57 per cent of its exports for this purpose; Mexico, 36.5 per cent; Peru, 35.5 per cent; Brazil, 36.5 per cent; and Chile, 45.5 per cent — and this when it is considered practically impossible to keep going when 20 per cent of exports are absorbed by payments on foreign debts.

What do these figures mean? That it is impossible for any country to develop under these conditions. This has been expressed in the fact that the gross domestic product (GDP) of the Latin American countries as a whole dropped between 1981 and 1984. In Uruguay, for example, it dropped by 13.9 per cent; in Argentina, by 6 per cent; in Chile, by 5.4 per cent; and in Venezuela — in spite of that country's enormous economic resources — by 6.1 per cent.

By making great efforts to increase their exports and by cutting their imports drastically, to levels that are nearly untenable for their economies, these countries obtained favorable balances of trade. Brazil obtained a positive balance of \$12.6 billion; Mexico, one of \$13.5 billion; and Argentina, one of \$4.430 billion. All of these balances — the result of tremendous efforts, of using and practically exhausting their stocks of raw materials and possibly adversely affecting the maintenance and replacement of productive installations — have been used in all three countries for the sole purpose of paying the interest on their debts.

As a whole, the Latin American countries paid \$37.3 billion for interest and profits in 1984 — nearly \$3 billion more than in 1983 — and they received \$10.6 billion in loans and investments.

In 1984, Latin America's net transfers of financial resources abroad for interest and profits rose to \$26.7 billion. In just two years, 1983 and 1984, the net flow of financial resources from Latin America's net transfers of financial resources abroad for interest and profits rose to \$26.7 billion. In just two years, 1983 and 1984, the net flow of financial resources from Latin America amounted to \$56.7 billion. That is, the Latin American underdeveloped countries are financing the economies and development of the richest industrialized countries in the world with impressive sums of money. These are the facts. And that money has gone forever; there is no possible way of getting it back.

The political, economic and social situation of

Latin America is such that it can't hold up under any more restrictions and sacrifices.

The first thing the IMF demands is a reduction in the rate of inflation, a reduction in the budgetary deficit and restrictive measures of a social nature that increase unemployment and aggravate the problems that have been accumulating and multiplying for many years.

Consumer prices in Latin America as a whole rose by 130.8 per cent in 1983 and by 175.4 per cent in 1984. With these levels of inflation, it is practically impossible to manage the economy.

In some cases, the levels of inflation are truly astounding as in Bolivia; Argentina, where it was 675 per cent; Brazil, 194.7 per cent; and Peru, 105.8 per cent. How can anyone ask that those countries reduce their inflation, balance their budgets and also pay astronomical amounts as interest on their debts?

Moreover, the figures on the transfers of resources to the industrialized world which I've already mentioned refer exclusively to what has been paid by those countries officially, as interest payments and profits. The flight of capital should be added to this — a figure that, because of the way this capital leaves, is practically impossible to estimate.

Well, I was talking about the flight of capital. This has occurred not only in Latin America but in Europe and Japan, as well. In 1983, \$40 billion flowed to the United States, partly in response to the policy of high interest rates paid there. I understand that between \$4 and \$5 billion were transferred from the Federal Republic of Germany, which is a great industrial power, to the United States last year because interest rates there are 4.5 points higher than in the FRG. With that kind of monetary policy, money flows toward the United States from all quarters. During that same year, 1983, \$170 billion in foreign capital was invested in stocks and bonds in the United States. In order to be able to support a budgetary deficit of nearly \$200 billion and a trade deficit of another \$123 billion, you have to drain money away from the rest of the world.

Then, in just these four ways — because of our being charged extra for their products and being paid less for ours; because of the artificially high interest rates, a consequence of the United States' monetary policy; because of the flight of capital; and because of the fact that we are paying with more expensive dollars, inflated ones, that have been overvalued — the Latin American countries' economies were illegitimately stripped of more than \$45 billion in 1984 — \$20 billion for the deterioration in trade relations, \$10 billion for excessive interest, \$10 billion for the flight of capital and \$5 billion (a conservative estimate) for the overvaluation of the dollar. Adding it all up, including what can be considered normal interest on the debt, in just one year the Latin American countries have turned values equal to around \$70 billion over to the rich, developed world. And \$50 billion of that was in cash.

I believe that it is of decisive importance and

absolutely necessary to solve the problem of the debt — and to do so without delay. If this isn't done, none of the democratic processes that have been initiated can be consolidated, because the same economic crisis that made the military withdraw from public administration, practically in flight, in such countries as Argentina, Uruguay and Brazil, will drag the democratic processes that have been inaugurated in those countries into the whirlwind of insoluble difficulties, social tensions and economic problems.

Therefore, I have maintained — and I have said this on many occasions — that the problem of the debt must be solved and the economic crisis overcome, or there will be a social upheaval in Latin America. And, if you ask me what kind it will be, I would say that there will be overall revolutionary social outbreak.

If you ask me — as one journalist already did: "As a revolutionary, aren't you glad that this is so?" — I'm going to tell you what I think. Right now, there is something more important than social change, and that is our countries' independence. This situation has brought the Third World countries to such a state of dependence, exploitation, extortion and abuse that independence and the struggle for the new international economic order have become the main issue for the Latin American and other underdeveloped countries. Social changes alone are not the solution. Social changes may bring greater justice, speed up development and make the efforts and sacrifices of all more equitable and more humane. We have effected these changes and are satisfied that we have done so, but the considerable progress that our country has made in economic and social development wasn't exclusively due to them. It is also due to the fact that, within our sphere, we have to some extent achieved a new international economic order in our relations with the other socialist countries. Eighty-five per cent of our trade is with countries of the socialist community, and, while the terms aren't the same with all of them because they have different levels of development and availabilities of resources, our relations are based on truly fair principles of cooperation and trade.

For example, in our economic relations with the USSR and other developed socialist countries, we have overcome the tragic law of unequal terms of trade that has historically governed the relations between the Third World and the developed capitalist powers. We receive fair prices for the products we export, satisfactory prices that are protected by agreements against deterioration in the terms of trade — the phenomenon through which the Third World's exports (except in unusual market conditions) have ever decreasing purchasing power, while its imports grow ever more expensive.

We aren't affected by protectionist measures in our trade with the other socialist countries. We don't suffer from dumping or unfair competition on the part of socialist countries. Our financial problems, which stem from our need for development credits,

have been solved without delay or difficulty. We have been able to postpone payment of our debt for 10, 15 and even 20 years without interest. If the industrialized capitalist countries employed the same forms of trade and economic and financial relations that we have with the socialist community, the problems I have mentioned would be solved and the Third World countries development would be guaranteed.

I believe that this is of enormous importance, because, I repeat, we have solved our problems not only through social changes but also because, as a Third World, developing socialist country, Cuba has established a form of new international economic order with the rest of the socialist community. Without these foundations, our great economic and social successes — our tremendous achievements in public health, education, physical education and sports, the elimination of unemployment and malnutrition and the raising of our people's material and cultural standards — wouldn't have been possible. Nor would we be able to offer the technical cooperation we do to dozens of other Third World countries. That requires resources, large investments and credits, technology and a great deal of international cooperation over a long period of time. Many poor countries with scanty resources couldn't make similar progress without the new international economic order and without international cooperation.

Therefore, we consider that the fundamental premise for the Third World countries' independence, sovereignty and development — and even for their right to make social changes — is the disappearance of the iniquitous system of exploitation whose victims the Third World countries are. Experience led a number of countries, Cuba among them, to take the socialist road of development. Each people should decide for itself what it wants to do. I am absolutely convinced that, for the peoples of the Third World, who have a great variety of systems and forms of government, different degrees of development of their productive forces and the most diverse forms of political and religious beliefs, development is their most important current task and a vital priority for all, without exception, which can unite them in a common struggle.

I consider the struggle for the new world economic order to be the most important task the Latin American and Third World countries are faced with now, because it can lead to the creation of the conditions needed for real independence, real sovereignty, including the right to carry out social changes — and not only the right but the objective possibility of doing so.

Military spending throughout the world now amounts to a trillion dollars. And, if the arms race (which world public opinion considers absurd and unacceptable in a world in which there are more than 100 underdeveloped countries and billions of people who lack food, health care, housing and education) isn't ended, that spending will continue increasing until it unleashes a nuclear catastrophe, which

would be more dangerous than the economic catastrophe from which a large part of humankind is suffering. If the former were to take place, talking about the latter would make no sense at all.

It would be very sensible and wise if the reduction in military spending were associated with the beginning of a solution for international economic problems. All economists have stated that, with a fraction of the money now spent for military purposes, the problems of underdevelopment and poverty that beset the world could be solved.

The problem of increased military spending and the danger it poses to humankind was the subject of a recent meeting held in New Delhi, in which individuals of such international prestige and authority as Rajiv Gandhi, Julius Nyerere, Raul Alfonsin, Miguel de la Madrid, Andrea Papandreou and Olof Palme participated.

Paradoxically, this crisis is providing the Latin American and other Third World countries with the first real opportunity they've had of receiving due consideration of their demands. We have spent dozens of years in the United Nations, in the movement of non-aligned countries and in all the other international agencies demanding a fairer economic order and requesting better prices for our products, loans and resources for development. It wasn't long ago when, speaking on behalf of the movement of non-aligned countries following the sixth summit conference, I expressed the need for the Third World to have \$300 billion in development assistance during this decade. Now, it isn't a matter of our getting on our knees and imploring the industrialized countries to supply us with funds or to assign a modest 0.7 per cent of their GNPs to development — a commitment which only a few states have made. Now, when they are demanding that the Latin American and Caribbean countries turn over \$400 billion in 10 years, the decision-making has passed to us. We have the power to simply declare that we won't accept this plunder and won't hand over the \$400 billion. They couldn't even threaten us with suspending future loans. Well-used, that \$400 billion that they are demanding we produce from the sweat and sacrifices of the Latin American peoples could finance Latin America's development in the next 10 years. Every country can lend itself what it's paying in interest.

The new world economic order should mean fair trade relations for all the Third World countries, which will mean that the rich industrialized power will have to stop wasting so many resources on arms. Nobody has the right to pay starvation wages for the cocoa, tea, coffee, cashew nuts, peanuts, coconuts and fibers that are gathered leaf by leaf and grain by grain, the minerals, and other raw materials in order to manufacture aircraft-carriers, battleships, strategic missiles and nuclear submarines and to pay for Star Wars weapons. Those resources should be invested in the war on hunger, here on Earth.

If the Latin American and Third World countries

take a firm, united stand, they will, for the first time, have a real opportunity to reach these goals, beginning with the question of the foreign debt.

The struggle for demands as rational as the solution of the problem of the foreign debt and fair economic relations between the Third World countries and the industrialized world is so essential for the survival and future of the Latin American peoples

that it would doubtlessly be supported by all social strata and would generate great internal unity in all countries. It would also strengthen the unity among all the Latin American countries and would receive the unhesitating, enthusiastic, determined support of all the developing countries in Asia and Africa.

Abridged from *Grauma* Supplement,
March 30, 1985

55 Years of Struggle for the Cause of the Working Class and the Whole People

Statement by the Communist Party of El Salvador CC

March 28, 1985 marked 55 years since the founding of the Communist Party of El Salvador (CPS). The CPS's activity is inseparably linked with the struggle and most profound aspirations of the working class and all other working people, with the joys and sufferings of the whole Salvadoran people. The work done by the communists in more than a half-century has placed an indelible and vibrant stamp on the history of El Salvador.

Our homeland is immersed in a civil war and the CPS is marking its 55th anniversary in the front line of the fierce struggle, in the ranks of the heroic Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) — the indisputable revolutionary vanguard of the Salvadoran people.

The civil war was engendered by the long and brutal exploitation of the broad masses of working people of town and country, by the lack of freedoms, and by the half century of oppression by the bloody military oligarchic dictatorship, which relies on yankee imperialism's full support.

The brutal annihilation in the 1970s of many leaders and members of the people's organizations and of thousands upon thousands of patriots, including clergymen who championed the interests of the poor, were more than our people could tolerate. Particularly enraging were the vile assassinations of Archbishop of San Salvador Oscar Arnulfo Romero and six Executive Committee members of the Revolutionary Democratic Front in 1980 under the Democratic Christian military junta headed by José Napoleon Duarte. The revolutionary war began in January 1981, this course being forced on the people and their revolutionary-democratic organizations after they had exhausted all possible peaceful means of struggle for power, including elections.

The profound causes and direct motive of the people's revolutionary war of liberation are to be found in the reality of El Salvador itself, but Ronald Reagan has since the first days of his administration included Central America, and El Salvador in particular, in his aggressive geopolitical scheme of confrontation with the Soviet Union, claiming that revolutionary struggle is introduced from Nicaragua and Cuba. Under this pretext, U.S. military advisers and money have been sent to our country with the

aim of obstructing the self-determination of the Salvadoran people and preserving in our region the old disastrous imperialist domination, which is today increasingly losing ground. This has dragged out the war and multiplied the people's suffering. Without the United States intervention, the FMLN would long since have either defeated the dictatorship's armed forces or achieved a political settlement. The whole world, including even our implacable enemies, share this opinion.

The four years of war have exposed the lie that the FMLN is continuing the struggle only thanks to weapons received from Nicaragua and Cuba. How then could one explain the fact that our forces have increased and strengthened in spite of the fact that the United States government has modernized, armed to the teeth and quadrupled the Salvadoran army, and in spite of the fact that the U.S. navy, spy planes, radar and troops in Honduras have been blockading us in order to prevent outside assistance from reaching us? This "miracle" can only be explained by the broad masses' support for and incorporation in the people's revolutionary war, by the correct political course of the FMLN and its growing military capability to hit the enemy and seize from it weapons and ammunition.

During this escalation of U.S. imperialism's military, political and economic interference, our country completely lost its independence and became a puppet state with an army and government that are U.S. puppets. The Duarte government can do nothing outside the line fixed by Reagan. The army's supreme command is totally dependent materially, ideologically, strategically and tactically on the Pentagon. The government's economic policy is applied in keeping with the diktat of the United States, which has as its objective to place the entire Salvadoran economy at the service of the war being waged against the people. Such is the principal strategic conception of the anti-insurgency struggle, which underlies the unsuccessful attempts to tear the people away from their vanguard — the FMLN.

Profiting by the prestige he gained in the early 60s in the popular struggle against the dictatorship, José Napoleon Duarte has become a political instrument and servant of this genocidal strategy of yankee

imperialism and placed the Democratic Christian Party at the service of the policy of national betrayal, involving in that many honest and progressive rank-and-file members and leaders of that party. Duarte is a political fraud whose propaganda during the presidential election campaign raised expectations of social reform and peace among a part of the people and the international public, but his real role and usefulness for the Reagan government lies in his facilitating a majority vote in the United States Congress in favor of more arms and millions of dollars to permit the continuation of the bloody reprisal against our people. Duarte was also of use to the reactionary military clique and the handful of high-ranking civilian functionaries who get rich by dipping into the millions of dollars sent from the United States and who, while in their hearts and minds with the ultra-right leader D'Abuisson and his ARENA party, are linked by their selfish interests and insatiable greed with Duarte, who is the channel for the dollars from the Reagan government.

Since the La Palma meeting* it has been obvious that Duarte cannot resolve the question of peace or even continue and extend the dialogue. At the same time the quantity of U.S. arms deliveries is growing, compulsory recruitment into the puppet army is under way, and the modern helicopters and super-armed aircraft sent by Reagan on an increasing scale are continuing the mass annihilation of civilians and destroying the means of existence of hundreds of thousands of peasants. The Duarte government has not fulfilled its promises of social reform and democratization. Instead of the so-called "social pact," it has unleashed repression against the working people, who are fighting to protect their precarious standard of living, which is being eroded by inflation, and against the peasants, who are demanding agrarian reform.

Duarte accuses D'Abuisson of organizing and guiding the death squads while he himself supports the increasing air and artillery bombing of civilians and goes so far in his speeches as to praise the new aircraft and helicopters equipped with a greater number of bombs and more rapid machine guns. D'Abuisson, a well-known servant and executor of the will of the oligarchy and the CIA in the repression, torture and mass murders, is still a CIA agent. He has powerful support in the Reagan government, which even gave him an award, and is waiting his turn to replace Duarte. Both of them are chin-deep in the same wrongdoings.

The Duarte government was placed in power by the yankee strategists in order to continue the war in El Salvador and to make it even more bloody. And whatever the arguments — crude or refined — contrary to this truth, that is what is happening and what deserves serious analysis. Peace in our country is not going to be a gift from either the puppet government or its imperialist masters. The Salvadoran people must themselves win peace, relying on international solidarity, especially that of the people of

the United States, who are against their government's aggressive policy in Central America.

Part and parcel of the bloody anti-insurgency course against civilians is the compulsory recruitment of young people into the ranks of the puppet army. In 1980 the dictatorship's army numbered 12,000. Now, with the compulsory recruitment, the number has reached over 40,000. Thousands of these "non-voluntary soldiers" are dying or being crippled fighting for a cause that is not theirs. Since 1981 the FMLN has inflicted losses on the enemy of the order of 20,000 killed and wounded, and the efficiency of our revolutionary army is increasing.

As long as the puppet troops are able to recoup their losses and increase their ranks the government of the United States, the local oligarchy and the pro-Reagan military chiefs are going to continue obstructing peaceful negotiated settlement and dragging out the war. This forced sacrifice of the youth to enslave our homeland even further must be ended. It is a very important task of the whole Salvadoran people and the road to salvation for our youth and our homeland to fight against the compulsory recruitment and to help the young people to elude it and escape from the ranks of the puppet army, while demanding that dialogue be continued until there is a just political settlement of the military conflict.

Our country is now on the eve of a new electoral farce. In the present conditions of struggle the elections are not an exercise in democracy but a way to exert psychological pressure on the people, a means of repressive control over the population. In the plans of the enemies of the Salvadoran people, great political and military efforts are to be made during the elections to consolidate the puppet regime installed in our country by the government of the United States.

During the election campaigns held since 1982 the contradictions between the different factions of the Salvadoran people's enemies have as a rule been aggravated. They fight among themselves to increase their respective share of power and compete for the dubious "honor" of being the principal political instrument of U.S. imperialism in our country.

The Democratic Christian Party used to represent itself as a party of social reform, moderation and democratization and ARENA and its supporters as the proponents of the most rabid and aggressive anti-communism. However, the escalation of the war unleashed by imperialism has reduced their differences to a common denominator.

That is why the present election campaign is nothing but a dirty racket of two competing bands that are caught in a quagmire of mutual accusations of robbery, drug trafficking and corruption. Neither of them has displayed the least interest in possible solutions to the national crisis. They are unanimous only in their shameful pleas to Reagan to send more and more lethal weapons for the puppet army so as to intensify the genocide, and more millions of dollars for the swindlers among the military and civilian high-rankers.

The Salvadoran people must seize the initiative and demand that Duarte fulfil the La Palma agree-

*Meeting between representatives of the Duarte government and FMLN leaders. —Ed.

ments, continue the dialogue and hold talks which could lead to a just political solution. Along with the FMLN's victorious actions, these demands will help to bring an early peace.

The Latin American peoples are stepping up the struggle against imperialism. In 1979 the Popular Sandinist Revolution triumphed in Central America, a region which the yankee imperialists consider their incontrovertible property. Bloody military dictatorships imposed by the United States on peoples of South America in the 60s and 70s were forced down by the popular struggle. In Chile the people are taking up arms in order to destroy to its foundations the detested Pinochet fascist dictatorship. In Central America and the Caribbean there is mounting opposition to the U.S. government's policy of plunder, hunger and aggression, for example, in the Dominican Republic, where truly popular uprisings occurred against the economic measures dictated by the U.S.-controlled IMF, measures which place the burden of the crisis even more on the working people. In the United States itself Ronald Reagan's policy is meeting growing resistance. In Europe there is an enormous increase in the anti-war movement and in solidarity with our peoples.

May 9 marks 40 years since the defeat of German fascism, headed by another fanatic — Adolf Hitler, who sought to dominate the world through arms and unleashed on humanity a war which cost millions of lives and ravaged thousands of cities. But Hitler was eventually defeated. That is an object lesson. The peoples want peace and will achieve it by throwing off Reagan's nuclear yoke.

The past 55 years of El Salvador's history have seen periods of upsurge in heroic revolutionary struggle succeeded by more or less prolonged periods of counter-revolution or vegetation under oppression and exploitation. The Salvadoran people have been defeated many times in their struggle against the dictatorship of the exploiters and oppressors, but they have risen up again and again in a struggle which in recent years has developed into a people's revolutionary war. The main change in the history of our country since the late 20s consists in the fact that the broad masses of the oppressed have realized what their goals are and are waging an uncompromising struggle to become the masters of the destiny of their own country. Their victory is inevitable because their cause is just and they are fighting for it courageously, with infinite heroism and unswerving resolve.

The final liberation of the Salvadoran people is contrary to the interests of the powerful imperialist enemy. It is he who is waging a war against our people with the hands of his puppets. This is a difficult, long and painful struggle. In order to triumph and end the war there is a need for joint action of all working people, primarily the workers and peasants, the youth, women, all patriotic citizens irrespective of social position, all who do not want to see El Salvador in the hands of traitors, even more humiliated and enslaved, or cannot sit passively by while the Salvadoran people are exterminated at the will of foreign rulers. This struggle

must be waged on all fronts. It is simultaneously a political and an armed struggle, and all of us can and must take part in it in one form or another, with or without arms, following the example of the broad popular forces in our country.

In the 55 years since the foundation of the Communist Party of El Salvador, thousands of its leaders, rank-and-file members and sympathizers have sacrificed their lives and many more have suffered persecution, imprisonment, and torture or "disappeared" in the struggle for the cause of the working class and the people, for democracy, independence and socialism.

Thousands of other revolutionaries and patriots — members of the fraternal FMLN and FDR — have fallen in our people's heroic struggle for their final liberation. And more fighters yet will fall.

Their heroic example evokes in us staunch determination and confidence in victory, and inspires the fighters and political leaders of the FMLN. We will never forget the names of the heroes, their feats and sacrifices for the people's cause.

On its 55th anniversary, the CPS warmly greets its leaders, rank-and-file members, the commanders and fighters of the People's Liberation Forces, the People's Revolutionary Army, the Armed Forces of National Resistance, the Revolutionary Party of the Working People of Central America, the leaders, parties and organizations of the Revolutionary Democratic Front. With our revolutionary greeting goes our conviction that together we will take the revolution to victory. The blood jointly spilled in battle has united us.

The Central Committee of our party sends a particularly warm greeting to the combatants and commanders of the Armed Forces of Liberation, whose fighting spirit and heroism makes us proud.

The Salvadoran communists thank all the peoples of the world for their moral and material aid, for their political solidarity and support.

On the 40th anniversary of the victory over Hitlerite fascism, we hail the Soviet people, their glorious Communist Party and the victorious Soviet Army — the principal protagonists in the fulfillment of this task of world historic significance. We thank them for the example of heroism and steadfastness which they have shown us.

Time is on our side; we are not alone in our struggle and victory is bound to follow on today's suffering. The programmatic propositions of the FMLN-FDR are the demands of the Salvadoran people: democracy, real national independence, land and the means to cultivate it to the rural workers, broad social justice, support for the small and medium private enterprises, respect for human rights, the establishment of a revolutionary democratic government supported by the majority of the people to carry out and guarantee these changes.

El Salvador,
March 28, 1985

The Sudan People's Major Victory

Interview with Muhammed Ibrahim Noquod, CC General Secretary, Sudanese Communist Party

Question: What does Nimeiri's overthrow mean?

Answer: It is a great and very important victory of the Sudanese people. The potential of this movement should not be underestimated even though the military hierarchy is standing in its way. If our people have been able to bring down Nimeiri, they will be able to overthrow his subordinates. This process will not be the cause of any single party but of all democratic forces of left and right, which we must respect. We are not at all sectarian.

Question: What role did the army play?

Answer: Its intervention was expected to impede radical transformations. But the military leadership is being very strongly pressured by young officers and rank-and-file soldiers, and also by the social movement, which is able to influence its stance. Parallels with what happened in Portugal or Ethiopia need to be avoided.

Question: What is the strength of the Communist Party?

Answer: It has survived 16 years of illegality, the state of siege, mass arrests, and long prison terms served by many of its members. Our party has stood the test of the repression of Nimeiri, the CIA and the security bodies, which was coordinated in an attempt to remove the party from Sudanese political life. The Communist Party is now legal, its leaders participating in all meetings with the Military Council and with other parties and trade union organizations. We are currently reorganizing our forces since we need to focus on how we are going to conduct the return to legality. We must not give any pretext to those who would like to effect a reversal.

Question: What is the policy of the Sudanese Communist Party?

Answer: We believe in the democratic process. We intend to use all the political rights and mobilize the working people to exercise those rights and take their place in the process. But this needs time.

We want to bring together and unite all democratic forces of left and right, to defend the freedoms and the rights regained by our people, get all anti-democratic laws, in particular the sharia (the Islamic law), abolished, and fight against all those who want the army to remain in power. In 28 years of independence the Sudan has known only 6 years of civilian rule.

It is our view that the transitional Military Council has excessive powers which should be divided between itself, the government, the parties and the trade unions. At the present stage the parties and trade unions are partially playing the role of a parliament. After one has been elected they should preserve the right to control the military hierarchy and the government.

We are struggling to ensure that the 12-month transitional period goes well. We are not opposed to

the creation of a government of "independent" figures, even while knowing that the "technocrats" have a bad reputation. The main thing is to mobilize the people to defend democratic rights. The army has tried to pour cold water on the people's movement.

It is not a question of optimism or pessimism but of a great democratic battle to liquidate all vestiges of the dictatorship, to bring all Nimeiri's collaborators to justice, to bring back the capital and curb U.S. interference.

In foreign policy we primarily advocate good relations with all our neighbors but state that the Egyptian government wants to interfere in the Sudan's affairs. Saudi Arabia is attempting to influence the government and the bourgeoisie by giving them money.

Question: And the other political forces?

Answer: In the South the people's movement for the liberation of the Sudan plays a decisive role. No change is possible without its agreement. Colonel John Garang is a serious political leader, a good economist and a good officer. He is for unity of the Sudan and for social changes in the North and the South. He is the first political leader of the South to act in this way.

Parties like the Oumma (offshoot of the Ansars movement) and the Democratic Union (offshoot of the Muslim organization Khatmias, to which General Sewar Al Dahab belongs) are bourgeois parties that in another context could be called reactionary. But at the moment they are advocating democratic freedoms. And that is the essential thing.

Almost 25 other new small political parties have declared themselves. This is normal after 16 years of only one party. Many people are trying to find themselves. We have good relations with all these parties and organizations.

Question: Where does the main danger lie?

Answer: With the "Muslim Brothers," which is a fascist organization; with Nimeiri's people, with the 45,000 employees of the disbanded security bodies, of whom only 3,000 have been arrested.

All these forces are manipulated by the CIA. In the first 10 years the Sudan became the CIA's regional center for Central and Eastern Africa. It literally swarmed with U.S. agents, and many of them are still working in food aid and development aid organizations, and in many firms.

Question: What is your attitude to Islam?

Answer: While we are categorically opposed to the sharia, we are not against Islam but against the elaboration and application of undemocratic laws in the name of Islam.

Islam is our heritage. It can even be used to develop dialectical materialism. We must study it as we study Islamic philosophers. Islam, too, orig-

inated in a certain social situation, a very profound transformation.

It helped to spread the ideas of equality, assistance to the poor, cooperation, struggle against the unjust rulers. These good ideas are deeply rooted in our people. We should convince them that socialism, communism are the modern rebirth of those ideas.

Our party does not carry out any atheistic propaganda. Many Muslim believers are members, as are Christians. But we are for a secular state, for separation of the church and the state. The people of the South, the intellectuals and advanced sections of the public share this point of view.

Question: The Sudan's economic situation is very grave. What are the consequences? How can they be remedied?

Answer: It is a desperate situation, a real disaster. The drought has been continuing for several years. The famine has been having a negative impact on the democratic movement, for starving people cannot fight.

The aid given by the United States and Saudi Arabia is a temporary sedative. The Sudan is a classic example of the consequences of the policy of the

IMF and the World Bank. Liquidation of the security services has shown the people that it is also possible to reduce the plunder of material values. This is the first step toward greater consciousness.

The only possible way is to refuse to submit to the IMF directives, to reform the tax system, bring back to the country the capital that has been exported, and confiscate the funds of the strata of parasitic capitalists created by Nimeiri. This factor has not only an economic aspect but a very important moral one as well.

The Sudan's dependence on food imports has grown from year to year. U.S. wheat is a means of pressure for Washington. Efforts need to be concentrated on raising grain production in order to lessen this dependence.

But that will be difficult. Even with a democratic government it will take four to five years to surmount the crisis for our economic backwardness must be taken into account. And without a democratic government it will be quite impossible. We have proof of that.

Abridged from *l'Humanité*,
April 20, 1985

The Present Political Situation and the Party's Tasks in the Period Ahead

Statement by the Egyptian Communist Party CC

At its first plenary meeting since the party's second congress, the Central Committee of the Egyptian Communist Party discussed the situation in the international arena, the Arab world and inside the country, drew relevant conclusions and set a number of tasks in connection with the problems discussed.

The CC instructed the Political Bureau to formulate the assessment of the situation elaborated at the plenary meeting, taking into account new aspects in its development. The Political Bureau has published the following statement.

THE INTERNAL SITUATION: GENERAL UPSURGE OF THE PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE

The political, economic and social crisis in the country is worsening and deepening. The economic hardship to which the ruling regime's policy of dependence condemns the people is increasing. The working masses' situation is steadily deteriorating, the problems unresolved over many years are accumulating, and the transnationals' plunder of the national resources and wealth is continuing. The dependent big bourgeoisie is feverishly enriching itself, wallowing in unheard of luxury.

The regime is demonstrating its inability to find a way out of the crisis, capitalist exploitation is intensifying, and the authorities are trying to shift the economic burden totally onto the backs of the working masses. Along with the struggle waged by our party and other progressive and patriotic circles against the policy of dependence, all this is daily increasing opposition to the regime's political course and practical actions.

Discontent and revolutionary sentiments are growing among the masses. Hidden anger is more frequently spilling over into open action. The class struggle is sharpening, the struggle in the economic and social areas is stepping up and the process of class delimitation and differentiation is continuing.

There were successive actions by workers, students, teachers from higher educational institutions, and intellectuals in 1984 and the beginning of 1985. Ever newer social strata are struggling to satisfy their pressing demands.

The role of the Egyptian working class has been particularly highlighted in these mass actions. It has resisted attacks against the masses' living standard, attacks which have taken the form of lifting subsidies and reducing wages by raising the contributions to the social insurance fund. This struggle culminated in the action of Kufr el-Davar workers in September 1984.

In the working people's militant actions social problems are closely linked with the question of democracy. The workers' struggle is ever more obviously political in character, despite repressive ac-

tions and the deceitful tricks of the security bodies and the "yellow" leadership of the pro-government trade unions.

Broad actions by students demanding the abolition of the university guard and repeal of the student regulations adopted in 1979 have taken place in the majority of Egyptian universities. Students also protested against the interference in the elections to the leading bodies of their associations. For the first time this struggle met with widespread sympathy and support on the part of teachers, who are also seeking to have their pressing demands met.

Workers in the field of justice have demanded confirmation of the judicial authorities' independence, and the lifting of the state of emergency and the laws which infringe on the democratic freedoms, and have insisted that their needs be satisfied. The conflict continues between the association of workers in legal bodies and the Minister of Justice.

The authorities' decision to allow Israel to participate in this year's international book fair has evoked the stormy protest of the masses, who oppose "normalization of relations" between the two countries. Taking part in the protests were opposition parties, broad circles of the intelligentsia and art workers, and a large group of Egyptian book publishers. The fair grounds have become an arena of demonstrations and meetings held under the slogan of struggle against Zionism, Camp David and "normalization of relations." The Israeli exposition was constantly blockaded, the state flag of Israel was burned in various parts of the fair, and the Palestinian flag raised.

The masses' growing struggle has upset the government's plans and forced it, albeit partially and temporarily, to retreat. The authorities were unable to push through the decision fully to cancel the subsidies, and several price rises had to be withdrawn. The burden brought by the new social insurance law was somewhat eased. The student regulations were partially reviewed in order to cool the students' struggle by making concessions on form but not on essence. Following long delays a law was passed on the independence of judicial authorities, a law which also applies to workers in the procurator's office. Changes were made in the law on the legal profession.

The Central Committee notes the presence of possibilities for a general upsurge in the people's struggle that could bring about changes of a national and democratic character by building up the mass movement against dependence in its various manifestations, and believes that if such an upsurge is to be achieved it is indispensable to deepen the close connection of the social and national struggle and unite the actions in support of the pressing demands of various strata with those around national, social and general democratic problems.

This makes it incumbent on our party to activate to the maximum its participation in the mass struggle, to make it felt as much as possible, and to ensure the party's leading role in every battle linked with national, economic, social and democratic development. The party must seek to resolve the daily problems of concern to the masses, must elab-

orate concrete programs for satisfying the demands of the various classes and social strata, and find correct slogans appropriate to the situation.

THE UNALTERED ESSENCE OF THE POLICY OF BETRAYAL

Although the regime's policy of betrayal and dependence is encountering the resolute rejection of the masses, its actions in various areas show that the essence of this policy remains unchanged. Dependence is increasing daily. The illusions and hopes in relation to this or that grouping in the ruling bloc and to the possibilities for internal changes in it are being dispelled.

NATIONAL QUESTIONS

The regime is still giving assurances about its unswerving adherence to the Camp David process and is invigorating its efforts to win support among the Arabs.

Submitting to Washington's wishes and in an effort to please it, the regime has been making endless concessions. The process of normalizing relations with the Israeli enemy is being invigorated. Having renewed the bargaining over Taba*, Egypt has given in to Israel's insistence that the talks be held in Beersheba. The Egyptian delegation agreed to the Israelis' demand that their police should remain in Taba after it is evacuated.

The linkage of the Egyptian army with the NATO bloc continues, in addition to the fact that military protocols and agreements on joint arms production and joint maneuvers have already been signed with some NATO members, primarily the USA and Britain. The recent Egyptian-U.S. exercises allowed the Americans to survey Egypt's territory, familiarize themselves with the Soviet weapons remaining in the Egyptian army and to compare them with U.S.-made weapons. Under the slogan "diversification of weapons sources," some members of the armed forces high command are becoming direct champions of the economic interests of arms-producing Western monopolies.

The finding of mines that was staged in the Red Sea was used to build up the NATO military presence in that region. A joint NATO-Egyptian command emerged to carry out mine clearing operations, a development which served to strengthen the open cooperation between Egypt's armed forces and that aggressive bloc.

Although the ruling regime, in an effort to restore its prestige among the non-aligned states, continues to declare its adherence to the policy of non-alignment and support for balanced international ties, although after long vacillations it has re-established diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union** in order somehow to limit the large political and economic damage done by Sadat's naked policy of dependence, and although — following the failure of the policy of ignoring the Soviet Union and of the

*A small part of the Sinai which is the source of a dispute between Egypt and Israel. — Ed.

**The exchange of diplomatic representatives at the level of ambassadors extraordinary and plenipotentiary. — Ed.

attempts, in keeping with U.S. strategy, to deny the Soviet Union any role in settling the region's problems — the regime recently agreed, on a number of conditions, to an international conference on the Middle East, all that does not affect the essence of the policy of dependence on U.S. imperialism, a policy reflected in the "special ties" with the United States.

QUESTIONS OF DEMOCRACY

The regime continues to use and toughen police methods of rule, as clearly evidenced by the shameless falsification of the voters' will in the May 1984 elections, by the maintenance of the state of emergency, by the brutal suppression of mass actions, notably of the Kufr el-Davar workers and Al-Azhar university students, by the blows dealt at the opposition forces by the security bodies, by the frame-up used against activists working among the people, by the swelling, like a cancerous tumor, of the security services apparatus, and by the use of the whole arsenal of anti-democratic laws to trample on citizens' constitutional rights concerning the creation of political parties, the holding of peaceful demonstrations and manifestations, and the organization of strikes.

ECONOMIC QUESTIONS

The regime continues its policy of placing the country's property in the hands of transnational monopolies, ruining the working masses and conducting unceasing attacks on their living standard. It is implementing step by step the demands of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund that subsidies should be cancelled and the Egyptian pound devalued.

The Central Committee believes that the advancing of the slogan "production infitah" ("open door policy" — *Ed.*) instead of "consumer infitah," the trial of a handful of bankers and currency traders and a number of recent economic measures to regulate foreign currency deals and credit operations in no way mean a change in the essence of the government's economic policy.

Like "consumer infitah," "production infitah" is nothing but a form of economic dependence.

The much-publicized trials of the currency traders merely aimed to moderate the appetites of parasitic elements, relieve the ruling class of the blame for the breakdown of the economy, and present the economic disaster as a consequence of the corruption and moral degeneration of some individuals and the actions of speculators rather than as the objective result of the policy of dependent capitalist development.

Nevertheless these trials have clearly shown the extent of the damage done to the national economy by the ruling capitalist class and the scale of the plunder of state and national funds by the big and parasitic bourgeoisie with the knowledge and protection of the official authorities.

THE SITUATION IN THE RULING CIRCLES

The Central Committee analyzed the struggle which is taking place among the social strata inside

and outside the power apparatus that are the regime's support, and which is having an impact on the ruling bloc and the government bodies.

The Central Committee believes that this struggle objectively makes apparent the heterogeneity of the forces making up the ruling coalition, the differing interests of various strata of the dominant big bourgeoisie, the rivalry between them for prevalence in the ruling coalition, and the different ideas about the most suitable ways to maintain the existing capitalist system.

This struggle sometimes takes place in a hidden fashion and sometimes reaches the surface. Since the May 1984 elections it has been increasingly acquiring an open character, especially following Mubarak's attempt to unite his supporters in the ruling party and state apparatus and to knock together his own "team." To do that he had to move into the background some leaders who had discredited themselves, take them off the list of candidates in the elections to the People's Assembly and remove them from the cabinet of ministers when it was recently being reorganized, and from leading posts in the ruling party. Despite opposition in the ranks of the ruling party, Rifaat al-Mahgoub has been made chairman of the People's Assembly.

The struggle came to light following the adoption of the recent economic decisions, which, for the first time, albeit not greatly, affected the economic interests of the social strata which form the ruling bloc's support. Those decisions were the cause of the hidden government crisis and of the open clash between the Prime Minister and the Minister of the Economy. A broad campaign headed by some leading figures of the ruling party and their press mouthpieces was launched against the Minister of the Economy and the decisions adopted.

The Central Committee is of the view that our party, together with other patriotic and democratic forces, should make use of these conditions, which makes it necessary to understand their character and the limits and possibilities of their development.

However acute and even antagonistic they may be, the differences in the dominant circles are still secondary contradictions of the ruling bloc and do not go beyond its bounds.

Even while these contradictions are influenced by the class struggle in society, they are neither an embodiment or a continuation of it. The central thing remains the contradiction between the working class and its allies, on the one hand, and imperialism and the big bourgeoisie, on the other.

That is why there should be no exaggeration of the significance of the differences in the ruling circles or their role in the real changes for which the masses are striving, especially since there is clear evidence pointing to the limited character of the influence, strength and intentions of the current in the ruling bloc that is calling for reforms and a more rational policy, to that current's desire to maintain an alliance with the rest of the participants in the coalition, and to its readiness to renounce reformist aims and steps if the future of the coalition is in jeopardy.

Relying on this current is the same as betting on a horse that cannot win.

The Central Committee believes that although they create more favorable conditions for the masses' struggle for real change, the measures to rationalize policy can in no way be seen as steps by the authorities toward such change. As a rule the purpose of these measures to stifle the demand for real change, impede the struggle for it and prevent its implementation.

For that reason, while opposing the campaign against the policy rationalization measures, our party must expose their limited character and advance its own slogans, continuing the struggle to establish a national democratic power capable and desirous of putting those slogans into practice.

ACTIVITY TO CREATE A UNITED FRONT

Dealing with the efforts to create a united strategic front, the Central Committee noted with regret that they are utterly insufficient and uncoordinated. A downturn has occurred in the tactical forms of such activity, especially since the People's Assembly elections sparked off rivalry and pre-election clashes among the opposition forces.

At the same time the mass struggle is leading to the appearance of new forms of this activity at the grass-root level, notably among students (during their actions against the student regulations and the university guard), youth (in connection with the joint preparation for the upcoming World Festival of Youth and Students), and the intelligentsia (during the broad actions against Israel's participation in the international book fair).

The Central Committee considered the question of the ruling regime's continual efforts to "build bridges" with some opposition forces and to hold dialogue and cooperate with them. Simultaneously the regime is invigorating the attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of opposition parties and to draw onto their side some leaders and currents within them. The most outright of these attempts was the introduction of a number of leaders and personalities of opposition parties into the People's Assembly

with the aim of giving a false impression of the authorities' adherence to the principle of multi-partisanship, splitting those parties and breaking them up from within.

The Central Committee expressed concern over the obvious readiness of some opposition circles to yield to the attempts to neutralize them, which is a real threat to the unity of the opposition and the effectiveness of its struggle and pushes it toward conciliatory or tailing positions in relation to the authorities. The CC dwelt in particular detail on the regime's return, though on a limited scale, to a traditional Sadat method — alliance with some elements of the reactionary religious currents and their use against the Left. This has been embodied in the very close coordination of the actions of those elements with the actions of the ruling party and the security bodies during the recent elections to the student unions.

Our party calls on all national democratic and opposition forces to be vigilant so as not to fall into the trap set for them by the authorities. It makes a special appeal to the religious current to learn the lessons of the past and not allow the authorities to bite it a second time.

Our party's desire for a tactical alliance with all national democratic forces, even those that have a conciliatory attitude to the authorities, and its intention to seek to get closer to and cooperate with enlightened religious currents does not rule out, but rather presupposes, resolute ideological struggle against the erroneous actions and directives which have as their basis religious fanaticism and communal discord.

The Central Committee stressed that in the period ahead the party must step up the struggle to create a strategic front, orienting itself largely toward the working people and the poorest peasantry. It is necessary actively to seek new forms of work at the grass-roots that are capable of breaking the blockade set up around the political parties so as to obstruct their direct ties and unity with the masses.

Abridged from *Al-Intisar*,
March 1985

from the press

Geneva: What Has the First Round of Talks Shown?

Pravda Editorial

The situation in the world remains complex, more than that, dangerous. It is no secret that it has become such over the years of the Reagan administration's stay in office in the United States, in other words, it is a direct result of Washington's policy. Having frustrated the ratification of the SALT-2 Treaty, the United States embarked on the road of

disorganizing the process of arms limitation and reduction, of sabotaging earlier agreements, launching ever new military programs and deploying U.S. first-strike missiles in Europe. Then it deliberately derailed the talks on strategic arms and nuclear weapons in Europe. The proclamation of the Star Wars program — clearly intended not only to make

nuclear arms limitation and reduction impossible but also to impart a qualitatively new dimension to the entire arms race, to undermine totally the very idea of stability, equality and equal security — crowned, if one can say so, all these moves by Washington that are hostile to the cause of peace and the interests of peoples.

The danger of a further development of events in this direction is obvious. That is why the U.S. policy causes rising concern in the world and that is why the demand is sounding ever more persistently for the adoption of urgent measures to prevent a further sliding down to nuclear catastrophe, for a solution of this matter by way of businesslike talks and the conclusion of mutually acceptable agreements. It is not by chance that close attention of the world's public is riveted to the talks in Geneva. Hopes are pinned on them, results are expected of them.

It is a fact that the Geneva talks were started on the initiative of the Soviet Union. These are new talks which by the range of questions encompassed — attack space weapons, strategic offensive armaments and medium-range nuclear arms — fully take into account the realities of the present strategic situation and reflect the objective organic interconnection of all these three problems.

It is absolutely clear that the acquisition by the United States of attack space arms would drastically disrupt the strategic equilibrium between the USSR and the United States. This would inevitably lead to a quantitative build-up and qualitative perfection of offensive nuclear weapons, to an arms race in all directions. The impossibility of determining the size of the reduction of strategic arms without due account of medium-range weapons is equally clear — for, deployed in Western Europe, the U.S. Pershing IIs and Cruise missiles are actually strategic weapons in respect of the Warsaw Treaty countries.

This objective inter-dependence of problems was reflected in the joint Soviet-American statement adopted in Geneva on January 8, 1985. It is defined in the statement in no uncertain terms that the talks should be aimed at preventing an arms race in space and ending it on Earth. Effective measures along these directions would truly consolidate strategic stability and open the road to the subsequent complete elimination of nuclear arms everywhere.

The accord reached in Geneva in January serves as a sort of foundation of the talks on nuclear and space weapons. It is the starting point which alone can lead them to success. It should be adhered to strictly and in all its parts.

What has the first round of the talks shown? One cannot describe its results as satisfactory. True, no one expected the entire complex set of problems of space and nuclear arms to be solved in the course of six weeks. But at least one could have hoped that both sides would display readiness to work out practical solutions in line with the accord reached in Geneva in January.

As to the Soviet side, it did display such a readiness and backed it up with concrete proposals on all aspects of the talks. The position of the U.S. side, however, was devoid of any elements of constructiveness and actually ran counter to the meaning of

the January accord on the aims and subject of the talks.

Washington is now trying to conceal this by means of all sorts of rebukes directed against the Soviet Union which, supposedly, has assumed a "tough" stance in Geneva, sets forth "preconditions," and so on. Washington officials take turn belaboring this theme. The positions of the sides at the talks are being obviously distorted. More than that, as reported by the newspaper *La Suisse* in Geneva, the U.S. delegation is involved in these distortions: in violation of the accord on confidentiality it regularly arranges deliberate "leaks" of information, or rather misinformation, into the Western press.

But facts remain facts. Here they are.

The USSR and the United States have agreed to work out decisions on preventing an arms race in space. To "prevent" means not to allow, to nip in the bud. This word has no other meaning either in Russian or in English. What, then, is the U.S. record in respect of this central and priority issue of the talks?

The record suggests it has forgotten what it has agreed on. Both publicly and at the talks American representatives declare that the U.S. administration intends under all circumstances to continue the follow-up of its Star Wars program, that is, the program of creating attack space weapons. But what about preventing an arms race in space? It turns out that suffice it to reach agreement on the "rules" of conducting it, that is on exactly what attack space weapon systems, in what amounts and at what time should be deployed ... and there will be no arms race.

The crux of the matter is absolutely clear: it is a blatant effort to sabotage the examination and solution of the question of preventing an arms race in space, an attempt to push through and legalize Washington's program of an accelerated militarization of outer space by any means.

All means look good to Washington in achieving this aim. The plans to create a large-scale ABM system with space-based elements are arbitrarily declared to be in line with the 1972 ABM treaty, although the treaty makes it perfectly clear that both the creation of an ABM system for the national territory and the creation of any space-based ABM systems are strictly prohibited. The hope is to divert attention from this obvious contradiction by claiming that the treaty supposedly does not prohibit "research" to create attack space weapons. More than that, attempts are being made to involve the NATO allies and Japan in the realization of the so-called presidential defense initiative.

But observance of the ABM treaty is incompatible with efforts to prepare for the creation of armaments banned under this treaty. Besides, what we are dealing with is not research but something much bigger than that. The actions of the U.S. administration are illegal by their very essence. The fact that Washington urges other states to participate in these actions does not make them any more legitimate or respectable. Those who play up to the United States in this take grave responsibility upon themselves.

In order to justify their unwillingness to reach

agreement on the prevention of an arms race in space U.S. politicians are vigorously circulating rumors to the effect that they are only "catching up" with the Soviet Union which supposedly has surged far ahead in the development of attack space weapons. The United States administration used such methods more than once in the past as well. One after another, alleged violations of the ABM treaty are being imputed to the Soviet side. In its contacts with allies the U.S. administration passes off these inventions for "reliable" information. In contacts with the Soviet side the very same inventions are being used as a pretext for blunt proposals to accede to the American line of revising the ABM treaty. It is intimated that the United States will not back away from such a revision under any circumstances anyway.

The Soviet Union has not been and is not conducting any research or development work which would not fit within the framework of the ABM treaty. It is not creating attack space weapons. All statements to the contrary do not accord with reality and are being made with a single and quite obvious purpose — to mislead the public in the United States and other countries, to try to justify the U.S. line of violating the ABM treaty and militarizing outer space.

With the same purpose the U.S. program of creating attack space weapons is being "embellished" with all sorts of false labels: it is being called a "defense initiative," a means of ridding humankind of nuclear arms, an embodiment of "humanitarian concern" and faith in "scientific progress." But what we are dealing with in reality are measures that are part of an overall offensive plan directed at upsetting strategic parity, at a runaway arms race, military superiority and preparations for delivering a first nuclear strike in the hope of impunity. The line of the U.S. administration to militarize outer space and deploy attack weapons there runs counter to humanism and human ethics. It can only increase the danger of nuclear war and by no means remove it. In its efforts to wreck the ABM treaty Washington wants to destroy the very foundation on which the process of nuclear arms limitation and reduction rests. It is deliberately pushing humankind to a new exhausting spiral of the arms race, to the senseless squandering of tremendous material and intellectual resources.

True, in the process Washington is trying to make believe that it favors reduction of nuclear arms. But in reality this readiness is total eyewash. By refusing to stop its programs of developing attack space weapons the United States puts in question the very possibility of a limitation, let alone a reduction of nuclear arsenals. And Washington will not be able to conceal this objective side of the matter behind propaganda statements that the Soviet Union allegedly makes the question of outer space a "precondition" for solving questions of reducing nuclear arms.

The United States cannot count on any reduction by the Soviet Union of its retaliatory nuclear capability as long as Washington is building up its program of measures to "neutralize" Soviet nuclear weapons in the hope of acquiring the ability to commit aggression with impunity. In these conditions

the demand that the USSR reduce its nuclear arms can in fact pursue only one aim: to make it easier for the U.S. strategists to accomplish the insane task they have set themselves — to deliver a pre-emptive first strike and as far as possible to shelter themselves from a retaliatory strike. In Washington and in the NATO capitals they are perfectly aware that the USSR will not agree to this, that against the backdrop of frenzied activities to implement the so-called presidential defense initiative, calls to reduce nuclear arms are nothing more than demagoguery.

In actual fact, the United States has no intention at all of reducing its nuclear arsenals. The programs of expanding and perfecting them are being pursued at full speed and, as it was openly stated by presidential adviser Paul Nitze, they will be continued at least till the end of the century. At the talks in Geneva the U.S. side limits itself to a mere repetition of its old proposals, made earlier at the negotiations on nuclear arms limitation in Europe and the strategic nuclear arms limitation and reduction talks in 1981-1983 — those same proposals which have proved untenable and, as it was frankly explained at the time in Washington, were not even intended for reaching agreement with the USSR.

In the field of strategic arms the United States again proposes to limit the number of warheads only on intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) and submarine launched ballistic missiles (SLBMs), thus leaving open a channel for building up the warheads carried by long-range Cruise missiles. The American side dodges the adoption of the Soviet proposal to ban such missiles, making general statements to the effect that the United States is prepared to somewhat limit only air-launched cruise missiles. It is clear that the U.S. side is aiming not at a reduction but at the mass deployment of these dangerous destabilizing armaments.

The position of the United States on medium-range nuclear weapons remains non-constructive as well. Reproduced again is the absurd "zero option" aimed at unilateral disarmament by the USSR in the face of nuclear threats to its security from the west and from the east. Put forward again is the threadbare "interim option" that does not include in the European balance the hundreds of warheads mounted on British and French medium-range missiles, makes the limitations inapplicable to U.S. carrier-based aircraft and groundlessly includes in the count the Soviet medium-range missiles in the east of the country. Obviously this is not a basis for agreement.

The non-constructive nature of the U.S. approach, its orientation on intensifying, and not on stopping the arms race was thrown into particularly bold relief by the U.S. attitude to the moratorium the Soviet Union proposed. It is common knowledge that the Soviet Union proposed — in order to ensure proper conditions for reaching effective agreements on the entire range of problems under consideration — negotiation of a moratorium on attack space weapons and on nuclear armaments, that is, strategic arms and medium-range missiles in Europe, for the entire duration of the talks. A natural and reasonable step, it would seem: to stop the arms race so as to begin arms reduction without delay. But Washington is against this. The pretext for the

rejection remains the same: it is references to the mythical military "superiority" of the USSR which, as the U.S. administration knows full well, does not exist. What does exist is a rough balance, with the United States and NATO retaining superiority in the number of nuclear warheads and, in what concerns Europe, in the number of medium-range delivery vehicles too.

Now that the unilateral Soviet moratorium on first deployment of anti-satellite weapons in outer space, announced way back in August 1983, is still in force and the Soviet Union, also unilaterally, suspended in April 1985 the deployment of medium-range missiles and the implementation of other counter-measures in Europe, the U.S. refusal to negotiate a moratorium patently shows which of the two sides wants to use talk about readiness for disarmament merely as camouflage for its military preparations and which of them strives not in words but with deeds for an end to the arms race, for the attainment of constructive agreements.

In contrast to the United States, the Soviet side suggested in Geneva an extensive and concrete program of measures directed at effectively preventing an arms race in space and stopping it on Earth.

On the key question of the talks — that of space weapons — the Soviet side came out in Geneva for negotiating a ban on the development (including research), testing and deployment of attack space weapons. The already existing U.S. and Soviet anti-satellite systems, the testing of which has not yet been completed, would be scrapped.

On strategic offensive armaments the USSR proposed, given a total ban on attack space weapons, radical reductions in strategic arms and simultaneous cancellations of programs for developing and deploying new strategic arms (long-range Cruise missiles, new types of ICBMs, new types of SLBMs, new heavy bombers), or drastic restrictions of such programs.

Naturally, restrictions on strategic armaments would be decided upon also with due regard for the way in which the question of medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe would be resolved.

The U.S. side was offered to negotiate radical reductions in strategic armaments. Those reductions would embrace both strategic delivery vehicles and the total number of nuclear warheads on them. The Soviet side also proposed mutual renunciation of long-range Cruise missiles of any mode of basing, a dangerous new type of strategic offensive weapon.

The Soviet side also took a clear and unequivocal position on the third aspect of the talks, that is, on medium-range nuclear weapons. To prevent further deterioration of the situation in Europe and beyond, the USSR called for an immediate end to the

deployment of new U.S. missiles in Western Europe with a simultaneous halt in the build-up of the Soviet counter-measures and with a subsequent reduction of medium-range nuclear systems in Europe to a level to be agreed upon. The Soviet side also expressed its readiness, should the U.S. missiles now being deployed in Western Europe be withdrawn, to ensure a situation in which the total number of warheads on our medium-range missiles remaining in Europe would be gradually brought down to the number of the warheads on the French and British missiles.

The translation of this approach into practice would mean a drastic reduction of the level of nuclear confrontation in Europe. A dangerous source of the growing war threat would thus be removed from Europe.

The question of medium-range nuclear-capable aircraft would also be resolved in the context of the solution of the problem of nuclear weapons in Europe through the establishment of agreed-upon ceilings on such planes for the USSR and NATO.

The Soviet side voiced its readiness for an even more radical settlement of the question, namely, complete removal of both medium-range and tactical nuclear weapons from Europe.

The beginning of the next round of the Geneva negotiations is scheduled for May 30. If one listens to public statements made by high-ranking Washington officials, one realizes that they are not going to make any positive changes in the U.S. position. On the contrary, they speak of the intention to speed up the development of attack space systems and fail to respond to the Soviet Union's proposal for a radical reduction of strategic offensive armaments. This position proves that certain quarters in Washington are bent on continuing to evade compliance with the January agreement on the subject and objectives of the negotiations. But the interests of preventing an arms race in outer space and terminating it on Earth demand a different method — a drastic revision of the U.S. position in the direction of a constructive and businesslike approach.

General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachov stressed: "What is needed for a success in Geneva is mutual political good will for reaching agreement with strict observance of the principle of equality and equal security. Despite the complex and strained world situation and the difficulties at the Geneva talks, we remain soberly optimistic.

"We hope that our partners will heed the voice of the peoples who want peace and an end to the arms race. We hope that common sense, political realism and a sense of responsibility for a peaceful future will prevail. We have faith in the ability of peoples to safeguard their right to life."

Pravda, May 27, 1985

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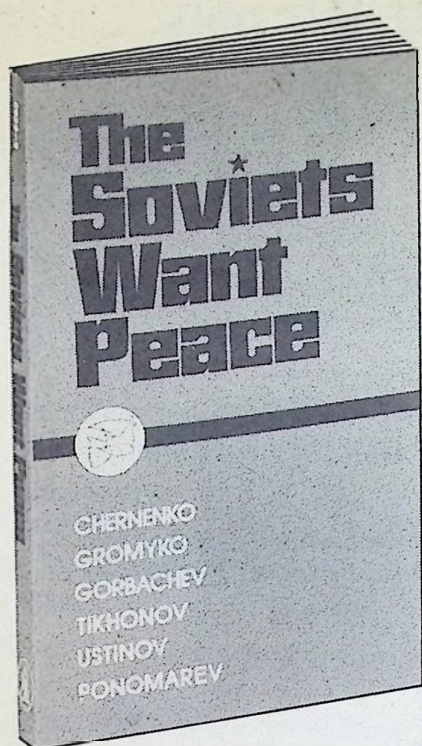
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