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Leonid Brezhnev's Answer to a Question from *Pravda's* Correspondent

Q. In a talk with the press, U.S. President Ronald Reagan referred to the possibility of a meeting with you in New York. These pronouncements of his have caused contradictory commentaries. What is your opinion on this score?

A. Indeed, the President's pronouncements left a rather vague impression.

As to the essence of the matter, in the report to the 26th CPSU congress I already spoke about the usefulness of an active dialogue with the United States of America at every level, specifically stressing that a summit meeting is the crucial element. We are in favor of such meetings today as well. It is understandable that a meeting between the President of the United States and me must be well prepared and held in a solid way, and not incidentally, in connection with this or that international forum.

To be more specific, we are in favor of a Soviet-American summit meeting that would be in keeping with the high responsibility of our states for the state of affairs in the world and would justify the hopes pinned on it.

Let me say the following about the time and place of our possible meeting with President Ronald Reagan.

The meeting could be held in some third country, say, in Finland or Switzerland, naturally with the preliminary consent of the government concerned. In my view, the autumn of this year, say, October, could be a suitable time.

Such is my answer to the question. I believe that it is quite clear and definite.

Pravda, April 18, 1982

Overcoming the Crisis depends on the Party's Organizational Abilities

Wojciech Jaruzelski's Speech at the Eighth Plenary Meeting of the PUWP CC

The eighth plenary meeting of the PUWP Central Committee met in Warsaw on April 22 and 23 to consider economic problems.

The PUWP CC Political Bureau report, "For Consistent Fulfillment of the Decisions of the Ninth Congress of the PUWP on Overcoming the Crisis, Introducing an Economic Reform and Strengthening the Principles of Social Justice," was delivered by Marian Wozniak, alternate member of the PUWP CC Political Bureau and CC Secretary.

In his report, in other speeches at the plenary meeting and in the discussion, an assessment was given to the present economic situation, with emphasis on the leading role of party organizations in production and in accelerating the processes helping to overcome the existing difficulties.

The final sitting heard a speech by Wojciech Jaruzelski, First Secretary of the PUWP CC. He emphasized that the plenary meeting expressed in more clear-cut terms than before the party's stand on economic problems, held a broad discussion and heard many useful proposals. There was also no lack of criticism.

He characterized the general prospects for the development of the national economy. He said that the next few months would be an especially trying and responsible period. In this period, we want resolutely to hold back the regress in the national economy, to secure definite changes in some sectors, and to protect the social group with the lowest material incomes.

Over the next three years, Wojciech Jaruzelski went on, it is possible and necessary to reduce to a minimum the present deep-seated disproportions, fully to introduce the economic reform and attain stabilization, including an improvement of the working people's material conditions. These tasks must

be set forth in concrete and understandable terms in a three-year plan.

Finally, the prospects until 1990. In this period, we must attain a considerable level in the repayment of our debts to the capitalist countries, an evident improvement of everyday conditions, notably housing conditions, everywhere, progress in public health and transport, and attain economic equilibrium and complete stabilization. Only when the socialist principles of our social life are deepened and consolidated shall we be able to speak about entry upon the phase of a developed socialist society.

Wojciech Jaruzelski then dealt with the questions of planning. The point is that, when correcting the plans, their indicators should be raised and that the plans should mobilize the working people precisely in this direction. This largely depends on the state and strength of the party. This will be its most important test since the time our people entered, under its leadership, upon the way of the country's rehabilita-

tion after the war, upon the way of its modernization, upon the way of building the foundations of socialism.

Considering the latest data presented by the Central Statistical Administration, Wojciech Jaruzelski declared that there were signs of improvement, even if only to a limited extent, because it related only to some sectors of the national economy. This gives us the necessary hope and confirms that we are on the right way, that we must not retreat. Simultaneously, it is necessary to understand that these are only the first small steps. The country's economic situation is still exceptionally difficult. There is a need to reckon with all manner of phenomena that are external and objective. This relates, in the first place, to the international situation, the growing tension which creates difficulties in our national economy and hampers the process of overcoming the grave crisis, especially by a country like Poland. One must see that the imperialist forces, primarily the governing circles of the United States, are engaged in gigantic machinations with so-called Polish problems for the purpose of achieving definite global purposes.

In the light of this, support for the Soviet Union's initiatives for détente, disarmament, and re-establishment of constructive forms of international cooperation are vitally necessary, from our national standpoint. If the capitalist states, the financial and economic circles in these countries want us to repay our debts and meet our obligations, they should not — in their own interests as well — block our import potentialities over the long term, so limiting the growth of our production, including exports.

On the other hand, it is also not right to underestimate that which depends on us, that which we can do ourselves. One of the key factors inducing the West to abandon sanctions and boycott will be our attainment of political, social and economic equilibrium. We must pool our efforts and concentrate them on achieving constant progress in all these spheres.

The difficult period of sanctions and economic blockade make us use our own potentialities to the utmost, to display initiative and to put in a tremendous effort. That is why efforts to induce activity, to attain the greatest results by making use of the available potentialities are exceptionally important problems which need to be solidly asserted in our life, regardless of how long the crisis continues.

In the light of this it is especially important and valuable for us to understand at the most difficult moments that we are not alone, that we have been and are being helped by the socialist countries, above all the Soviet Union. This concrete example of manifestation of internationalism requires a broader view, a broader perspective, and consideration of our strengthening economic cooperation with the CMEA countries not only as an emergency, quicksilver situation, but also as a tremendous opportunity for the future in strategic terms.

The period in which we live, the speaker emphasized, is an exceptionally difficult one. However, when considered in historical terms, this is no more than an episode which will pass away and from which we will emerge. We must find the main re-

serves in our own house, in our own strength. These resources are vast. It is up to us, the party and state leadership, to start making use of them first, "from the top." In this context, Wojciech Jaruzelski characterized the various measures for improving the work of the party and the government.

We must be worried by the facts existing in the country of mismanagement, parasitism, disorders, bureaucratic practices and callousness. The party must carry on a resolute struggle against such phenomena. In particular, this should be served by the cadre policy within the party and the state as a whole. The party's vanguard character is forged and consolidated under high inner demands, with Marxist-Leninist ideological and moral substance.

Of course, he went on, we cannot regard the situation through the prism of negative phenomena. It is highly important to bring out and spread examples of the best and most merited men and women of whom there are so many in the party ranks and in the whole of society.

Wojciech Jaruzelski then dealt with the question of making appropriate use of engineering and technical personnel.

He informed the assembly about the course of the work on the bills concerning the Polish Academy of Sciences and scientific research institutes.

He then drew attention to the problems connected with the working people's living conditions to which the party must give special attention.

A tremendous problem which is directly linked with living standards is the development of agriculture and the food industry. It is up to us to see to it, he said, that the food weapon is never again used against Poland. We are working on a comprehensive food program. It is to be examined at a joint sitting of the PUWP CC and the Chief Committee of the United Peasants' Party.

It is the party's duty, he said, to safeguard the material conditions of the society's life. We must keep track of all the processes connected with this.

He listed housing construction among the most difficult social problems and added that in the near future work will be completed on the housing construction program until the year 1990. The party will devote unflagging attention to these matters.

Wojciech Jaruzelski then characterized the assessments, remarks and proposals made at the plenary meeting in the sphere of economic reform on which the people pin great hopes for overcoming the crisis and for further progress. We have heard out the views of those working directly in production with special attention, he said.

The economic reform is our common serious test, he emphasized. This should be driven home to the whole people. There is a need to better prepare our people for understanding its substance, its concrete conditions and mechanisms. This relates above all to the working class, to those who work directly in production.

Wojciech Jaruzelski voiced the view that the party is gradually re-establishing full capability of action and, as numerous examples show, is heightening its inner discipline and strengthening its unity. This process has been steadily growing.

He made remarks on questions relating to control of decree fulfillments and implementation of proposals both by the party and the government. He pointed to the importance of publicity and adequate information about these processes throughout the party and among the people, because that is an important element in democratizing life in the country. This also proves that the party has genuine control over the work of its leadership. The speaker then emphasized the importance of responding to complaints and proposals. These are matters to which the party must display a special sensitivity, lend an ear to human concerns, and respond to misfortunes and shortcomings.

In the final part of his speech, the First Secretary of the PUWP CC emphasized that the party has invariably reaffirmed the line of national consensus, and is aware of the need to maintain a dialogue and cooperation with all the forces which are prepared honestly to serve a socialist Poland. The party has put forward the idea of a patriotic movement, using the best experience of the People's Unity Front. These three basic tasks can and must provide the foundation for a consensus: external security and internal tranquillity, and improvement of the

people's material standards. We shall seek, Wojciech Jaruzelski said, to have all the potential participants in such a consensus with a sense of patriotic duty find a place for themselves within it. Through such an approach, the party invariably represents everything that is of primary importance for the people.

The most important thing for the party, which seeks to win trust for its program, for its intentions, is dedicated service to our people and leadership of it on that basis. We must advance in this direction consistently, unafraid of the difficulties, Wojciech Jaruzelski emphasized.

Speaking of the approaching May Day, the First Secretary of the PUWP CC expressed the conviction that the party will prove that it has already secured a firm footing, that it can advance in serried ranks, that it raises its banners and holds them firmly and on high, and that on the centenary of the Polish working-class movement it demonstrates its ties with the best traditions of the Polish left-wing forces, with the struggle for national liberation and social emancipation, with the whole progressive trend of the past century.

Abridged from *Trybuna Ludu*, April 26, 1982

Current and Long-Term Goals: Cooperation Between Poland and the USSR

The understandings reached at the 24th sitting of the Inter-Governmental Polish-Soviet Commission for Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation are and will continue to be of much importance for consolidating Poland's cooperation with its major economic partner. The results of the Commission's work could be laconically summed up as follows: they fully meet not only the current but also the long-term requirements of our country.

Two groups of questions were predominant on the agenda of the sitting and also in the course of a concurrent multilateral meeting of the representatives of the CMEA European countries. The first of these related to problems in the fuller use of unloaded capacities in our industry, and the other, the participation by the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries in the completion and starting of some of our "frozen" investment projects.

The consideration of these matters sprang from the difficult state of our economy, above all, from the heavily undermined and in some cases sharply upset balance of cooperation supply in those of its industries which in the 1970s depended on deliveries from capitalist countries. The decisions taken during the Warsaw sitting help to enlarge the old sphere of cooperation and create the conditions for easing the difficulties involved. They create real potentialities or prerequisites for slowing down regress, re-establishing the economic equilibrium and stability and concretize the general understandings reached in the course of a visit to Moscow by a Polish Party and Government delegation led by General Woj-

ciech Jaruzelski, and in the course of conversations with the Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev.

In recent months, when, as a result of economic sanctions against Poland by some of its Western "partners" and of the balance-of-payments difficulties, there was a sharp reduction in Polish imports from these countries, many enterprises and even industries in Poland's manufacturing were threatened with a stoppage of production. Industry has been operating at an extremely slow pace, making use of 60-70 per cent of its capacities. It is only possible to close the painful breach in supply (in the first quarter of this year, imports from the capitalist countries dropped by 40 per cent) by means of our own resources partially, and that not at once but only gradually. In these conditions, the fact that the proposal for using the reserves of the industrial potential on the basis of so-called working-up services (that is, the working-up of delivered raw materials, to be paid for either by these raw materials or by a definite percentage of the finished product) has met with a favorable response in the Soviet Union and acquires great significance. In the face of the new obstacles erected by the crisis, we have not been left to our own devices.

In the recent period, experts from both countries have analyzed the production programs of more than 100 Polish enterprises in search of approaches that are of mutual advantage and that could be swiftly realized.

Thus, for instance, additional deliveries of Soviet wool, fine-fiber cotton, viscose fiber and other raw

materials which our industry will use to turn out finished products on the customer's orders, will ensure uninterrupted operation of this industry until the end of the year; in addition, raw materials are left at the disposal of the textile mills. The problem of foreign-exchange imports of components for the ship-building industry has been solved in such a way that the equipment and other elements imported from the West and being installed on ships earmarked for the Soviet Union will either be delivered from the Soviet Union, or their purchase will be financed by our partner in hard currency. The production program of the metallurgical mill Stalowa Wola which manufactures heavy equipment under license has been backed up until 1983. The list of such examples could well be continued. It covers or will cover metallurgical and chemical, electronic and tele-technical, automobile and machine-tool plants. We for our part will pay with deliveries of finished products for the intermediate products supplied by the Soviet Union, for the raw materials and components which will substitute for our foreign-exchange imports and will close some of the breaches in our supply.

A substantial step forward has been taken in the coordination of the principles on which the USSR and other partners are to participate in the resumption of the investments suspended by our country. The fraternal countries' participation in financing the construction of started projects is a real chance to "unfreeze" the investments that have gone into them.

All of these are undoubtedly no more than temporary solutions dictated by the needs of the current situation and the readiness of our partners to hasten to help us in easing the accumulated difficulties. They could be called a kind of fortifying injection designed to help us pick up our strength and get our wind back, to think and to start on the treatment that goes to the source of the malaise. In our conditions,

this is simply an indispensable procedure and it is impossible to exaggerate the importance of such cooperation and its social and economic results.

Even more important than these temporary measures are the long-term results of the understandings which have already been reached or are under discussion. The point is to re-orient the lines of international cooperation in our economy, and to expand and strengthen our trade and cooperation ties with the socialist countries, the Soviet Union in the first place. Recent practice has unequivocally confirmed that the enterprises and industries of the Polish national economy which closely cooperate with CMEA partners are, despite the overall crisis, in a much better state and are not threatened with idleness.

In the process of this re-orientation or change of proportions between various lines of economic contacts, we hope to attain these three goals:

— to use the fraternal countries' markets, above all, the vast Soviet market, to sell our products;

— to create the conditions for stable long-term development not subject to fluctuations in the state of the world economy;

— to reduce the dependence of the Polish economy on imports from the capitalist countries.

The idea is to return to reasonable limits in our economic ties with the West which have been upset in the recent period. The consequences of this excessive dependence, which is being used, without any qualms whatsoever, as an instrument of political pressure, is now being painfully felt by all of us. The decisions of the Commission in Warsaw provide a powerful impetus to reducing this dependence and to consolidating cooperation with the CMEA countries.

Today, this creates additional potentialities for overcoming the crisis and — over the long term — lays the foundation for stable development.

Abridged from *Trybuna Ludu*, April 13, 1982

On the Situation in Poland

From PAP, Polish and Foreign Press Reports

Poland's Council of Ministers met in Warsaw in late April under the chairmanship of Wojciech Jaruzelski.

Making a positive assessment of the results of the recent Polish-Hungarian summit meeting, the government took a decision on elaborating a long-term program of cooperation with Hungary.

The Council of Ministers discussed problems of restructuring Poland's economy and made a general assessment of the economic situation in the country. It was noted, in particular, that in March 1982, the population's incomes and expenditures were balanced for the first time since August 1980.

The Council of Ministers adopted a decision on the main lines of Poland's economic, scientific and technical cooperation with the CMEA countries, providing for deeper specialization and cooperation of production.

This year's May Day festivities coincided in People's Poland with the centenary of the Polish working-class movement. Hundreds of meetings with veterans, evening parties and rallies were held on the eve of the working people's international solidarity day across the country. Guards of honor stood at the memorials to heroes of the revolutionary struggle of the Polish and international proletariat.

A ceremonial public meeting was held in the Congress Hall of the Warsaw Palace of Culture and Science. It was attended by leaders of the PUWP and allied parties, Polish state leaders, veterans, representatives of the youth and the Polish Army.

Hundreds of thousands of working people in Polish towns and villages thronged the streets decked with flags and streamers to take part in the May Day demonstrations.

In Warsaw, General Wojciech Jaruzelski, First Secretary of the PUWP Central Committee, Chairman of the Military Council of National Salvation, and Chairman of the PPR Council of Ministers, addressed the demonstrators and all Polish citizens.

Millions of people in thousands of cities on all continents, he said, have gone out into the streets as we have done. Their march determines the main tendency of present-day history. It proves that socialist ideas have struck deep roots. These ideas are strong and getting ever stronger in spite of difficulties. The Soviet Union — our powerful ally — and all other socialist countries are at one with us.

Wojciech Jaruzelski recalled the traditions of the Polish working-class movement, whose centenary is marked this year. This movement, he said, made an important contribution to revolutionary thinking and practice, and we shall seek to multiply it. Veterans of the working-class movement, he said, are taking part in our demonstration. We highly value their struggle, work and everything they have done for the working-class cause, for Poland.

We have saved the country from destruction, Wojciech Jaruzelski continued, and shall restore it to development. We shall not deviate from the chosen road. Our country was, is and will remain true to the socialist family of peoples, a champion of peace and détente.

In early May, the Polish Sejm held a two-day meeting in Warsaw. It adopted a statement on the question of a national accord and a number of laws on the development of culture and higher education.

The Sejm declares its resolve to strengthen the state, to carry out economic, social and political reforms, and create conditions for the homeland's successful development. It reaffirmed its support for the patriotic movement for joint action by all citizens in the cause of national revival.

The turbulent years of 1980 and 1981 engendered in Poland both constructive ideas and, at the same time, views and actions injecting anarchy in the social life and disrupting the economy, the statement said. The introduction of martial law barred the way to the disruptive processes and restored confidence in Poland within the framework of the alliance of socialist states. Conditions necessary for a return to the state's normal functioning have taken shape. The experience of the post-August period shows that it is necessary to retain everything that expressed the working people's just striving to decide jointly their affairs, and reject everything that could threaten the interests of the socialist state.

We face immense tasks. We should revive the homeland and ensure conditions for preventing any new destructive crises and for organizing our affairs to meet the principles of socialism as the system of social justice and, at the same time, ensure harmony between the interests of society and those of individuals, the development of the individual and respect for every human being. We should overcome the economic and social crisis and help Poland to regain a fitting place in the present-day world. Poland's alliance and close cooperation with the

Soviet Union and other socialist countries is a guarantee of its security in Europe.

The Sejm expresses its profound conviction that the Polish people have enough strength to end the crisis, achieve full use of production capacity, and ensure appropriate living standards for the people.

The past few months have been marked by intensive effort by the Military Council of National Salvation and the government, hard work by the PUWP, and broad activity by political parties and organizations.

The Sejm points out that any attempts to sow chaos and incite the people against the legitimate power are extremely harmful and inadmissible.

It came out for a further elaboration of a number of laws, notably, for a resumption of work on the law on trade unions.

It also noted the need for continued efforts to form and strengthen the basis for interaction among all the popular forces: the PUWP and the allied parties, the unions and organizations of lay Catholics, trade unions, youth and social organizations, and creative associations. The Sejm gave a positive assessment of the civic committees of national salvation and revival.

The Sejm urged the various sections of the country's population to make an effort to overcome the crisis and work actively for the sake of the future.

Poland's Minister of the Interior Czeslaw Kiszczak informed the Sejm of the street disturbances in Warsaw and some other Polish cities on May 3. The incidents occurred under slogans that were hostile to the socialist state, and were stage-managed and orchestrated by one and the same hand. They were staged as congregations were leaving the churches after service.

Unfortunately, the minister said, the groups rampaging on the streets in some localities, especially in Warsaw, were most aggressive; 51 militiamen were wounded in the capital. In Warsaw, 271 leaders and particularly aggressive lawbreakers were detained.

These events, he said, were clearly instigated by the enemies of socialism, who are openly demonstrating their hostile intentions. The support that the adversaries of socialism are getting from outside, the activities of Radio Free Europe has already gone beyond the concept of "slandorous political propaganda." That radio station has not only been issuing instructions on ways to conspire but has been broadcasting detailed scenarios for instigating disturbances.

The offensive against our socialist state, the minister continued, primarily stems from the apprehension that the tensions in Poland will subside, and the enemies of socialism are less and less able to influence the situation. They are handicapped by the fact that banner headlines on the "Polish question" are beginning to disappear from the Western press. Or, perhaps, it is a matter of getting our problems to overshadow the shameful conflict over the Falkland Islands (the Malvinas) or some other colonialist moves. Such are the ulterior motives behind the street disturbances in the Polish cities. Such is their internal and external political mechanism.

Five Months Later

I do not think that anyone in Poland regards martial law as a normal state of affairs or believes that it should be perpetuated. But today, it is also the state — however abnormal — which creates the prerequisites paving the way to normalization. It gives the country a chance.

Its duration depends on ourselves, on whether and how we are able to use these chances. This has been already repeated so often that yet another repetition may seem superfluous. But it is not superfluous, because, as it appears, some have yet to understand this.

Today, one can hardly refrain from looking back on the days and events which to a certain extent necessitated the decision of December 13. Especially today, when in spite of the martial law and the consequent difficulties, the very same forces that were then preparing and seeking to act out — with guidance from abroad — the scenario for dismantling the socialist state, for economic ruin, if not a fratricidal war, are again rearing their head. Does this not prove that they have not abandoned their plans and would have liked to go on working toward their implementation? The only difference now is that they apparently expect less support from the working class, trying this time to hide behind the backs of schoolchildren, students, insufficiently informed but adventure-hungry young people.

The decisions of the Military Council of National Salvation, whose expediency has been recognized by the PPR Sejm, hindered the implementation of the hostile scenario, stopped the slide toward the abyss, toward a collapse of the economy and the state. These decisions were a shock to all, because none of us knew what martial law actually was. But as the realities being created within its framework are beginning to materialize, ever more people are coming to see in them glimmers of hope.

It has turned out that although martial law, by virtue of its specifics, entails annoying restrictions of civil liberties, it also has other features. If one also bears in mind that it limits strikes, which disrupt the economy and warp people's minds, that it prevents the slandering and humiliation of the organs of power, the state, the party and individual persons, limits anarchy, enhances the sense of security, improves order, and to some extent — though still not very tangibly — regulates the market, one will have no doubt that the assets far outweigh the liabilities.

But one thing martial law has not limited in any way is the right to peaceful constructive work. On the contrary, the hope for a lifting of martial law is based on precisely such work.

Let us think how much more confident we have felt at our jobs and elsewhere over the past four months.

Let us imagine what would have happened if we had had to live through the winter in conditions of anarchy and scandals. What would have become of production at our factories if instead of the work

being done, even "at less than full capacity," the strikes would have continued almost every day? Let us imagine how less able we would have been to pay our foreign debts if we had not increased our exports owing to greater extraction of coal and other minerals.

And would we have been able to carry out, albeit slower than we had expected, a consistent economic reform which holds out the hope of an improvement in the economic situation and living conditions in the country?

Let us recall that, in spite of martial law, the representative organs have been working without interruption, adopting meaningful decisions in almost every sphere of our life, and paving the way for activity aimed at improving our economy. Let us recall that owing to martial law these organs can fulfil their tasks and serve society in a better and more correct way.

Let us recall that the people have raised their heads, that the party is reviving, that non-party citizens have been playing a more active role in the work of national revival committees, and that in spite of martial law the dialogue between the state authorities and the church has continued.

Let us also recall the authorities' striving for a national accord, which they have so often emphasized.

Martial law in Poland is different from that in other countries. It is much more flexible, and its stringency has been constantly eased.

Let us ask ourselves whether we should ruin all this and start from the beginning. Should we abandon the perspectives that only yesterday were much more distinct than six months ago? What for? Who would benefit from this? Certainly not the people, not Poland. This could benefit only those who hate socialist Poland, who are upset by any sign of improvement, however slight; those who would like to change the balance of forces in Europe and the world in an "after us, the deluge" spirit; those who act at the bidding of the most adventurist forces within the Solidarity leadership, whose links with Western bourgeois centers are no longer in any doubt. For they have always been interested in something other than a genuine improvement of the situation in the country.

Those are the people who saw the May Day demonstration, millions of whose participants expressed their support for the socialist state, as a threat to their plans. That is why they sought to weaken its impact through diverse demonstrations and disturbances in the streets of Polish cities and, on the instructions of hostile subversive centers, to instigate a section of immature and disoriented young people, whose notions are often still hazy, to commit excesses.

Zbigniew Lakomski,
Trybuna Ludu, May 7, 1982

The USSR's Existence: Basic Objective Factor of Revolutionary Victories

The Polish events elucidated the confrontation between the bellicose policy of aggression and interference followed by U.S.-led imperialism and the policy of peace, friendship and cooperation followed by the Soviet Union and other socialist community countries.

Using the difficulties and mistakes that occurred in the course of socialist construction, the imperialists and their accomplices attacked the socialist gains in Poland. The Polish people are now carrying on an extremely complicated struggle, defending these gains and working to overcome the mistakes and difficulties. In these trials, they have the support of their friends, of their class and ideological comrades, of the Soviet Union as their truest friend and most reliable mainstay. And together with the Soviet Union is the whole socialist community.

Poland's own efforts are the paramount and decisive factor in overcoming the difficulties. Soviet support is a major international factor, which ensures the conditions enabling Poland to emerge from the crisis. That is why the enemies of socialism have so fiercely attacked the Soviet Union, viciously assaulting the great socialist power, the bulwark of peace and revolution throughout the world. Lenin's country has long been connected with Poland by relations of militant solidarity and mutual assistance, most vividly manifested by the 600,000 Soviet soldiers who lost their lives in liberating Poland, by the effective cooperation between the two countries over the decades of socialist construction in the Polish People's Republic. In face of the events in the neighboring fraternal country, the Soviet Union, far from abandoning the Polish people in their hour of trial, has given it all-round support. This is valuable and selfless assistance on the principle of proletarian internationalism.

Unfortunately, some people in Western Europe, while calling themselves communists or socialists, distort the true state of affairs and echo the imperialists and international reaction in their vicious campaign against the Soviet Union and other socialist community countries. They do not even mention imperialism's open and brazen interference in Poland's internal affairs, but put the "responsibility" on the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Treaty states, alleging that the latter "interfere in the PUP's life and right of choice." They accuse the Soviet Union in even more cutting terms than Reagan and Haig themselves, while claiming to be communists.

These so-called communists slander the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Treaty states. They have invented the term "Soviet model" to depreciate the historic role of existing socialism built in a number of countries, with the Soviet Union as its most typical representative. Twentieth-century history has eloquently proved the strength of the positions of the Soviet Union and the socialist community. The So-

viet Union's existence and the support given by that great socialist power have always been and remain the basic objective factor in the victory of just revolutions.

From their own experience, the experience of three wars against aggressors, our people know the immense role and genuine nature of the assistance given by the CPSU, the Soviet state and the Soviet people on the principle of proletarian internationalism. The solidarity and vast assistance of the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries are a decisive factor behind Vietnam's victories in socialist construction and the defense of the socialist homeland. Vietnam's communists and people highly appreciate this assistance and are always grateful for it.

Some so-called communists in Western Europe have been attacking the USSR not only in connection with the Polish events. They have come up with groundless and extremely hostile inventions on the crucial question of our day: the struggle for peace. In their speeches and documents, they put the Soviet Union and other socialist community countries on a par with the USA and other NATO countries. They even seek to persuade others that the Soviet Union is to blame for the fact that détente has not become universal. The only thing to say on this point is that it is a crude invention.

They distort the Soviet Union's foreign policy and shut their eyes to the reality that all the gains of détente became possible precisely owing to the Soviet Union's tireless efforts. Taking an "extra-bloc" stand, they have in effect opposed the Soviet Union's efforts to prevent the export of counter-revolution and stop the bellicose imperialists from changing the present balance of forces in their favor.

These so-called communists go even further. They propagate theses according to which the line of the October Revolution has run its course, that the so-called Soviet model has failed, that there is a new road of socialism, and so on.

They assert that they do not want to depreciate the vast importance of the October Revolution and the progress it brought to humankind. But such assertions cannot conceal the true nature of their theses, which boil down to a depreciation of the role played by the Soviet Union and existing socialism. Their subjective opinion on the failure of the "Soviet model" and the so-called crisis in Eastern Europe means that they are trying to deny the existence of socialism or to assert that there is still no socialism in the USSR and other countries of the socialist community. They are looking for another model, which is apparently to be found in another world, a world without classes or class struggle, a world of specters. They claim to have found a road which is better than capitalism and socialism. But there is absolutely no real proof that such a road exists.

Who has made the greatest sacrifice on the altar of

humankind? Who must shoulder the enormous responsibility of defending peace throughout the world and thwarting the aggressive, bellicose plans of U.S. imperialism? Who must confront the NATO bloc? Naturally, it is not the gentlemen who expound meaningless theories, but the Soviet people, whose sacrifices are unparalleled. If the Soviet Union did not have to bear this great international responsibility, the Soviet people's living standards would have been much higher than today. Some

dream of a society where everything would be perfect from the very beginning. Such a society is a utopia. Revolution is a protracted and extremely complicated historical process, full of difficulties and inevitable mistakes. And it is those who think otherwise that are mistaken, although they do not recognize these mistakes. History has never been made by words, it has been made by battles abounding in blood and tears.

Abridged from *Nhan Dan*, February 22, 1982

Leonid Brezhnev's Reply to an Appeal by the Second Congress of the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War

The second congress of the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War held in Cambridge, England, on April 3-6, 1982, adopted an appeal to Leonid Brezhnev, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and President Ronald Reagan of the USA. The appeal signed on behalf of the participants in the congress by its co-chairmen Professor Bernard Lown (USA) and Academician Yevgeni I. Chazov (USSR) speaks of the fatal consequences of a nuclear war. The order of the day now, the appeal says, is to rule out the very idea about the use of nuclear weapons in any form and on any scale. Nuclear weapons, it says, should be ultimately destroyed before they destroy humankind itself.

Urging the need to give top priority to the elimination of the threat of nuclear war, the physicians and medical research workers attending the congress came out for an end to the growth of nuclear arsenals, for continued talks on the limitation, reduction and total elimination of nuclear weapons.

Leonid Brezhnev, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, said in his reply to the co-chairmen of the congress:

I made a careful study of the appeal by the participants in the second congress of the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War to the heads of state of the USSR and the USA.

I fully share your concern over the disturbing situation that is now taking shape in the world. The military danger has been increasing as a direct result of the attempts to counter common sense with force, and to stake on confrontation rather than cooperation with others.

The Soviet Union calls on all governments of the world to take a sensible and responsible stand. Many states are overburdened with social, economic, demographic and other problems. The important thing is to look for ways to solve these problems instead of seeking to unleash a war, including nuclear war. Talk of the possibility of making it a "limited war" is nothing but camouflage of far-reaching plans to launch a general nuclear war. Use of nuclear weapons on any scale whatsoever would be a crime against the whole of humankind.

With this in mind, I share your conclusion that nuclear war would be fatal for any country and any people subjected to the use of these weapons.

The state leaders' supreme duty to their peoples and to the whole of humankind is to save our planet from the looming threat, to preserve peace. We should leave succeeding generations a flourishing and not a blast-ravaged planet. So that the light should not fade over the earth, insurmountable bar-

riers to nuclear war should be raised without delay.

The Soviet Union is prepared to reach in this direction most radical agreements with other countries. We have repeatedly proposed establishment of nuclear-free zones and elimination in Europe both of medium-range and tactical nuclear weapons. This would amount to a true "zero" option instead of the false option so often talked of in the West. In this field, there should be no substitution of concept. What is necessary here is concrete action.

The warnings and considerations formulated by medical researchers and physicians merit the utmost attention. You are concerned about human health and life, regarding the activities of states and their representatives through this prism. In the final count, this is apparently the only correct view, for the purpose of state policy should be to serve the people.

Your support for the efforts to limit and reduce nuclear weapons is welcomed in the Soviet Union. To help the peoples understand the danger threatening humankind and its consequences is to make a tangible contribution to the struggle to eliminate this danger, to avert the immense evil that has been accumulated in the nuclear arsenals.

I pass my best wishes of success to all the participants in the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War movement in their noble work and aspirations.

Pravda, May 3, 1982

New Major Contribution to Strengthening the Relations of Friendship and Cooperation

Official Friendly Visit to the USSR by a State Delegation of the Republic of Nicaragua

From May 4 to 9, a state delegation of the Republic of Nicaragua led by Daniel Ortega Saavedra, member of the National Leadership of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) and Coordinator of the Leading Council of the National Reconstruction Government, paid an official friendly visit to the Soviet Union.

On May 4, the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Government gave a dinner in the Grand Kremlin Palace in honor of the state delegation of the Republic of Nicaragua.

Leonid Brezhnev and Daniel Ortega Saavedra spoke at the dinner.

SPEECH BY LEONID BREZHNEV

Allow me cordially to greet the delegation of the Republic of Nicaragua led by comrade Daniel Ortega.

You have come here from afar, from the other hemisphere of the Earth.

Your visit to Moscow and the fruitful talks which have taken place graphically emphasize, in our view, an important uniformity of present-day world development. Peoples and countries are drawn closer together not so much by geography as by politics, and distances are no impediment to mutual understanding and friendship. This is borne out by the development of relations between our countries.

The people of Nicaragua are upholding a just cause, their vital cause. The small state in Central America is making every effort to protect its independence and to live in peace, to put an end to provocations against it.

In accordance with the people's will, that state, led by the Sandinista National Liberation Front, has got down to restructuring social relations on the principles of democracy and social progress.

Nicaragua is pursuing a policy of non-alignment in international affairs, contributing as much as it can toward improving the international situation. We, like many other states, are in solidarity with you in all these efforts.

Vast oceanic expanses separate us from the Western Hemisphere. The American continent was not engulfed—at least not directly—in the flames of the two world wars which devastated Europe, Asia and Africa.

But peace is cherished everywhere, and all peoples want peace. And nowadays there is no higher responsibility for a statesman than that of safeguarding peace.

This holds true both for South America and for the United States and Canada. The distance from America to other continents, which were theaters of the world wars, is in no way longer than the distance from these to America.

We understand perfectly well the persevering striving of Nicaragua's leadership to remove, through talks, the difficulties and tensions in its relations with its neighbors and with the United States of America.

The similarly oriented constructive initiatives of

other Latin American countries, like Mexico and Cuba, are also in accord with the goals of our policy.

History and present-day events are yielding further proof that the liberation movement is advancing and gathering momentum amidst the masses of Latin America.

The peoples want to be masters of their homeland, be it in Central America or in the South Atlantic.

And if dangerous complications and conflict situations arise in the Western Hemisphere as well, it is precisely because there are forces which are trying to preserve or restore their dominant positions and to impose foreign oppression on the peoples.

They do not eschew threats and pressure, blackmail and blockade, the use of arms, and resort to actions reminding one of the time of colonial brigandage.

Here as in other parts of the globe, the Soviet Union follows its principled policy, that of removing the existing seats of tension and preventing new ones, preventing interference in the internal affairs of states and peoples, and settling disputes the peaceful way, at the negotiating table.

We have one policy on all continents, the Leninist policy of peace and friendship among nations.

SPEECH BY DANIEL ORTEGA

At the sixth World Festival of Youth and Students 25 years ago, Carlos Fonseca, the leader of the Nicaraguan revolution and the founder of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, planted a tree in a Moscow park as a token of fraternal friendship between the people of Sandino and the people of Lenin. Today we can say that this tree has grown into a strong and unbreakable symbol of relations between our peoples, governments and parties.

We deem it to be a great honor for us to have received an invitation from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Soviet government, which truly express the eventful history of the heroic Soviet people who, despite the aggressions, hunger and privations, were not forced to their knees but routed the imperialist and fascist invaders.

We revere the memory of the 20 million Soviet people who lost their lives during the Great Patriotic War in the fight to liberate the whole of humankind from the fascist yoke, revere it as deeply as that of

the thousands of our own heroes who gave their lives for the Nicaraguan revolution.

We know how within a short historical period the Soviet working people have achieved, despite aggression and misfortunes, impressive successes in the development of their country. The principles underlying the potential which guarantees the unprecedented stability of the socio-economic system in the interests of the working people's well-being, form the cornerstone of this development. We know what advances have been made in fulfilling the main tasks of the 11th five-year plan, and are sure that the strong hands of the millions of people who are united in Soviet trade unions will ensure the fulfillment of all these tasks.

The new peace initiatives put forward in the report to the 26th congress of the CPSU by comrade Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, must be backed by all the progressive and democratic forces of the world.

Nicaragua supports the provision of the report to the 26th congress of the CPSU which says that for the party, for the Soviet people and for all the peoples of the world no task is more important on the international plane than the task of safeguarding peace. We welcome the concrete and important step in this direction announced by comrade Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev on a unilateral moratorium on the deployment of medium-range nuclear weapons in the European part of the USSR.

The spirit of fraternal mutual understanding at these talks, the modesty and sincerity of the Soviet leaders, and the resolute solidarity with Nicaragua which they expressed once again, guarantee the development of relations of cooperation between our countries. We are aware that our talks and the agreements on cooperation we have reached are seen with suspicion by those selfish-minded circles which are unable to understand the working people's striving for solidarity in their struggle to defend their freedom and achieve progress and happiness.

The fetters of imperialist oppression and exploitation were smashed on July 19, 1979. On that day, revolutionary power was established in Nicaragua,

originating in the midst of the workers and peasants, in the struggle of the oppressed and the exploited.

Despite difficulties and privations, despite military, political and economic aggression, the power won at that time is now deeply rooted in the hearts of the people. Its economic and administrative base is growing stronger every day. The strength of the power we won is in the growing efficiency of the instruments the revolution has created for its defense, in the working people's growing participation in the fulfillment of the tasks of the revolution, in the growing role of mass organizations, in the great international prestige of the people's Sandinista revolution, in strengthening the relations with friends who are helping us to overcome the difficulties and lay the foundations of the new society.

We have opened an era of profound transformations in the economic field, as a result of which the vestiges of dependence are being gradually eliminated and our people will be able to improve steadily their well-being. There is no doubt that the new Nicaragua is experiencing a revival and development of its national culture, which is now within the reach of the broad masses. The campaign to wipe out illiteracy was only the beginning of this process.

We have achieved genuine democracy and genuine freedom for the people. All this has become possible thanks to the revolutionary experience of humankind, which is increasingly liberating itself from exploitation and oppression, raising the banners of justice, social progress and peace. Today, the peoples of the world are fighting for these aims more resolutely than ever before.

Conducted within the framework of nonalignment, our foreign policy consistently meets the interests of the peoples demanding the establishment of a new international economic order. We have condemned and continue to condemn colonialism, neocolonialism, imperialism, racism, Zionism, apartheid, and all forms of domination and exploitation of man by man.

In building the future, we draw inspiration from the revolutionary people, who are tackling historic tasks under the leadership of the Sandinista National Liberation Front. Here is how Carlos Fonseca, founder and leader of the Front, defined our objectives in the struggle: "It is not a matter of securing a mere change of the men in power, but a change of the whole system, the overthrow of the exploiter classes, and the exploited classes' victory." Now that power is in our hands, we can say that the Sandinista Front, the indisputable vanguard of the Nicaraguan people, is the leader of our revolution, guiding the formation of the new society.

The imperialists can go on encouraging acts of aggression and threatening us; they can even try to destroy Nicaragua, to reduce our land to ashes, but they must know that we shall never be conquered, because the worker-peasant power, the people's power is invincible.

Such was the conviction expressed by Sandino 55 years ago, on May 4, 1927, the Day of National Dignity, when he refused to lay down arms in the face of U.S. armed intervention.

Pravda, May 5, 1982

Nuclear Strategy and Common Sense

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Under the Banner of Unity

Twelfth Congress of the CP India

From March 22 to 28, 1982, the 12th congress of the Communist Party of India was held in Varanasi (Uttar Pradesh). It was attended by more than 1,500 delegates and 37 delegations of fraternal parties, including a delegation of the CPSU led by Eduard Shevardnadze, alternate member of the CPSU Central Committee's Political Bureau and First Secretary of the Central Committee, CP Georgia.

The congress heard a report on the political situation and the party's activity after the 11th congress of the CPI in Bhatinda, a draft political resolution, and also a report on organizational work and amendments to the party rules. The delegates of the highest forum of Indian communists approved these basic documents, which bring out the party's multifaceted activity in the period under review and project its political line for the years ahead. At the final meeting, the congress elected the National Council, the party's supreme ruling organ.

The delegates devoted much attention to international problems: the struggle for peace and exposure of imperialist intrigues against India, aimed to undermine its unity and sovereignty. In its documents, the congress resolutely denounced the USA's aggressive policy, gave a high assessment of the latest Soviet peace initiatives, and pointed out the exceptional importance of the further development of India's relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist states. In a special resolution, the delegates voiced their serious concern over the growing threat to stability on the South Asian subcontinent and to India's security as a result of the militarist line followed by the U.S. administration, and the massive rearmament of Pakistan with the USA's active assistance.

Below is the section of the report on the formation of left and democratic unity, and the resolution "Unite to Save the World from Nuclear Annihilation."

Efforts to Build Left and Democratic Unity

Our Bhatinda congress put forward the rebuilding of the left and democratic national alternative to bourgeois rule as the key political task. It also stated that unity of the communist movement should be forged as an integral part of the building of left and democratic unity. The Bhatinda party congress warned party members that these tasks cannot be fulfilled easily, but only through a patient and protracted process of united mass struggles, mass movements and political and ideological struggles.

Keeping this in view, we tried to organize joint mass struggles, meetings and conventions of left and secular-democratic parties on specific issues and also started a dialogue with the leadership of the CPI(M) and other left parties. As stated earlier, the six-party coordination committee was organized in order to channel mass discontent into mass struggles, in defense of democratic rights and against the communal menace. As stated earlier, after some time, it got disrupted due to the crisis inside the Lok Dal and the Congress (U).

Then we thought of approaching this problem from the end of the mass organizations. So far we have succeeded only in having a national coordination committee of central trade union organizations and national federations of workers and employees, under the influence of left and opposition parties. Even here, the BMS, which is a front organization of the RSS-BJP, is putting all sorts of obstacles in the way of taking up radical economic and political demands. But this cannot be allowed to

go on if the working class is to play a leading political role in order to take the country in the national democratic direction. Similarly, efforts should be made to organize a coordination committee of mass organizations of other sections of the people.

In a situation where the crisis of bourgeois rule itself has deepened and the masses are getting disillusioned because of the Congress(I) failure to implement any of its promises and because of its retrograde internal policies, the big business press is giving a boost to the BJP and trying to build up an alternative around it. Big business is also using the BJP to pressure the Indira Gandhi government to shift its foreign policy in a rightward direction.

The party has taken a consistently firm position that we will not join any front or coordination committee with the BJP, which is a thoroughly communal, pro-imperialist and right reactionary party. For that very reason, we refused to join the meeting of opposition parties called by the Janata Party President Chandra Shekhar under the cover of discussing electoral reforms and joint campaigns. For the same reason, our comrades have refused to join an all-in opposition combination, including the BJP set-up, in Andhra Pradesh.

The attempt of some bourgeois opposition parties like the Lok Dal and the Janata Party to join hands with the BJP in a so-called democratic alliance will only help the BJP to strengthen itself. These other bourgeois opposition parties have to become camp followers if they join with the BJP because it is the

most well-organized and ideologically firm party with disciplined RSS cadre at its disposal.

The secular-democratic sections among the opposition parties will ultimately be forced to adopt a similar position. We must resolutely counter the pro-imperialist and anti-Soviet stand of some leaders of these parties. In any case, our party should make no compromise on this issue.

The left parties can rapidly forge ahead in such a situation provided they take the initiative to channel the mass discontent into militant mass movements and struggles and project the left along with its democratic allies on the basis of a program. Otherwise, there is every danger that the growing mass discontent will be used to strengthen the extreme right.

It should be stated that the CPI(M) leadership refuses, for whatever reason, to come forward on this score except in states, where they are strong like West Bengal, Tripura and Kerala. In states where they do not have enough strength, they trail behind bourgeois opposition parties which are themselves in doldrums. Some time back, at the time of the six-party convention and also at the time of the Kisan-Khetmazdoor March to Parliament in March 1981, they had agreed to leave out the BJP. But now again they project the idea of including the BJP, which they themselves characterize as aggressively communal, pro-imperialist, pro-monopoly and anti-communist, into the so-called broad anti-authoritarian platform and in struggles on specific issues. Under these conditions, it has to be understood that their idea of a left and democratic front remains only a distant perspective.

Earlier, the CPI(M) leadership, influenced by international developments, was taking some correct positions with regard to the reactionary foreign policy of the Chinese leadership. Now, however, when events should be forcing them to further change their wrong understanding, they refuse to budge any more. They refuse to speak against Peking's role in arming Pakistan and endangering the security of our country. They tell their ranks that they have always been right on all issues.

It should be noted that the CPI(M) still has hesitations to come out openly against the Chinese perfidy in the international arena and is half-hearted in joining worldwide mass actions against the diabolical and aggressive global policies of U.S. imperialism and its accomplices. The CPI(M) even discovers "weaknesses in the foreign policy outlook of the ruling parties of socialist countries" and charges that "they ignore the interests of revolutionary forces in underdeveloped countries and place reliance on friendly governments of these countries." This the CPI(M) wants to project as its "independent line" against the so-called distortions in the international communist movement.

They are avoiding participation in joint anti-imperialist campaigns and also are not conducting them effectively from their own platforms either.

Their attitude to the BJP is also not as firm as earlier. Earlier, influenced by national develop-

ments and efforts by our party, the CPI(M) leadership agreed to leave the BJP and confine united mass movements to only left and secular-democratic parties. But now once again they have gone back and are trying to unite with the BJP under the slogan of building a broad-based anti-authoritarian platform.

It is necessary in this connection to clarify our party's stand with regard to the BJP. It is a rabidly communal, pro-monopoly, anti-communist and pro-imperialist party, which is the spearhead of reaction in our country. We have to make all efforts to isolate it and fight its plans to extend its tentacles to newer sections of the people and newer areas. In pursuance of the above-stated aim it may be necessary to have to take common stand with it on some issues, like joint representation to the President on postponement of the Garhwal elections, united working-class actions with BMS and on some issues in Parliament and legislatures, while steadfastly fighting its reactionary policies tooth and nail.

Notwithstanding these and many other issues of differences and some irritants, it must be noted that the relations between the CPI and the CPI(M) have been reformed and have considerably improved. This is a positive development in Indian politics. The line of the Bhatinda party congress on this question has been fully justified. However, the narrow partisan-minded attitude of CPI(M) leadership at various levels is a serious obstacle in the way of building communist and left and democratic unity, and this helps the very forces of authoritarianism whom we want to fight. Despite difficulties, we will do our utmost to forge unity with the CPI(M) and other left parties, like the Forward Bloc, RSP, Peasants' and Workers' Party. We will also develop unity with all secular-democratic parties for the defense of the secular-democratic set-up, sovereignty and integrity of our country and for the people's interests.

Our efforts to build left and democratic unity and communist unity have no doubt made an impact on the CPI(M) masses and ranks. The urge for left unity has grown among the left-minded sections. But as yet we have not succeeded in bringing about such unity, despite all our sincere efforts. However, we are confident that the future course of national and international developments and mass movements and struggles will bring together the left and their democratic allies. What is needed for our party and mass organizations is to remove the weaknesses mentioned above so that they can take dynamic initiatives, strengthen themselves and extend their mass base.

We will continue our policy of united mass actions at all levels, whenever possible. We shall continue to make serious efforts to build mass unity from below by taking up mass problems. But, at the same time, our party and mass organizations should conduct independent movements and struggles and extend their mass influence. The need to build the independent mass strength and role of our party and mass organizations has become more urgent today than ever before. With this is linked the question of our being able to build left and democratic unity in today's conditions.

Unite to Save the World from Nuclear Annihilation

United States imperialism's global armaments build-up has reached unprecedented proportions. The production of the neutron bomb and other new and ever more barbaric weapons of death, the creation of a U.S. rapid deployment force and the strengthening and expansion of the entire system of U.S. nuclear bases have sharply aggravated the international situation. The NATO decision to deploy new U.S. medium-range missiles in Europe has carried the war danger to qualitatively new heights.

Reagan, Haig and Weinberger propagate the lie that a "limited" nuclear war can be waged in Europe, in West Asia or elsewhere, and that the United States can score a "victory" in a nuclear war. These false "doctrines" are the screen behind which the U.S. arms build-up is galloping forward, creating fresh perils for all humanity.

The Washington war drive is a major part of the desperate but vain efforts of the U.S. imperialists and their most aggressive NATO partners to stave off the present deep and serious crisis of the world capitalist economy. The military-industrial complexes seek new super profits from the production of new weapons of mass destruction.

The axis between the U.S. imperialists, the NATO and the Peking rulers, and their military collaboration with South Africa, Israel, Pakistan, Chile, El Salvador, Guatemala and other reactionary regimes and military dictatorships increase the war danger in the Indian Ocean and the Gulf, in the Caribbean, in the Middle East, in the Mediterranean and elsewhere. The imperialist arms drive is directed against the national independence, sovereignty and integrity of several countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, against the growing might of the forces of national liberation.

The 12th congress of the Communist Party of India salutes the world peace movement, which re-

corded a massive increase in its strength and breadth in the recent period. Mass marches, demonstrations and other protest actions of a size never seen before have swept across Europe. In the USA, the peace movement has also grown rapidly. Gallup opinion polls show that over 70 per cent of the people of the USA demand a total ban on nuclear weapons.

In Asia, Africa and Latin America, the peace movement grows as it takes different forms, linking the key issues of ending the armaments build-up, of defending the sovereignty and independence of each country and of fighting for economic development and a new international economic order.

The Communist Party of India extends its full support to the Peace Program adopted by the 26th congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and all the subsequent initiatives for peace and disarmament put forward by President Brezhnev. The latest Soviet initiative to halt unilaterally all further deployment of medium-range missiles in the European part of the Soviet Union has been warmly welcomed by all who stand for peace. The peoples of the world have condemned the Reagan administration's summary rejection of all disarmament initiatives put forth by the Soviet Union.

The 12th congress of the CPI endorses the call of the World Peace Council for united action by all political parties, mass movements, organizations and individuals who seek to prevent a nuclear war. The peoples have the power, through their united actions, to save the world from nuclear annihilation and build a new world, free from hunger and poverty, free of exploitation and plunder by the transnational corporations and monopolies.

The 12th congress of the Communist Party of India fully supports the policy of non-alignment and anti-imperialism, friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union, defense of India's sovereignty, independence and integrity, and of solidarity with the national liberation movements and the just struggles against colonialism, neo-colonialism, apartheid, racism and zionism pursued by Indira Gandhi's government.

The 12th congress of the CPI urges the government of India at this critical hour to take new initiatives at the coming United Nations Second Special Session devoted to disarmament, and at other inter-governmental forums, to forge the closest cooperation and unity between the non-aligned and socialist states in the common struggle to prevent a nuclear war, for peace and disarmament, for national independence.

The 12th congress of the CPI appeals to all Indians to join hands in strengthening the mass movement against nuclear death, for life and peace. The congress also calls for a nationwide response to the appeal of the World Federation of Trade Unions for the special observance of International Peace Day on September 1, as a day of action against the war danger.

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New Age, March 28, 1982

June 1982 15

For a Further Advance along the Road of Change

From a report by Madeleine Vincent, member of the FCP Political Bureau, at the FCP Central Committee's plenary meeting on the political situation in the country after the cantonal elections.

Every other Frenchman (19 million electors) was to have voted in the cantonal elections on March 14 and 21.

The results — both of the first and the second round drew much comment. Rightists naturally strained to present these as a "crushing defeat," a "rout" of the left forces, which put in question the popular decision of 1981. This means attaching to the cantonal elections a political importance which they cannot have by virtue of their very nature.

Still, their results should not be underestimated. They indicate the evolution of the balance of political forces, the obstacles we have to face, and the possibilities that are open to us. We should now draw all the necessary conclusions from these results and take appropriate decisions.

The voting of March 14 and 21 was the first nationwide consultation after the elections in the spring of 1981. These elections changed the French political "landscape" in a most profound way. For the first time in the history of the Fifth Republic, the left parties entered the elections constituting a majority, while the right parties formed the opposition. This helped to change the postures taken by diverse political forces, and also by their electors.

Indeed, cantonal elections have traditionally enabled the opposition to muster their electors more successfully. Those who want to voice their mistrust or warning through their vote are all the more inclined to do so because in this instance there is no risk in such a sanction, for the question of power or political change is not raised in such elections. Over the past years, when we were in opposition, this peculiarity naturally worked in our favor. Let me recall in this context that up to 1981 the left forces were always defeated in major "political" elections, but had a distinct majority in the cantonal elections of 1976 and 1979.

The rightists managed to take advantage of this peculiarity of these elections. Whereas in the past they struck an "apolitical" pose at such elections, this time they politicized their campaign to the utmost, declaring their resolve to turn the voting into a "test" against the new policy. Uniting all the trends, as the Political Bureau noted on the night of March 21, they "utilized without restraint all the means they have always had at their disposal — money, economic instruments, and their positions in various institutions and the mass media" — to follow an aggressive, noisy and furious campaign against the changes, against the government and the majority, against our party. And with this aim in view they did not hesitate to distort and grossly falsify the early results of government activity, spread the most alarming false news concerning the perspectives, made malicious use of the least incidents, calling these "affairs," and even, as during the run-up to

the second round, exploited or organized financial speculations against the franc.

All these noisy activities enabled the right-wing forces to achieve their goal: more active participation by their traditional supporters among the electorate.

As compared with the presidential elections, the rightists made only marginal gains (+0.6 per cent), but improved their performance by roughly seven per cent and one million votes as compared with the parliamentary elections.

There was no such mobilization of the electorate among the left forces. On this occasion, many electors who voted for these forces in 1981 abstained. Both in the first and the second round, the electoral turnout in workers' and popular sectors was usually below average. On the whole, all the left forces won three per cent more votes than in the presidential elections, but lost six per cent as compared with the parliamentary elections.

Undoubtedly, the reasons for such inadequate activity, for this laxer mobilization of the left-wing vote are diverse. But one can easily bring out the most significant factors.

First, it is evident that a section of the left-wing electorate did not clearly realize the political importance of these cantonal elections.

Second, the very scale and unequivocal nature of the left victory in the 1981 parliamentary elections undoubtedly worked against the left forces in these elections, however paradoxical this may seem. In many localities, a left victory was, in a manner of speaking, taken for granted even before the voting. This confidence as regards the expected results also contributed to the insufficient mobilization.

But everyone understands very well that these factors alone cannot explain the actual results. As Georges Marchais declared on the night of March 21, "the fact that the left-wing electors did not respond as we had hoped they would, to our appeal to bar the way to the right forces in the second round shows that there are problems." Undoubtedly, the economic and social difficulties and, in particular, the fact that the consequences of the reforms undertaken by the left government have not had an adequate effect on everyday life have led to some disenchantment among a section of the left-wing electors, who pinned such great hopes on the elections of May 10. Naturally, we should examine all the practical implications of this conclusion.

All these factors and especially the latter can explain, on the one hand, the results for the majority and particularly for the Socialists as compared with 1981, and the stabilization of our party at the level of last year's results and, on the other, the gains of the right.

In the first round, the Socialist Party and the Left

Radical Movement received 31.6 per cent of the vote, that is, 3.6 per cent more than in the presidential elections but 5.8 per cent less than in the parliamentary elections.

Polling 16 per cent of the total in the first round, our party roughly equalled the results of the parliamentary elections. Naturally, militants asked themselves, especially after the first round, why our party did not achieve higher results than in 1981.

During the preparations for our congress and at the congress itself, we gave detailed explanations on the reasons and nature of last year's electoral failure.

Here are some of the facts.

At our congress, we showed that the decline in the number of votes cast for our party in 1981 was far from accidental, far from a "bolt out of the blue," but was rather "the result of a more protracted evolution started back in 1958." We clearly showed that this "tendency toward the erosion of our influence" is due to very deep, fundamental causes, to the "general evolution of our history over the past decades, to the changes in reality which confronted us with new questions, and to the way we answered these questions."

We showed in this respect — I only quote the Central Committee's report to the congress by way of reminder — that "the problems we faced and continue to face are primarily engendered by our party's lag in determining and formulating the perspectives of an advance to socialism, a socialism which meets the general conditions of our country and our epoch; the lag in putting this policy into practice so as to make sure that everyone whom we want and can draw into this struggle understands and supports our policy."

It goes without saying that the political consequences of this strategic lag — notably, our weakening positions in the elections — are felt and will go on being felt over a period whose length does not depend on us alone.

"It would be an illusion to think (I quote once again the report to the 24th congress) that the new situation has by some miracle eliminated the difficulties into which we ran." It is an equal illusion to think that the profound evolution which has been going on for 24 or 25 years could be corrected in a few short months or in the course of a single electoral campaign. At the 24th congress, we specified the political means which enable us to set ourselves the realistic task of strengthening our influence. But we know that this task cannot be fulfilled right away, because it calls for a prolonged effort.

There is no doubt that our electors are showing impatience over the feeble effects of the changes in everyday life.

Finally, it is known that the events in Poland, the unbridled anti-communist campaign over this issue, and the distortion of our humane and responsible stand have undoubtedly worked against us.

Let me explain. If this campaign could affect our electors in the first round, it could affect them to an even greater extent in the second round, during the transfer of votes, when it was a matter of rallying

non-communist left electors around our candidates.

In these conditions, one can understand why in these cantonal elections our party has maintained the level it attained in the elections of 1981, although this is no cause for complacency.

A more detailed analysis of the results of the elections of March 14 and 21 invites some remarks on the evolution among the electorate.

First of all, there is no doubt that in these elections the traditional electorate of the right was joined by those who voted for right-wing candidates before the parliamentary elections, then came out in support of socialist candidates at the parliamentary elections themselves, and now once again voted for the right. This switch is apparent from a simple analysis of the figures. The first major losses in the first round — from 8 to 13 percent — were sustained by the Socialist Party in areas where the rightists made the greatest headway and where they have long entrenched their positions: Lorraine, Poitou-Charentes, Alsace and the Loire regions.

Another remark concerns the second round. The switch of votes in favor of left candidates with the best chances of getting through took place in good conditions.

After the meeting between Georges Marchais and Lionel Jospin, joint public initiatives by our organizations were launched in many cantons.

An analysis of the figures shows that the electors who voted communist widely responded, with some exceptions, to our appeal to support left candidates in the second round.

One can also consider that Socialist electors usually transferred their votes to our candidates. We must note with regret, however, that in some instances an incomplete switch contributed to the failure of our candidates and so deprived the left forces of a number of seats.

As for those who voted communist, it is difficult to discern a clear-cut evolutionary tendency for the results are often contradictory within one and the same region, one and the same department or even canton.

Without investing these figures with a meaning they do not have and counting the number of those who voted communist in the parliamentary elections while they did not do so in the presidential elections, and those who voted communist in the cantonal elections while they did not do so in 1981, one could say without exaggeration that more than five million electors voted communist at least in one of the three elections of 1981 or 1982.

In effect, these results show that since 1981 our party has had a reliable electorate: 4.5 million men and women who gave us their votes in the presidential elections, the elections that were most difficult for us. In spite of the frenzied anti-communist campaign and the confusion, they supported the solutions we proposed, showing a high level of political consciousness. Whatever the differences among them, they constitute the reliable base of the communist electorate.

Apart from them, there are many communist electors who abstained or voted socialist in the first

round of the presidential elections and who since then have once again come to vote communist or to abstain. We should try to win back all their votes. We make no secret of the fact that this cannot be done right away and will demand considerable effort by the party. But a serious analysis of the evolution

of the electorate shows that such an aim is not only legitimate, but also realistic.

All this induces us, in spite of the scale of the problems that have to be solved, to continue our struggle with confidence.

L'Humanité, March 26, 1982

The Elections and the Situation in the Country and Central America

Resolution of the CC Plenary Meeting, People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica

The Central Committee of the People's Vanguard Party (PVP) held its 11th plenary meeting on March 6, 7, and 13 to discuss the results of the participation of the United People coalition in the elections and the political situation in the country and to outline the party's main tasks for the period ahead.

The CC resolution concerning the elections says the following:

As a result of the latest elections, the United People coalition increased its influence on national politics. We carried out a big campaign which enabled us to bring our revolutionary program home to diverse population groups, expose the evils of the existing system, identify those responsible for the severe crisis affecting the country, establish relations with large social groups and foster the organizing capacity of our party, which played the main role in the extremely important activity of the UP coalition. Our participation in the elections with a correct program proved, as the CC had expected, of great political significance for the subsequent development of the revolutionary process and enabled us to win prestige, reinforce our ranks and gain experience, which is very important for further struggles.

NOT ALL OUR EXPECTATIONS CAME TRUE

However, the outcome of the elections showed that there is a contradiction between our real political leverage and its expression in the number of votes won by us. We failed to poll as many votes as we had hoped for. The discrepancy between our forecasts and the actual results suggests that we failed to take proper stock of the various aspects of the political situation, which means that we must eliminate subjective mistakes likely to occur in our analysis. This analysis should be based on a precise and objective study of reality. Furthermore, the results of the elections are evidence of a certain disregard on our part of the bourgeoisie's ability to control fully a sphere which remains in decisive measure the main instrument of legitimizing a system of domination and exploitation.

REACTION UNITED AGAINST THE UP COALITION

During the election campaign the UP coalition, the most advanced contingent of the popular movement, fought a gigantic battle against reaction — government institutions, imperialism, employers' associations, the more reactionary quarters of the

church and the mass media — which tried to intimidate, suppress and embitter the masses by means of a huge apparatus set up to spread lies and calumnies about the activity of left-wing parties, the trade union movement and popular organizations generally. The past two years have seen the bloc of oligarchy and imperialism mount an ideological offensive, speculating on certain real or engineered acts of terrorism; on the difficulties encountered by the international revolutionary movement, mostly over the problem of Afghanistan; on the flight of anti-social elements from Cuba; on the problems which the socialist system in Poland has had to deal with; on reports by the bourgeois media, which constantly misrepresent the situation in new Nicaragua and the revolutionary process in Central America. Add to this our inadequate ability to carry on ideological struggle and propaganda, which is due to objective circumstances as well as to mistakes and shortcomings in our work.

In spite of the fact that all reactionary forces rallied together against the UP coalition, we collected more votes than before and won the election of four deputies although the proportion of votes cast for us in the election of deputies decreased both in absolute and relative terms.

The important thing, however, is that during the election campaign we gained vast experience in mobilizing the masses. We campaigned all over the country, making more efficient use of up-to-date propaganda means in the form of messages, which enabled us to impress our program on the minds of thousands upon thousands of Costa Ricans. This tremendous effort was not in vain and is bound to play a mobilizing role, possibly in the near future, provided we are active and efficient enough and apply the right tactics.

GREAT CLASS BATTLE

We declare emphatically that the election campaign and its results were no defeat of the popular movement. The campaign was a great class battle fought by the most advanced contingents of our

people, a battle in which our party played the outstanding role of vanguard.

The outcome of the elections revealed, among other important things, the following: vacillating social sectors, mostly members of the middle strata and the working class, which were sympathetic to the UP coalition, sided at the decisive moment with the National Liberation Party (NLP)¹ hoping that this party would be able to carry out a program of reforms intended to cope with the crisis, without provoking political and social upheavals likely to lead to violence. A task facing our party now is to win these sectors for joint action. The only way to accomplish it is by stepping up ideological work — propaganda and agitation — and by organizing the masses in struggle against the crisis and for a new type of government. We must do our utmost to prevent the disillusionment of the masses with the policies of the new NLP government from breeding new illusions about the Unity Party² or other bourgeois parties. This should become part of our fight against the bipartisan system.

THE ELECTIONS AND POPULAR STRUGGLES

An exigency of the revolutionary process is that the party should convince the masses that the solution of the people's major problems depends in the main, not on the outcome of elections, but on the people's own struggle in all its forms, a struggle which can reach a higher degree of development and sharpness making it possible to establish people's rule. Our work should be based above all on analysis of the actual experience of the masses and the nature of exploitation, which is assuming an increasingly open character against the background of crisis and government repression in reply to the people's lawful demands.

We can use the election results to give the popular movement a new impetus.

STRENGTHEN THE PARTY

The work done during the election campaign and the closer ties with new population groups achieved in its course should help strengthen our party by winning new activists and new members, consolidating the organizations already there, forming new ones and stepping up the people's fight.

We must give the thousands of friends and supporters of the UP coalition special attention if we want to attain the above goals.

Regional Committees should immediately begin this work with the aid of the Auxiliary Commissions of the CC. Fulfillment of this task, in which the activity of MPs and deputies to local government bodies must play an important part, imparts truly revolutionary meaning to our participation in the election campaign.

OPEN THE PROSPECT OF PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT

Numerous popular struggles, primarily participation in elections, indicate that large segments of the population dissatisfied with the prevailing system and hit by the effects of the crisis, including people

who are sympathetic to our party and esteem its leaders, do not consider the formation of a people's government possible as yet.

This state of affairs confronts us with very important tasks. In the ideological sphere we must ensure that the working class and other population groups come to believe in the strength of our party and the popular movement, in their ability to govern and to reorganize the economy in the people's interest. It is essential that the people should realize their political strength. Politically, we must show in the course of struggle that the oligarchy and imperialism, whose chief spokesman now is the NLP, cannot solve the people's problems.

Our party must use very flexible tactics in upholding its program if it wants to avoid the rise of an opposition and prejudices that could become an obstacle to popular unity.

We know by experience that radicalism in program guidelines is not the shortest path to power and that sectarianism and "leftist" opportunism make it impossible to fully use a revolutionary situation. But experience has also shown that tactical flexibility should not mean making concessions to our allies on key issues or renouncing the principles without which every political action loses revolutionary meaning and is doomed to failure, as international experience has repeatedly demonstrated.

There is no essential contradiction between Marxist-Leninist principles, on the one hand, and tactical flexibility and a broad view of the strategy of alliance, on the other. Indeed, one presupposes the other.

NLP POLICY

The regime is sliding into the precipice of economic and social crisis, which threatens to become political in spite of the large number of votes collected by the NLP and Unity Party.

Due to its class character, the NLP will do its best to shift the effects of the crisis on the people's shoulders. The 100 days' plan, the Back to the Land program and other NLP projects are evidence of that party's effort to cope with the crisis by frankly anti-popular and anti-national measures. At the same time, hopes of massive aid from imperialism will have to be abandoned.

The bourgeoisie's inability to solve the problems of the country is increasing its submission to imperialism, making it put the burden of the crisis on the working people and hence maintain "order" at the cost of repression.

CHARACTER OF THE NLP

The Central Committee pointed out that the definition of the character of the NLP made by the 12th party congress is still valid, and this speaks of the need for opposition — in and outside parliament — to the policies of the NLP government.

At the same time, the CC noted that the NLP is neither homogeneous, nor monolithic. It follows that serious contradictions may develop between the top echelon of the party (the dominant oligarchic group) and party branches as well as within the NLP leadership itself — between the most venal,

reactionary and corrupt elements and those whose conduct is more in line with the people's interests.

The CC does not rule out the possibility of contradictions arising between the new government and financial organizations controlled by U.S. imperialism, such as the IMF or the IBRD.

The party must take this whole set of contradictions into account.

Without renouncing eventual contacts with the new government, especially its more progressive members, the meeting considers it necessary to follow the most advisable tactics while at the same time rejecting the idea of any political respite that might demobilize the masses and hamper the struggle of the working-class and popular movement, the struggle which must be intensified.

RAISE THE LEVEL OF MOBILIZATION AND AGITATION

The manifest failure of the attempts of the government under Rodrigo Carazo to solve problems affecting the absolute majority of the population, and the trend toward a deterioration of the crisis under the new government make it possible to prove to the masses the need for a real people's government. The circumstances are conducive to the achievement of this objective. They are the gravity and depth of the current crisis, on the one hand, and the fact that the NLP controls all the levers of the social system, on the other.

If we succeed in advancing a program to end the crisis that will be understood by the people we will be able to move on to a more resolute policy of alliance and extend our activity aimed at bringing about a people's government.

We must raise agitation to a higher level. It should encompass the whole party and be carried on in every sphere of national life.

DEFENSE OF DEMOCRATIC FREEDOMS

Analyzing the situation in Central America and at home, the CC noted that influential oligarchic and imperialist quarters go on conspiring to impose a repressive regime.

However, this trend of development should not be seen as fatal. Experience has shown that democratic freedoms can be defended and extended given large-scale mass support. The party must defend the working people's democratic rights and freedoms and be equal to leading the struggle of the workers and the people as a whole in any sphere and any circumstances.

The CC declared that an abrupt political change may occur due to both internal causes and the situation in Central America. If the threat of direct aggression against El Salvador or Nicaragua materializes or if we feel certain that it is inevitable we will have to effect deep-going changes in our entire activity.

UNITED PEOPLE AND DEMOCRATIC FRONT

The meeting described the formation and development of the Democratic Front as the party's main strategic line. It is from this standpoint that we must make a careful critical analysis of the experience of the UP coalition. The CC puts it on record that the party has made important efforts and even sacrifices to support and extend the project of the coalition. It is clear that the project, far from having outlived its usefulness, has a most promising future, as the electoral process has shown. And it is evident that the project must be renewed and extended by bringing in new forces active in or outside parties.

FOR PEACE AND AGAINST IMPERIALIST INTERFERENCE IN CENTRAL AMERICA

The fact that the newly elected President backs the so-called Central American Democratic Community and accepts the Reagan plan without qualification is an ominous indication of Mr. Monge's readiness to submit to imperialist diktats. Obviously, the new government will be pressured as strongly as its predecessor or even more so as to make it join in actions against the Sandinista revolution and the revolutionary processes in El Salvador and Guatemala. The meeting considers that the party must be on the alert to stave off still greater imperialist interference in Central America and, above all, prevent Costa Rica — its government, territory and people — from being used as a means of carrying out plans for armed intervention. There is no doubt that now as never before, the United States is prepared to take advantage of the economic problems of the country by granting "aid" on definite terms. Imperialism will persist in blackmail, using the promise of economic assistance, or what is in reality new investments by transnationals and new shackling loans.

We must reveal to our people the true nature of imperialist policy in Central America and expose the lie about Soviet or Cuban "interference" in the affairs of the region. These are two of our most pressing tasks.

Our party supports the efforts of the Communist Party of Cuba, the Sandinista National Liberation Front and the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front to bring about a lasting and just peace in Central America and the Caribbean based on a political settlement and respect for the right of the peoples of the region to shape their fortunes without foreign interference.

Abridged from *Libertad*, March 19-25, 1982

1. A social-democratic type of party which won the 1982 elections. — *Ed.*

2. Coalition of bourgeois parties in power from 1978 to 1982. — *Ed.*

Third Congress of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party

Report by Kaysone Phomvihane
General Secretary, LPRP Central Committee

Kaysone Phomvihane, General Secretary of the LPRP Central Committee, delivered the CC's political report to the congress.

In the period since the LPRP's second congress, he said, the Laotian people have been carrying on a heroic struggle for freedom and independence. Under the party's leadership, they have travelled a difficult road, but have won a historic victory. As a result, the U.S. imperialists were expelled from Laos, the feudal system has been eliminated, and the national-democratic revolution has been completed. Our country has entered a new epoch, the epoch of independence, freedom and socialism.

Having analyzed the main stages of the national-democratic revolution, the speaker noted that the historic victory was a common victory of three Indochinese states, the national liberation movement, and peace-loving, democratic and progressive forces the world over, a triumph of the invincible ideas of Marxism-Leninism. It contributed to the struggle for the defeat of U.S. neo-colonialism, helped to avert the threat of Peking's great-power expansionism and hegemonism, and to change the balance of forces in favor of peace, national independence, democracy and socialism in Southeast Asia and throughout the world.

Having completed the almost-two-century-long struggle against foreign feudal lords and imperialism, primarily against the French colonialists and U.S. aggressors, our people have become the true masters of the country.

As soon as power had been won, the party declared its resolve to lead the people forward along the road of socialist construction in the country bypassing the capitalist stage. Under its leadership, the old state apparatus was dismantled, and organs of democratic people's power were set up and consolidated to perform the functions of a proletarian dictatorship. Our state nationalized all the banks and major enterprises, and took over finance, transport, the information and communication network, and the education system.

As for our foreign policy, we followed the line of relying on the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries, Vietnam and Kampuchea, and supported the movements for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress around the world.

Going on to consider the problems of the country's defense and security, the speaker said that the Chinese leaders have long since become rabid adherents of great-power expansionism and hegemonism. Harboring expansionist plans with respect to Southeast Asia, they primarily intended to annex the countries of Indochina. The Peking hegemonists betrayed the revolutionary cause of the peoples of

the world and the Chinese people themselves, becoming a direct and dangerous enemy of the Laotian people. They sought to use our country as a bridge between China and Kampuchea, which was then run by their stooges, Pol Pot and Ieng Sary, to put pressure on Vietnam and subjugate it as well. Chinese troops were moved up to our borders, threatening Laos with aggression. Acting in close alliance with U.S. imperialism and the extreme right-wing reactionary forces of Thailand, the Chinese hegemonists fostered Laotian reactionary emigrés, and used Maoist forces in the region to stage subversive acts against our country.

Since the liberation of Laos, the speaker went on, our party and government have maintained that work to transform the economy, develop culture, and improve the people's living standard is a political task of paramount importance. Following the party's line, our people have over the past six years achieved definite successes, combining its own efforts with considerable international assistance: the gross social product has gone up by roughly 43 per cent, per-head national income by almost 40 per cent, gross production in agriculture and forestry by roughly 50 per cent, the gross rice crop reached 1,154,000 tons in 1981 as compared with 700,000 tons in 1976, and the cattle population has increased from 900,000 to 1,300,000. Measures have been launched to intensify agriculture, increase the number of crops per year, and develop irrigation. The total area of newly developed fallow and virgin lands has increased by one-third. The irrigated area has doubled, and the fleet of farming machines has multiplied five times. Since 1980, we have largely managed to solve the problem of self-sufficiency in food.

We have been able to restore and expand production capacities in industries like electric power, repair of machinery, coal, the production of salt, kaolin, and building materials, the food industry, etc. From 1976 to 1981, electric power output increased 3.6-fold, bricks 15-fold, farming implements 1.5-fold, and foodstuffs 1.5-fold. We have built 600 kilometers of roads and have raised from the ruins dozens of populated localities.

In the years of the people's power, 31 state farms and forestry units have been set up. The cooperative movement in agriculture has spread across the country. The state now runs 188 industrial enterprises with 15,000 workers. It controls the whole of the country's aviation and 60 per cent of its automobile transport. The country has 180 state and 356 cooperative stores, whose turnover has increased five times as compared with 1976. The state has set up a national bank, introduced an integral monetary-financial system throughout the country, and

carried out a number of measures in price formation, wages, taxes, credit, and so on.

External economic ties have been established and developed. Large assistance has been received from abroad, especially from the fraternal socialist countries.

The speaker noted the marked progress in culture, education and the health service.

The party has concentrated its efforts on strengthening and improving the dictatorship of the proletariat. In exercising its leadership over the organs of democratic people's power, the LPRP has been working to educate, provide refresher training and expand the contingent of functionaries, especially leading cadre at every level and in every sector.

The speaker then went on to consider matters of international politics, noting that the special relations between the LPRP and the Communist Party of Vietnam, between Laos and Vietnam are being constantly strengthened and developed.

Our party, state and people, he said, supported the fraternal Kampuchean people, who overthrew the genocidal regime of Pol Pot-Ieng Sary-Khieu Samphan, won genuine freedom and independence, and have taken the road of national revival and advance to socialism.

The solidarity and all-round cooperation between the parties, governments and peoples of our country, the Soviet Union, and other socialist community states have been strengthening and developing. The USSR and other fraternal socialist countries have given us effective and diverse assistance on a large scale.

Our ties with many foreign states and international organizations have been steadily strengthening and expanding.

We note with satisfaction that after the victory of the new system our country has become a member of the socialist community, whose bulwark is the Soviet Union.

Alongside the successes, Kaysone Phomvihane went on, one should also admit some serious shortcomings. Thus, he said, ideological and political work has not been sufficiently profound, so that many party functionaries and rank-and-file members have not mastered the party's line and platform in full measure. Ideological and political work has not always been closely tied in with organizational work. In some areas, the party organizations are still weak and there are few of them. In the economic sphere, there have been manifestations of subjectivism, and in agriculture and trade we have seen instances of administration by fiat. In education, culture and the health service, some continued to take a formal approach and overemphasized quantity.

Speaking of the major results of the past decade, Kaysone Phomvihane noted that the historical conditions and the present epoch have made it possible to form a truly Marxist-Leninist party in Laos, a party of the new type, a working-class party, which is the main and decisive factor behind all the victories of the Laotian revolution.

In the hard and protracted struggle against a complicated international background, the party has

taken a firm working-class stand, abiding by its ideals, concentrating its attention on the attainment of revolutionary goals, drawing a clear distinction between friends and enemies, always carrying high the banner of national independence and socialism, and combining true patriotism with proletarian internationalism.

The revolution in our country, he said, is part of the world revolution, and the forces of our nation are closely tied in with the forces of the three revolutionary streams of our day.

Speaking of the main peculiarities in the development of the revolution at the new stage, Kaysone Phomvihane noted that Laos, together with Vietnam and Kampuchea, has become an outpost of the socialist system in Southeast Asia, confronting the new international reactionary alliance spearheaded by the Chinese expansionists.

An advanced political system has been established in our country. But our economy is still developing far too slowly. Laos has rich and diverse natural resources, but our possibilities in developing the country's potential and using international assistance are still limited. It will take many years to eliminate all the consequences of the 30-year war and the vestiges of colonialism left over by the USA.

The general line of the revolution in our country in the period of transition to socialism is aimed to:

- constantly strengthen and reinforce the dictatorship of the proletariat, organize and ensure monolithic cohesion of the working people of all nationalities, and develop their right as masters of the country and the society;

- carry on simultaneous revolutions in the relations of production and in the scientific and technical, cultural and ideological spheres;

- bring out, use and develop in full measure all of the country's potentialities, regard agriculture and forestry as the basis of industrial development, transform the subsistence economy, and gradually reorganize small-scale production into large-scale socialist production;

- gradually carry out the country's industrialization in the priority fields, regarding it as pivotal to the transitional period in order to develop the productive forces, to form and constantly strengthen the socialist relations of production;

- build a state with a developed agriculture, forestry and industry, with a good and happy life for all nationalities;

- eliminate man's exploitation of man once and for all;

- strengthen the defense capability and state security, safeguard the country's sovereignty, national independence and the new system;

- create a peaceful, independent, integral and socialist Laos. Shoulder to shoulder with Vietnam and Kampuchea, provide reliable defense of the outpost of the world socialist system in the region and make an active contribution to the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism throughout the world.

Our struggle in the period of transition to socialism is bound to be difficult, complicated and bitter. The whole party, the whole people and army should

constantly master and put into effect two strategic tasks: defense of the homeland and socialist construction.

Socialist construction is the main and decisive task. It is only the building of socialism that creates conditions for attaining the goals of the revolution, meets the innermost aspirations of all the country's nationalities, and lays a solid groundwork for defending the new system.

This line and these tasks should be implemented throughout the whole period of transition to socialism.

We intend to reach the major goals in the course of a number of five-year periods. Nevertheless, at each particular stage in each successive five-year plan we should determine the concrete tasks in accordance with the actual situation.

Today, the speaker went on, we have entered the initial stage of the transitional period, whose main purpose is to stabilize the situation in all the areas, especially in three of those: ensuring political security, strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat, and further improving the population's living standards. At the same time, priority should be given to some economic fields that are of great importance for the whole national economy. All of this is aimed at creating the major prerequisites and the foundation for developing the economy and strengthening the new system.

At the new stage, the speaker went on, we shall have to fight against subversive activity, to maintain constant combat readiness to rebuff foreign aggression and internal enemies. That is why the tasks in the field of state defense and security are of paramount importance.

The party, the people and the army should master the political line and the line in the field of the whole people's and all-round state defense and security. Strong defense and security forces have to be built up in every way, and a constant effort has to be made to strengthen the all-round militant alliance with fraternal Vietnam and Kampuchea, and the close solidarity with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, to rely on their assistance in all spheres for an appropriate and reliable stabilization of the country's security, for strengthening its defense capability and enhancing combat readiness in order to doom to failure the enemy's aggressive designs and moves, whatever their scale and form.

Much attention was devoted in the LPRP Central Committee's political report to the guidelines and tasks of economic development at the new stage.

The report lays down concrete economic guidelines and tasks for some of the most important sectors and regions. It notes that agricultural production and forest exploitation make up the basis for a rapid satisfaction of the people's requirements, for an important contribution to the formation of an initial accumulation fund to meet the needs of the country's socialist industrialization.

In the sphere of the socialist transformation of agriculture, the task is to mobilize the peasants for organizing cooperatives. These should be set up on three principles: voluntariness, mutual advantage and democratic management. The main goal in co-

operative construction in the coming five-year period is to complete cooperation in the main in all the farming areas.

We should elaborate plans for a rapid development of the handicrafts and light industry, the power industry, production of building materials, machine-repair stations, and to put all of this at the service of agriculture, forestry, transport and communications. Simultaneously, we should strengthen, expand and build a number of industrial enterprises for the development and exploitation of mineral resources and the chemical industry. In this process, the power industry, engineering, transport and communications should outpace the development of other sectors.

The speaker then went on to consider external economic ties, calling for an end to the attitude of dependence and reliance on international aid, for efforts to develop the spirit of self-reliance and greater economic strength. In our relations with Vietnam and Kampuchea, he said, we should follow the road of mutual assistance and cooperation on the basis of mutual advantage.

Our ties with the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries should be developed in order to create a material and technical basis and train managerial, engineering and technical personnel.

The LPRP Central Committee's political report formulates the task of elaborating and duly implementing a state plan as the main instrument of economic and social administration. At present, our plans are only indicative and are meant to balance out the various sectors.

The report devotes much attention to an analysis of the main lines and tasks of socio-cultural development, education and the health service. It emphasizes the need to develop a culture that is socialist in content and national in character, to wipe out illiteracy, and introduce universal compulsory primary education for all the nationalities of Laos.

The state set up by the people and operating in the people's interests is an instrument that enables the working people to exercise their right to decide their own future. In order to defend and strengthen the state, it is necessary to reinforce the organs of power, which include the armed forces, the security forces, and administrative bodies, to improve the work of the institutions which are in charge of social construction and which run all the affairs of society.

To improve the efficiency of the administrative organs, large-scale measures, one of the most important of which is to strengthen socialist legality, are to be carried out in the shortest possible period. It is necessary to elaborate a socialist constitution, the fundamental law of the Lao People's Democratic Republic.

The LPRP Central Committee's General Secretary spoke in detail of the tasks facing the mass social organizations: youth, trade union, women's, and others. He urged stronger cohesion of all nationalities within the single national union, and a greater role for the Lao National Construction Front.

A large section of the report was devoted to an analysis of the international situation and the foreign policy of the LPRP and the LPDR. As in the past and

present, we shall continue to do our utmost to strengthen the militant solidarity, special relations and all-round cooperation between Laos and Vietnam, between Laos and Kampuchea, between Laos and the socialist countries. We shall do our utmost to defend the outpost of socialism in Southeast Asia in the interests of peace in the region and the world.

We are firmly convinced that in the light of the correct decisions adopted by the fifth congress of the CPV, the fraternal Vietnamese people will achieve even greater victories. We shall do all we can to promote the revolutionary cause of the Kampuchean people and their vanguard, the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea.

The consistent and principled long-term policy of our party and country is to strengthen the cohesion and extend the all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist community states by every means.

We express our sincere gratitude to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Soviet people and state led by Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, for their powerful support, for their effective assistance in the spirit of proletarian internationalism.

Special solidarity with Vietnam and Kampuchea, solidarity and all-round cooperation with the great Soviet Union and other socialist countries will always remain a cornerstone of the foreign policy followed by our party and state, a source of our invincible strength, which no enemy can undermine.

Going on to consider relations with other countries, the speaker said:

We shall develop relations with all countries with different political and social systems on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

Laos, he went on, has been resolutely fighting against the collusion between the USA and China, which poses the main threat to national independence, peace and stability in our region. If the U.S. government really wants to improve its relations with the Lao People's Democratic Republic, as it asserts, it should prove its good will by concrete action, and stop the campaign of insinuations and other moves against our country. The Lao people are interested in friendly relations with the U.S. people.

As for China, we have been patiently doing our utmost — while taking a resolute stand against the hostile policy of the reactionary grouping in Peking's ruling circles — to maintain and strengthen the good-neighbor relations between the Lao and Chinese peoples. In the name of the interests of both countries and peace in Southeast Asia and the whole world, we are prepared to normalize our relations with the People's Republic of China on the basis of mutual respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of each country, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality, mutual advantage, and a joint settlement of all matters of bilateral relations through peaceful talks.

Kaysone Phomvihane then spoke in detail of the need to raise the level of leadership and the party's militancy at the new stage. Since its formation, he

said, our party has consistently abided by Lenin's tenets on party construction; it is deeply aware of and scrupulously observes the principles of democratic centralism, criticism and self-criticism, ensures solid cohesion and unity of its ranks, and maintains strict discipline.

Since its second congress, and especially over the past six years, when the party has been in power, considerable successes have been achieved in the field of party construction.

Having mastered the Marxist-Leninist theory in depth and using the experience of the fraternal parties, the LPRP projected a correct line, elaborated correct revolutionary methods, determined the forms of struggle, and successfully completed the national-democratic revolution. Today, the LPRP heads the process of socialist construction with the involvement of all sections of the population.

To be always worthy of the title of vanguard of the working people and honorably to fulfil its duty to the homeland and its international duty, the party sets itself the following tasks in the field of party construction: to remain a party of the new type, a party of the working class, to follow a correct line and policy in a consistently revolutionary spirit, to maintain the purity of its ranks, and ensure that party members and functionaries should have political convictions, knowledge, practical experience, and a determination to guide the people in the struggle to defend national independence, build socialism in our country and successfully fulfil our international duty.

The party ranks should primarily be extended to include the best representatives of the working class, the toiling peasantry, and the revolutionary intelligentsia. It is important to form a contingent of party and state cadre capable of coping with the complicated tasks at the new stage of the revolution.

The speaker examined questions of improving work in all the party echelons. He noted that party committees at every level should improve ideological and political education, seeking to ensure that the whole population understands the party's line, policy and tenets, and guiding organizational and control work.

In conclusion, Kaysone Phomvihane said: We are entering the seventh year of the initial stage of the transitional period. Our party, army and people face a hard and complicated task. We shall have to fight against the aggressive and subversive designs of our enemies, defend our national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. We should build our country and enable the whole people to live in peace, prosperity and happiness. These are majestic and formidable tasks. But we are convinced that under the guidance of the Marxist-Leninist party we shall be able to fulfil them with success.

Firmly following the line of the socialist revolution and carrying high our two banners, those of socialism and national independence, we shall not fail to bring prosperity to our beloved country. We shall continue to strengthen its role as an outpost of the socialist system in Southeast Asia, and shall honorably fulfil our sacred duty to the nation and the peoples of the world. *Pravda*, April 28, 1982

Against the Militarist Anti-Popular Course

Report by Gus Hall, General Secretary, CPUSA, to the Second Extraordinary Conference of the Communist Party USA

On April 23-25, the second extraordinary conference of the Communist Party USA, was held in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, attended by 750 delegates. On its first day, it heard Gus Hall's report, excerpts from which are given below.

1. INTRODUCTION

The first extraordinary conference was called in the midst of the Great Depression to help find solutions to the ravage and ruin of mass unemployment, hunger, homelessness and hopelessness destroying the lives of millions. It was called to deal with the rising menace of the worldwide fascist threat.

This conference was called because our people, once again, are faced with the everyday crises of another depression era, the most devastating economic epidemic since the 1930s, and also, because an equally horrible specter is stalking our world, the specter of a nuclear catastrophe — the most serious threat to world peace since World War II.

So, once again, we have come together for an extraordinary conference of our party — to take stock, to gather and exchange experience, to project, to plan and to discuss how we can raise to a new level our contributions to the people's struggles.

The majority of our people now agree that Reaganomics is a one-way ticket to economic disaster and that Reagan's election was a whopping historic blunder.

The 30 million Americans who are victims of depression-level unemployment are bitterly aware of these terrible times through their own personal suffering. One out of every three workers will suffer from unemployment this year.

Afro-Americans, who in ever greater numbers are forced to live below the poverty level, are sharply aware of the special racist nature of their oppression.

Our youth, who face a future of economic dead-ends, hopelessness and frustration, are desperately aware of their aborted dreams.

2. ERA OF ECONOMIC DEPRESSION

The big business-Reagan war against the people continues with increasing brutality on all fronts.

The Reagan-Stockman Trojan horse budgets have become history's most ruthless acts of confiscation and transfer of wealth from the working and poor people to the corporations and rich. They add a whole new dimension to the exploitation of the working class.

We have rising double-digit unemployment rates. We have double-digit rent and utility increases. We have growing double-digit wage cuts. We have continuing double-digit social service cuts, double-digit malnutrition and hunger rates, double-digit suicide rates, double-digit mental illness rates.

And, in a direct cause-and-effect relationship, there are the opposites — double-digit increases in

corporate profits and double-digit increases in the military budgets.

The economy is now in its third crisis within the last five years. And there are economic processes appearing on the scene which are already laying the basis for the next crisis. U.S. monopoly capital as an economic system has been riding the crest of a 50-year wave of expansion, at home and abroad. But now it has been checkmated by the law of uneven development of world capitalism. It is caught foundering in the undertow of the receding economic tides. The U.S. economy is caught and buffeted by the centrifugal forces, the new level of internal and external contradictions set loose by the continually progressing general crisis of capitalism.

Reaganomics is designed to use the power of the state to maintain the high level of corporate profits in spite of the economic contractions. This is achieved through the elimination of all corporate taxes, repealing the anti-trust laws, bypassing and discarding health and safety regulations and the billions transferred by way of the cost-plus and overrun military contracts. Supply-side Reaganomics is a scheme to saddle the workers and people with the cost of a declining economy.

While the offensive continues in full swing on the legislative front, the direct corporate offensive of cutbacks and takebacks has opened up a second front.

3. NEW COUNTER-FORCE

While the double-barreled offensive continues, and even intensifies, there is a new force beginning to emerge on the scene.

In both domestic and foreign policy, the Reagan administration is more and more being forced on the defensive. The popular resistance to the nuclear superiority, limited war and first-strike insanity is spreading like wildfire around the world. It has emerged as an offensive movement.

A new source of strength and power for the counter-force is the fact that the domestic and foreign policy issues are becoming inseparably interconnected. They are emerging as a unified focus in the people's minds. For instance, people are beginning to tie together the military budget, El Salvador, the nuclear freeze and cuts in social services and, thus, to fight on a united front. "Money for jobs, not for war" is a popular slogan symbolizing this combined struggle.

On the domestic scene, the contradictions are beginning to surface sharply. The Reaganites and Reagan-types are moving on the defensive. Now is the time to put all the new factors and forces into our

political and tactical computers and come up with an unbeatable fightback-offensive program.

4. ON THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE

On the one hand, the basic essence of the Reagan-Haig foreign policy remains one of military confrontation, military build-up, nuclear superiority, first-strike and limited nuclear war.

The long-term Reagan-Haig-Pentagon master plan had three essential objectives. One is to establish U.S. military domination by way of nuclear superiority over the Soviet Union. The second is to organize, train and fund paramilitary hit squads for covert operations all over the world, tied in with the existing international goon squad, the rapid deployment force. The third is to corner as much as possible of the raw material resources and especially the declining energy resources of the world.

Many of the U.S. military moves and maneuvers are designed to control the sources of raw materials and energy worldwide. Direct profits are only one reason. Another is for the purpose of using this controlling power as a means of coercing its capitalist partners into line. This explains the hostile behavior of Haig and Weinberger toward all the projects that will bring Siberian natural gas to the European capitalist countries. The Siberian gas pipeline will be a tremendous energy source for the European capitalist countries and one that U.S. imperialism will not be able to control.

The Reagan-Haig-Pentagon foreign policies are policies that play with fire. They present serious threats to the peace of the world. But the policy is a losing game. The furious attempts to draw the European capitalist countries into anti-Soviet and anti-Polish sanctions and boycotts never got off the ground. They are out of touch with the new world reality. The contradictions between the United States, Japan, the Federal Republic of Germany and France have reached an all-time high. This new level of contradictions, is reflected in sharpening trade wars, worldwide capitalist economic crises and convulsions in the monetary and credit systems.

In the Mideast, the Camp David accords are fast becoming bare bones drying up in the desert sands. The Begin government pushes on with the brutal military aggression and annexation.

In South Africa, the blatant, open support of the Reagan administration for the apartheid racist regime is still in place. But this support has not strengthened the brutal regime and it has not in any way blocked the movements of national liberation, both in South Africa and Namibia. While suffering some setbacks, the anti-imperialist and national liberation forces worldwide continue to advance.

And, while there are still problems to overcome in the socialist world as in Poland, world socialism continues on the path of progress and prosperity.

The Soviet Union continues its steadfast fight for policies of peace and détente, in spite of the reckless confrontation policies of the Reagan administration.

The Soviet Union is not only the main bulwark and defender of world peace and national liberation, but the major roadblock to the war hawks, the counter-revolutionaries and nuclear maniacs.

The stepped-up cold war rhetoric, the huge military build-up and budgets, the intensified anti-Soviet, anti-communist campaigns worldwide, the zero option, limited nuclear war and nuclear military superiority concepts, the renewed attempts at boycotts, blockades and embargoes, and more, are all geared toward upsetting the existing nuclear military balance and changing the correlation of forces in the world. It is all part of the campaign to regain world domination. It is a doomed-to-failure campaign. Proof of this is the U.S. and European mass peace movements, the nuclear freeze campaign taking hold world-wide, the widening gap in the NATO alliance, the growing split in the ranks of monopoly capital over nuclear policy and the cracks in imperialist ranks worldwide.

The new moment calls for vigilance and the continuing mobilization of the peace majority. It calls for the continuous linking and interlinking of movements on the domestic and international fronts to defeat militarism and Reaganomics.

The new moment calls for a new unity of the people of the U.S. with the peoples of the world in the movements for peace, disarmament, nuclear freeze, against imperialism, racism and injustice.

5. THE ALL PEOPLE'S FIGHTBACK FRONT

All of us, in one way or another, are now living in the grip of a chronic economic crunch.

On the economic issues, the first actions are beginning to take shape. Today, people are becoming angrier and more radicalized daily, more and more ready to move into action. We must keep this in mind when we discuss tactics, demands and struggles in the coming period.

The peace movement is literally busting out all over. June 12th will see the coming together of the great U.S. peace majority in a demonstration at the United Nations Second Special Session on Disarmament.

The no-nuke and nuclear freeze movements, the campaigns against Reagan's foreign policies, the movement against intervention in El Salvador, have all become a broad all people's united movement which has recently moved on the offensive. This mass peace movement will continue to become a tremendous obstacle to U.S. policies of war and aggression.

In order to gear up our party to fully respond and make our full contribution to the movements and struggles that make up the people's fightback, we should take seriously the advice Lenin gave the Russian communists during a period of mass upsurge. He said: We must live in the midst of the people. We must know their sentiments. We must know everything. We must understand the masses. We must find the correct approach. We must win their absolute confidence.

This, too, is the challenge our party must accept if we are to become a leading force in transforming the rising resistance into a winning all people's fightback front.

Reaganomics is an offensive, state-monopoly weapon of policies to cut wages and increase the rate

of exploitation in the midst of economic crisis and in an era of decline.

The result of this massive, all-out, all-sided offensive, the working class is still on the defensive.

Within the defensive posture, the working class is developing movements and struggles that are preparing the ground for going on the offensive in the class struggle. In fact, in such a period as this, it is inevitable that the working-class counter-offensive will begin from a position of defending and protecting past gains.

Organizing and mobilizing the growing militancy of the working class, helping to mold it into a cohesive, united fighting force is the main challenge our party must accept in this period.

The growing people's fightback movements are beginning to take hold, to influence and mold the 1982 electoral arena. All the latest public opinion polls reflect a fast-rising anti-Reagan sentiment.

The present situation makes our electoral work more complex. But again, it also opens the doors to new opportunities. There is now very little time left for helping political independents, trade unionists, Afro-Americans, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, youth, women, seniors and the unemployed candidates to win the primaries. We should look for and participate in discussions with broader forces about running independent candidates outside the two old parties. And, we should investigate where there is a need to build independent forms in order to influence candidates who won in the primaries.

And, communist election campaigns, communist platforms and communist candidates give the people a chance to get to know the party publicly, to see it as a powerful, legitimate alternative on the electoral scene. The opportunity to talk about socialism to millions of Americans is, in itself, a good enough reason to conduct communist electoral campaigns.

In the era of its decline, all the ugliest, most ruthless and criminal features of capitalism get uglier and more ruthless. Racism is deeply imbedded, all-pervasive, persistent and widespread in the U.S. capitalist system — in its economy, its educational system, its government, its ideology, politics and culture.

A fightback movement that does not undertake special actions, struggles for special demands and programs against racism cannot become a winning movement. A working-class movement that does not take principled, concrete stands against racism, racist practices and national oppression cannot become a united, powerful fightback movement.

The Communist Party is the only political organization in our country that historically, persistently, and concretely takes a stand against every form of racial and national oppression, in every area of life.

The struggle against racism has emerged as a most critical prerequisite for working-class unity and people's victory. Therefore, this conference must raise the level of our party's work on all fronts — economic, political and ideological — in the struggle to defeat all forms of racism and national oppression. These extraordinary times demand that our party make its special and unique contribution more

effectively, more consistently, and in an extraordinary way.

Our country needs a mass communist party to help build the mass all people's front. Our class needs a mass political party to take its place beside the working class in the front lines of the all people's fightback. Our party needs to build an out-there, up-front mass party to take its place among the many mass organizations accepted and respected in every community in our country.

How to achieve this? I have full and unqualified confidence this conference will give us that needed shove, that reach-out spirit and enthusiasm, and many of the tools we'll need to begin that new beginning in the streamlining and shifting of our party's gears.



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Fresh Impetus for the Peace Movement

Statement by the Presidium of the GCP Board on the 1982 Easter Marches

The Easter marches of 1982 which were staged in every part of the Federal Republic were an impressive manifestation of the urge for peace on the part of the population of the Federal Republic of Germany.

Almost half a million citizens of our country took part this year in the Easter marches and rallies. They came out resolutely against the planned deployment of new U.S. medium-range nuclear missiles in the Federal Republic and against the arms race which is being stepped up by NATO. They demanded an end to the build-up of armaments, a continuation of the policy of détente and efforts for disarmament in the West and the East.

Hundreds of thousands of people impressively insisted that nothing is more important than peace, than joint action to preserve life and to avert the growing threat of nuclear war.

Hundreds of thousands issued the demand for an end to the meaningless nuclear arms race, so that the billions going into weapons should be used for effective measures to eliminate mass unemployment and the shortages of trainee places, for overcoming the dire state of the education system and for the solution of vital social problems.

Hundreds of thousands demanded that the Federal Government should give a constructive response to the Soviet Union's peace initiatives and should accept a missile moratorium. Together with the peace movement in the United States, a demand was made for the abandonment of the first-strike nuclear doctrine and for a freeze on every type of nuclear weapons at the present level.

The Easter marches of 1982 showed very well that the people of the Federal Republic want to live in peace. They have no use for NATO's arms race. They want a continuation of détente and disarmament.

Like the Krefeld Initiative, the Bonn 300,000-strong demonstration, and the thousands of Peace Weeks held throughout the Federal Republic, the Easter marches were a common effort by different political and social forces. They were so impressively powerful because they involved thousands of local initiative groups in defense of peace, because more than 2.7 million citizens put their signatures to the Krefeld Appeal for annulling the missiles decision taken by NATO in Brussels, and because

social democrats, communists, liberals and Christians, trade-unionists and environmentalists acted together as partners. We, communists, clearly showed by our participation in the Easter marches that we are an active part of the peace movement. Our active participation in the peace movement accords with our great socialist ideal of peace without weapons and wars. That is why we have bent every effort in opposing the planned deployment in our country of new U.S. medium-range missiles. We are fighting for general and complete disarmament. We are doing everything to prevent war ever again starting from the territory of our country, to prevent our country from ever being involved in U.S. military gambles.

We shall be guided by this fundamental principle in the future as well, unflinchingly resisting every attempt to narrow down the broad peace movement, to isolate the active peace forces, and to divert the peace movement from its main objectives. That would, after all, meet the interests only of those forces which bear the responsibility for continuing the arms race and which want, come what may, to deploy new mass destruction nuclear weapons in our country, so jeopardizing peace in Europe and our country's very existence.

The Easter marches of 1982 have given a fresh impetus to the peace movement. We shall continue and multiply our efforts to collect signatures to the Krefeld Appeal. We support the Peace Weeks and the initiatives in defense of peace. We have been doing everything to turn this year's May Day, the day of international working-class struggle, into a fresh manifestation of the working people's will for peace. We are working to make the demonstration in Bonn, which is timed to coincide with a meeting of the NATO leadership on June 10, into yet another powerful manifestation of our people's urge for peace.

The common task of all the participants in the peace movement is to involve even more of our country's citizens in the struggle for peace, to spread the truth about the danger of NATO's arms race policy, to refute the slanderous assertions by the fanatics of the arms race, thereby creating a climate in which implementation of NATO's fatal decision on missiles taken in Brussels would be impossible.

Unsere Zeit, April 16, 1982

Haitian Communists Confirm the Need for Unity of Action

From a Communiqué of the CC Secretariat,
United Party of Haitian Communists

"The anti-dictatorial and revolutionary forces need unity, cohesion and coordinated action if they are to put an end to the dictatorship, defend their sovereign rights in the face of pressure from U.S. imperialism, make their struggles more effective and bring about greater international solidarity so as to ensure democratic changes and a prospect of social progress in Haiti."

This task is set by a communiqué of the Central Committee Secretariat of the United Party of Haitian Communists. The communiqué reflects the party's stand on the attempts of Haitian emigrants to land in the country from the islands of Turks and La Tortuga. It says that Haiti's communists followed developments with keen attention.

The communists of Haiti declare that their readiness to support any action against the Duvalier dictatorship and for democratization of the country is an open secret. They reaffirm their desire for unity of action and mutual understanding with all anti-Duvalierist forces, "for they are as confident as ever of the effectiveness of joint struggle, on whose outcome the destiny of democracy in our country ultimately depends."

The UPHC notes that, "having specified its position in this way, it regards the action taken by Sr. Sansaricq and his group as sectarian" and isolated from the activity of other anti-dictatorial forces, which are likewise interested in freedom and democracy.

U.S. SUPPORT

Elsewhere the communiqué states that in the course of those actions the United States again violated the sovereignty of the country and showed its support of Haiti's dictatorial government, for U.S. frontier troop units took part from January 11 in

guarding the approaches to La Tortuga, thereby helping persecute anti-Duvalierists.

"In spite of Sr. Sansaricq's pro-American statements, the State Department publicly made clear through Mr. Donovan, political attaché at the U.S. Embassy to the Bahamas, that the Reagan administration is set on forcibly suppressing any attempt at a coup in the Caribbean."

In quoting this statement, Haiti's communists stress that the above warning from the U.S. authorities should dispel the illusions of the few groups that want to bar the communists from every sector of the struggle.

The communiqué says that the attitude of U.S. imperialism is due to the fact that to this day Duvalier has faithfully served its interests and held at bay all pretenders to the role of puppets of Uncle Sam at the National Palace.

The communiqué points out that Richard Brisson, Luis Emile Celestim and Robert Maturin, who were taken prisoner during the action mentioned earlier, did not die from wounds, as the authorities will have it, but were killed.

FREEDOM FOR ROCK DEROSE!

The communists ask again for internationalist support to secure the release of Rock Derose (known under the assumed name of Jean Gerone), arrested four months ago and being held behind bars by the brutal dictatorship.

The communists report the release of Eloise Chery who was detained in inhuman conditions of imprisonment on orders from the dictator although she is 76 years old. They consider her release a new victory of Haiti's patriots and a success of the international solidarity campaign.

Tribuna popular, February 26-March 4, 1982

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Open Letter of the Central Committee, Communist Party of the Philippines, to the Filipino People

Fellow Filipinos:

The *Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas* (PKP) views the recent statements of some leaders in government on the legal status of the PKP and on the lawfulness of the advocacy of the communist ideology as a clear sign of the growing political maturity of our people.

These statements, particularly Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile's personal opinion that the PKP should be legalized (expressed during the first Rural Media Congress in December 1981), Justice Minister Ricardo C. Puno's statement that there is no need for new legislation seeking the legalization of the PKP (expressed on February 26, 1982 in answer to Assemblyman Reuben Canoy's filing of a legalization bill), and President Marcos' declaration that the PKP may operate legally if it uses peaceful means in its bid for political power (made during the Second National Convention of the Municipal Mayors' League of the Philippines at the University of Life on February 28, 1982), amply illustrate the growing acceptance of communist advocacy as a respectable component in any free market of ideas in this modern world.

On the question of subversion that was at the core of the above statements, the PKP emphatically states that its aims have never been subversive to the interests of the Filipino people. The PKP's past struggles to liberate the country from U.S. colonial domination and later from Japanese militarist occupation were always the expression of the needs of the times — the need to subvert foreign domination in order to protect our people's interests.

Under any colonial system, the defense of the people's interest always lies in the active advocacy of their national liberation through the subversion of foreign rule. Were not Bonifacio and Rizal, Mabini, Del Pilar, Luna, Malvar and Sakay declared as subversives by the Spanish and U.S. colonial governments? And have not their activities to subvert colonial rule been later recognized as shining examples of genuine defense of our people's interest?

The PKP's struggles during the period of direct U.S. colonial rule had been limited to parliamentary methods of guiding the workers' and peasants' movement, in view of certain situations, particularly the favorable conditions opened for the PKP's participation in forging an anti-fascist national front since 1936. However, with the Japanese invasion in 1941 and the subsequent surrender of the USAFFE forces, it was the PKP and its *Hukbo ng Bayan Laban sa Hapon* (HUKBALAHAP) which became the foremost and most organized force to resist with arms the Japanese invaders.

The war ended with the U.S. re-occupation of the Philippines and the imposition upon our country of U.S. military bases, parity rights and other economic preconditions that effectively limited the poli-

tical independence "granted" to our country in 1946. The PKP led in the struggle against unequal and shackling treaties imposed upon us by U.S. imperialism, the very treaties which now put the present generation of Filipinos to shame whenever they reflect on our country's postwar history.

Right after the war, it was U.S. imperialism which reinforced the forces of feudal exploitation in the countryside, and assisted the landlord class in suppressing the struggle for agrarian reform of the PKP-led peasant movement. It was U.S. imperialism which orchestrated the suppression of the then PKP-led workers' movement. It was also U.S. imperialism which engineered the ouster of the democratically-elected and PKP-supported representatives of the people to Congress so as to ram through the ratification of U.S.-imposed treaties.

Under these conditions, more particularly the government's mailed-fist policy against the people's national democratic movement, the PKP was forced to defend itself with arms against state violence. Thousands of the best representatives of the Filipino working masses gave up their lives during this most excruciating period of the PKP's history. We are proud that the PKP's sacrifices have contributed to the growth of the people's realization of the need for basic changes in our society.

With the recent statements by government leaders on the legality of *communist advocacy*, the PKP is therefore openly presenting itself to the Filipino people as a party that will be involved not only in electoral campaigns but more importantly in the propagation of the communist ideals of peace, freedom and democracy in all aspects of our social milieu. The main task of the PKP at present is the raising of the people's patriotic consciousness and the exposure of imperialism as the main exploiter, the main threat to peace and security, and therefore the main enemy of our people.

The PKP stands for the ideals of peace and détente; and is against the presence of U.S. military bases in our country, the U.S. initiation of every new round of the arms race, and the U.S. revival of the cold war that threatens the whole of humanity with nuclear annihilation.

The PKP stands for political and economic independence. The PKP views that the present malady in our national economy and the crisis in the everyday living of the Filipino masses is traceable to the imperialist dictation over our economy through the World Bank, IMF and the transnational corporations.

The PKP stands for respect of human rights, primarily the right of every able-bodied Filipino to a decent job that could provide his or her family a reasonably sufficient amount of basic necessities. The PKP believes that a truly democratic society is

one that can provide education, health care, comfortable social security and fulfilling recreation to everyone as a matter of right and not as a costly privilege. The PKP advocates the full respect of civil and political rights.

The PKP maintains that the objectives of real freedom and democracy cannot be attained by the efforts only of a few parties or groups, but by the united efforts of all democratic and patriotic sectors of our society. Only through the forging of an anti-imperialist national united front can freedom be won

and true democracy realized. The PKP therefore calls on all Filipino men and women — workers and peasants, the young and the elderly, housewives and unemployed, students and intellectuals, nationalist businessmen and members of cooperatives, Moslems and ethnic minorities, clergy and laity, soldiers and civil servants to unite for national freedom and democracy through active struggle against imperialism.

Felicisimo C. Macapagal
Secretary-General

The Inimical Nature of the Changing of the Guard in the Sinai

TASS Statement

On April 25, a farce was staged by the participants in the anti-Arab Camp David deal over the "return" of the Sinai Peninsula to Egypt.

The view is held in the governing circles of the Soviet Union that the "Sinai operation," like the other consequences of the Camp David deal, has nothing in common with the task of establishing a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

After all, Israel does not merely return to Egypt the Sinai captured from it in a war of aggression. The price for its return is Sadat's betrayal of all-Arab interests, including and above all the legitimate rights of the Palestinians to self-determination and the establishment of their own state.

What is more, together with the Sinai, Egypt has obtained U.S. troops from the gendarme rapid deployment force. And this means that, looking at the substance of things, the Israeli occupation of the Sinai is being replaced by a U.S. occupation, and that the United States of America is obtaining a bridgehead for direct intervention in the affairs of the states of the Middle East and the adjacent areas.

The anti-Arab character of the "changing of the guard" in the Sinai is in no way reduced by the fact that over there U.S. soldiers will rub shoulders with the soldiers of some other countries which are the allies of the United States in the North Atlantic bloc. The peoples of the Middle East well remember the arbitrary acts of the colonial powers in their lands, and the Arabs know better than anyone else how much effort and time it took to expel the colonialists.

In Washington and Tel Aviv, no secret is made either of the fact that the replacement of the Israeli occupation troops in the Sinai by U.S. troops does not at all signify an end to the Camp David policy. On the contrary, the intention there is to redouble efforts in continuing the policy of separate anti-Arab deals. They want to impose on the Palestinians in the West Bank of the River Jordan and in the Gaza Strip the notorious plan for "administrative self-government" which is actually designed to prevent the establishment of an independent Palestinian state and to pave the way for Israel's annexation of Palestinian lands.

The peoples of the Middle East, rejecting these colonialist schemes, demand a just and lasting peace that would assure the Arabs of a return of the Arab land occupied by Israel, that would make it possible for the Palestinians to exercise their inalienable right to establish their own state, and that would enable all the states in the region to live in peace and security.

These aspirations of the peoples of the Middle East are met by the proposal put forward at the 26th congress of the CPSU for the convocation of an international conference with the participation of all the parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization. This proposal, which can carry the cause of a Middle East settlement to a realistic and constructive way, remains in force.

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Appeal of the Central Committee's Executive Group Abroad, CP Uruguay

Uruguay's ruling dictatorship continues its persecution, repression and torture of prisoners and "disappeared persons." Working people are still being dismissed on the basis of the fascist "institutional act No. 4." The fascist state structures are being preserved, and the repressive apparatus has continued to act with impunity. Only recently, 200 working people and students were imprisoned and subjected to torture. The dictatorship has partially had to admit the existence of "the disappeared," announcing the trial of 21 prisoners, whose case was transferred to a military court without the minimum juridical safeguards. They were accused of belonging to our party and of attempts to set up trade union organizations within the framework of the so-called law on professional associations.

Among those who were arrested in an arbitrary move and interrogated with the use of torture were such respected veterans of the trade union movement as Ramon Freire Pizzano, Elbio Quinteros, Helvecio Bonelli and Roberto Urruty. All of them could face a prison sentence of up to 18 years. Antonia Yanez, Ricardo Giuria, Hugo Machin, Adela Yaz, Sergio Rodriguez, Raul Clerico and other leaders of the youth movement have "disappeared" over the past few months, and earlier on Felix Ortiz, Roberto Paita, Sabino Perez Couto and other workers. Their names have been added to the list of more than 100 "disappeared" persons, of whom nothing has been known for many years. Among these are Eduardo Bleier, Fernando Miranda, Julio Castro, Leon Duarte, Oscar Tassino, Gerardo Gatti, and Manuel Liberoff. Over the past year, the dictatorship's hangmen have been responsible for the death of many political prisoners, including our comrade Gerardo Cuesta, prominent trade union leader and ex-deputy, who was refused medical assistance after prolonged torture and maltreatment.

The dictatorship has systematically mounted campaigns of lies, slander and provocations against our party and other left forces, primarily the Broad Front, and against the Working People's National Convention. It has also been attacking other democratic circles, closing down for long periods the weekly *La Democracia* and *Opinar*, organs of the National Party and the Colorado Party.

The military chiefs threaten to cut short all the tendencies leading to a new situation in the country as a result of popular resistance, primarily by the Broad Front and our party, and also the activities of democratic circles within the traditional parties. Maddened by its isolation and failures, by the condemnation on the part of broad production sectors and the national democratic opposition, the Uruguayan military seeks to bar the way to genuine democratic change.

The dictatorship has continued its maneuvers in order to limit and delay the possible concessions to the utmost. Since the failure of its attempts to "legalize" its power through a constitutional plebiscite on

November 30, 1980, the dictatorship has continued to maneuver in order to stay in power, to camouflage its true substance, and project a new image abroad. It is trying to preserve the fascist state structures and, to please Reagan, to impose a so-called "limited democracy" which amounts to continued dictatorial rule and military tutelage. The dictatorship seeks to divide the traditional parties by neutralizing their broad democratic circles. With this aim in view, it has continued, on the one hand, to deny political rights to the most prominent representatives of the opposition, like exiled Wilson Ferreira Aldunate, and on the other, to support venal circles within these parties, creating certain opportunities for conciliators who oppose pluralism and connive at the banning of left-wing activity. But the left forces, personified by the Broad Front, are not beaten and have continued their struggle. Our party is in the front ranks of these forces constituting the main target of the repression and torture perpetrated by the dictatorship, which, after many years of attempting to "bury" our party, now has to reckon with its existence and struggle.

In spite of the brutal repression and threatening statements by Generals Rapela, Trinidad and others, the dictatorship cannot conceal the split within its ranks, to camouflage with the fig leaf of hypocrisy the growing repugnance of the people and the whole nation to the ruling regime, which has destroyed freedom, and which is oppressing and tormenting the country. Broad popular forces are coming out against it. Unity and the people's struggle are the main way to bring about truly democratic changes and crush the dictatorship. There are all the conditions for doing so.

The dictatorship has plunged the country into the gravest possible crisis, which has spread to every sphere of social life. It has joined forces with the most aggressive circles of Yankee imperialism. A short while ago, Uruguay's ruling regime dispatched a military detachment to the Sinai and sent over its official representatives to El Salvador so as to help the bloodthirsty junta to stage its "electoral" farce.

If Uruguay follows the road mapped out by the military élite, it can never emerge from this gloomy period and may yet have to face even greater hardships. The only way to save our homeland from this lot is through genuine democratization, a release of political prisoners, and legalization of all political parties and social organizations.

Realizing its responsibility, the Communist Party once again calls on Uruguayan patriots and democrats — both inside the country and in exile — to unite and join forces in order to restore democracy, which is the cause of all fighters rather than some particular group. The Communist Party urges the need to raise international solidarity to an even higher level, to make it more urgent and energetic. It is necessary to expose and denounce the dictator-

ship's crimes, old and new, and to inform international bodies, both government and non-government, various social and humanitarian organizations, and Uruguay's embassies in all countries on the need for an immediate release of more than 1,200 political prisoners, including General Liber Seregni, Jaime Perez, José Luis Massera, Alberto Altesor, Hector Rodriguez, Jorge Mazzarovich, Rita Ibarburu, Selva Braselli, Raul Sendic, Rosario Pietrarroia, Wladimir Turiansky, Leon Lev, José Pacella and many other men and women imprisoned for their political and trade union activity. It is now

particularly imperative to step up the struggle to save these people, whose life is invaluable for our people and our country.

In this hour of grave danger for world peace, when firm solidarity with the peoples of El Salvador, Nicaragua, Cuba and other countries, resisting the dangerous designs of imperialism, our party calls on the broadest democratic forces, on the peoples and governments to speak out and help to restore democracy, civil rights and liberties in Uruguay, to bring about the release of political prisoners, and stop the torture and repression.

Anglo-Argentinian Conflict over the Falkland (Malvinas) Islands

The Return of the Malvinas to Argentinian Sovereignty is Inseparable from the Demand for the Restoration of Democracy

Statement of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Argentina:

Argentina is currently living through dramatic days. In a situation marked by the general deep crisis affecting the nation there are now new options linked to the military occupation of our islands in the South Atlantic. The outcome may have various consequences, which nobody will venture to forecast. The panorama will begin to clear up in the immediate future. But already now it is obvious that Argentina's political position in the world, determined by objective contradictions with imperialism, is closely linked to its domestic policies. Today, it has become clearer than ever before that the strength of a country depends on whether its people have the needed rights.

It is now clear that the disastrous policy serving the interests of a small group of foreign and local privileged persons has made Argentina more vulnerable in all respects.

In the meantime, on the streets, at the factories and offices, and in the residential neighborhoods the people are distrustful of the policies of the authorities, who are seeking to reinforce their rule, and reject in advance the demagoguery of the government, which uses the cover of legitimate defense of sovereignty to ignore the similarly legitimate demands that it abide by the principles of a legal state, grant living wages, ensure full employment, and promote culture and education for the masses.

The people are not relaxing their vigilance, and together with the call for the defense of the Malvinas are demanding the restoration of democracy in politics, social life and the economy.

The Communist Party is emphatically in favor of the return of the Malvinas to Argentinian sovereignty after 150 years of British imperialist rule. Like any other country of the world, Argentina does not

want a colonial enclave. The people have never reconciled themselves to it.

This profoundly felt national demand has been repeatedly supported by the fraternal parties of the continent, the majority of UN member-states, the non-aligned movement, and various regional and world forums. Particularly tangible solidarity is displayed by the socialist countries, notably the USSR and Cuba, which have openly declared their support for the just, patriotic demand of the Argentinian people. This gives us strength.

At the same time, note must be made of the traditionally negative stand of the USA, which it now seeks to give out as "neutral." In fact, the USA has always sided with Britain, its ally in the aggressive NATO bloc. U.S. imperialism is maneuvering, for it has always sought and now seeks to gain possession of the islands and seas of the South Atlantic and put its hands on their enormous natural wealth (oil, minerals, and so forth), build military bases there, and put together a South Atlantic military alliance within the framework of its aggressive policy on the international scene.

Today, when the Malvinas and the adjoining islands have been retrieved by Argentina, they must be defended against all attempts to return them to a colonial status, against the intrigues of the imperialist transnational corporations. Every possible effort must be made for these islands to be put at the service of national progress. We must declare our rights and appeal for the understanding and assistance of all peoples and democratic governments. We must explain our stand to the world and come to a final agreement on safeguarding the immutability of Argentina's rights. Moreover, efforts must be made to achieve a peaceful settlement, by negotia-

tion, of the disputes over the Beagle Channel, taking into account the legitimate aspirations of the fraternal peoples of Chile and Argentina.

We must face this serious test united around democracy. To make this a reality the government must lift all restrictions on freedoms and civil rights and restore the operation of the constitution, because the country's true sovereignty has its roots in the sovereignty of the people. The government must abandon its ruinous economic plan, which is aggravating the condition of the working people, of

the entire Argentinian nation, and hitting national interests. This plan is weakening the country and turning over to the transnational corporations the wealth and factories that should serve as the foundation of our independence, while postponing the projects that should get priority.

Only then will the recovery of the Malvinas lay a firm basis for the victory of the people, of democracy, of the nation.

Buenos Aires. April 3, 1982

Que pasa. April 7, 1982

Athos Fava: an Action Against Imperialism

On April 16 in Buenos Aires a sitting of the CC Political Commission, Communist Party of Argentina, heard a report by the CPA General Secretary Athos Fava. The debate was summed up in a statement read at a press conference.

The party's leader noted that *a new situation*, foreseen by the CPA, is to be observed in the *nation's political life*. Events of great significance are taking place in Argentina, and they have shaken not only the nation but, to some extent, the entire world. These events require unflinching attention. We should, Athos Fava said, make a profound and politically keen analysis of the present tangled situation and draw upon scientific principles to assess the actual, rapidly changing realities. We are now living through a time when for their significance days may be equated to years, and this must be the basis of our attitude to developments.

AN ACT AGAINST IMPERIALISM

We can say, Athos Fava declared, that the recovery of the Malvinas and adjoining islands and their actual incorporation in national territory are a development of great significance nationally and internationally. It will have a fitting place in our history regardless of who initiated it and of the circumstances in which it took place.

The method that was used — forcible occupation — has been discussed and justifiably criticized at home and abroad. It is quite obvious that had there been a really democratic government in our country, a government supported by the will of the people, we would have achieved these aims by other methods: by mobilizing the people and having recourse to the assistance of international organizations, to the support and solidarity of friendly governments and the peoples of the world. But we now face an accomplished fact, and this may be a milestone if we remain true to the principles that have been publicly proclaimed, for almost nobody, with the exception of Britain and some of its allies, questions Argentina's right to the territory that belongs to it historically and geographically.

A "TWIST" OF HISTORY

Athos Fava noted that there are some factors that allow drawing a conclusion about the motivations that induced (or accelerated) the military action to recover the Malvinas precisely in April 1982. Among these he pointed out the deep-going economic, political, and social crisis that hit the nation as a result of the implementation of the ill-starred economic plan of Martinez de Hoz-Alemann; the mounting struggle

of the working class and the entire people, striking evidence of which was the demonstration organized by the General Confederation of Labor on March 30; the expiry — after six years of disorder and popular unrest — of the time-limit set by the military junta for the fulfillment of its program; the internal crisis in the government and in the armed forces, who are disturbed by the chaos in the country, while their civilian and military "advisers" can suggest nothing save a further aggravation of the crisis, a growth of unemployment, and a situation in which the working people will have no alternative but to continue tightening their belts.

A role was also played by the just patriotic sentiments of many generations of Argentinians, who have not ceased the struggle against colonial rule since 1833. Moreover, their demands were influenced by nationalist currents of the most diverse shades among the civilian population and the military. Athos Fava added that in this spectrum of factors and realities that more or less influenced the developments was the junta's hazardous idea of saving itself from collapse and political defeat by means of a major action.

Athos Fava noted that the consequences of the actions of individuals or of society can hardly be foreseen in all cases, and recalled that the German philosopher Hegel spoke of *the twists of history*. *It has so happened that the developments taking place because of specific reasons and conditions are being reflected in a specific manner in and outside the country and making Britain, the USA's chief ally, the principal enemy.*

The return of a colonial enclave to Argentinian sovereignty is an objective fact of an anti-imperialist character. It cannot be qualified in any other way, whether its initiators like it or not, Athos Fava emphasized. He augmented his analysis of this aspect of the issue with an exposure of imperialism's intrigues in connection with the problem of the Malvinas and the whole of the South Atlantic — intrigues denounced time and again by the Communist Party — and spoke of the pressure that was brought to bear on Argentina to make it join the Pentagon's aggressive apparatus in Latin America as a policeman, station, and springboard serving imperialism's monstrous and hopeless aims. A sinister plan was to be put into effect following highly secret talks be-

tween the sides. *In this situation the restoration of our sovereignty in the South Atlantic, Athos Fava said, objectively upsets these plans, "mixes the cards," and compels imperialism to shuffle a new pack of cards.* Hence the anger that Britain and the USA are openly showing over the fact Argentina did not coordinate its actions with them. The question now is: To what degree can imperialism restore its positions? To what extent can the military government return to the situation that existed prior to April 2?

WHAT OCCURRED IN THE NATION?

In his denunciation, on the one hand, of the USA's machinations, the anti-national attitude of the right-wing elements who fear any departure from an imperialist policy, and the narrowing down of mutually beneficial links with socialist and non-aligned nations, and the "populist flare-up of nationalism" on the other, Athos Fava said that from the outset the just territorial claims did not cause extra-nationalist feelings or euphoria among the workers and the people as a whole.

He noted that there were conflicting sentiments among the people: total disenchantment with the military government and elation over the recovery of the islands. For instance, the April 10 demonstration held in Maya Square was basically anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist.

That, Athos Fava stressed, is why, although the support for sovereign demands and the anger over British ambitions are unanimous, these sentiments are expressed cautiously and there is anxiety about the critical situation in which the nation now finds itself.

The CPA General Secretary pointed out that this is the spirit of the statements of the political parties,

Gordon McLennan: Negotiations, Not War

The most urgent issue this May Day is to mobilize the power of the labor and democratic movement to stop Thatcher's Falkland Islands war.

The call of Michael Foot and the Labour Party leadership for the government not to take military action but to respond to the appeal of the UN Secretary-General is a welcome step in the right direction.

It is, however, belated and inadequate, and would have had far more effect if Labour had followed the lead of Tony Benn and others on the left, including the Communist Party, and opposed the sending of the task force.

In response to a request to meet a deputation from the Communist Party on this issue, Michael Foot said: "The Labour Party's allegiance to the United Nations is long-standing and this commitment governs our attitude toward the Falkland Islands crisis." Such a commitment should have meant opposition to the task force which was dispatched in violation of Resolution 502 of the UN Security Council, which not only called for Argentine withdrawal from the Falklands, but for both Britain and Argentina to refrain from the threat or use of force.

Wednesday's declaration by the General Council

the organized working-class movement, and other public organizations that have publicly declared their resolute support for the assertion of Argentina's sovereignty in the south and, at the same time, demanded economic, political, and social changes, and also the immediate restoration of democratic freedoms so as to strengthen national unity in the face of the aggressor.

MILITARY REGIME

Touching upon the issue of the military regime, Athos Fava declared that in the obtaining situation, at the present stage, it is no longer possible to govern the country by the methods used until recently. The military junta has not resolved and, in the present emergency, much less can it resolve the serious problems confronting the nation. The situation cannot be corrected by the inclusion in the junta of a few civilians favoring national renewal, or by a belated dialogue with the Multipartidaria and the other parties, or by setting up a truncated coalition government without clear aims. Athos Fava repeated the CPA's main political slogan: "The present situation cannot continue. There must be democratic renewal."

He called upon the members of the Communist Party of Argentina and the Federation of Young Communists to *act vigorously among the people*, to extend their legal possibilities. In the present situation, which is marked by dramatic changes, he declared, we should be with the masses and abide by our political and tactical line, which has been tested by the experience of the past few years and by recent developments. While suggesting concrete solutions in concrete situations, our party asserts its independent class stand, its internationalist patriotism, and anti-imperialist revolutionary character.

Que pasa, April 21, 1982

of the TUC is similar to that of the Labour Party Executive. The General Council would have more fully met its responsibilities to trade unionists and the British people if it had taken the same position as the Scottish Trades Union Congress, which unanimously called for withdrawal of Argentine troops from the Falklands, the recall of the British task force, the ending of the 200-mile war zone and UN administration of the islands, pending settlement of sovereignty.

The Communist Party has condemned the Argentine junta's armed takeover of the islands. But that use of military force on a question of long-standing dispute and discussion between Britain and Argentina did not, and does not, justify the launching of a massive military counter-attack by Britain.

Nor is such an action justified by the nature of the Argentine regime. The Tories, who supplied the junta with arms and turned a blind eye to its brutal attacks on democratic rights, have suddenly discovered that it is a fascist dictatorship. Some in the labor movement, including part of the left, also see this as a reason for supporting the sending of the task force.

We communists have campaigned consistently

against the junta and in solidarity with the democratic forces in Argentina, long before the present crisis arose. But the question of sovereignty over the Falkland Islands is not conditional on the government in control in Argentina at a particular time. Moreover, the use of force by Britain can have the effect of strengthening the grip of the right-wing and fascist elements there, rather than weakening them.

The hypocrisy of government statements about the Argentine regime is only exceeded by the humbug talked by Thatcher about the Falkland islanders. Not only are they likely to be the principal victims of an attempt to retake the islands, but for years their interests have been ignored by successive British governments. Many of them are even denied British citizenship under the Tory Nationality Act, and, in the words of *The Sunday Times*, "The Falklands have been run as 'company islands' by a district corporation whose ultimate ownership has frequently changed hands." The truth is that the task force was sent to protect the strategic and economic interests of the British ruling class in the South At-

lantic and Antarctica and because the intransigent Mrs. Thatcher was determined from the outset on the use of force.

The British claim to sovereignty is based on the occupation of the Falkland Islands 150 years ago by British imperialism and its populating since then by families mainly of British origin. In 1965, the United Nations called for an end to the colonial status of the Islands, and has urged it ever since. As little as 18 months ago the Thatcher government offered to hand back sovereignty to the Argentine, provided there could be agreement on a lease-back arrangement.

To go to war to hang on to this tiny hangover from Britain's colonial past is madness.

The cost of hundreds of millions of pounds already spent, and further huge sums, will be paid by the British people in taxes and in poorer social and public services and higher unemployment. Every gun salvo in the South Atlantic is a salvo against the social services in Britain, and every Labour candidate in the local elections should join with Communist candidates in opposing Thatcher's war.

But an infinitely more important cost that could yet have to be borne is the loss of lives — of Falkland Islanders, and British and Argentine youth. And if the Argentine mainland is bombed, as Tory jingoes are demanding, the consequences could be incalculable for the whole of humanity.

It is therefore in the noble peace and internationalist traditions of May Day to demand an end to this war madness. To make such a call is also in the best tradition of our labor and trade union movement, as is support for the daily paper of the left, the *Morning Star*, which has given such magnificent leadership, support and encouragement to all those acting for sanity and peace in these weeks of grave international crisis.

The Communist Party, the only political party in Britain which from the day on which Argentina invaded the Falklands campaigned for a negotiated, peaceful settlement to this dispute, now appeals to the whole labor and democratic movement to act to achieve:

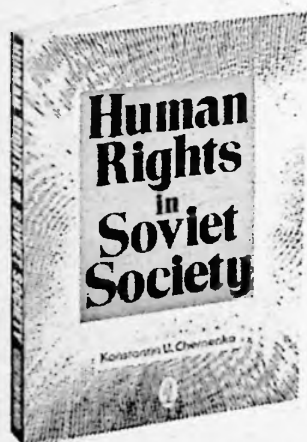
- the immediate end to hostilities in the South Atlantic;
- withdrawal of Argentine forces from the Falklands and British forces from the area;
- negotiations on the future of the islands, taking into account the interests of the Falkland Islanders, to take place under UN auspices, with a UN presence on the islands.

The Communist Party is also of the view that Britain should abandon its claim to sovereignty over the Falkland Islands, which is a hangover from our colonial past, and we urge the British labor movement to take the same position. But differences of view on this issue should not in any way prevent the whole of the labor movement demanding now: negotiations, not war.

Morning Star, May 1, 1982

HUMAN RIGHTS IN SOVIET SOCIETY

by Konstantin U. Chernenko



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For Closer Solidarity with Our Brothers and Sisters in Occupied Territories, for a More Determined Struggle Against the Conspiracy of U.S. Imperialism, Israel, and Reaction

Statement of Communist and Workers' Parties of Arab Countries

At their meeting in early April 1982 representatives of communist and workers' parties of Arab countries adopted the following statement:

The occupied Arab lands on the West Bank of the Jordan, in the Gaza Strip, and on the Golan Heights have become the object of the most dangerous conspiracy ever since they came under the heel of the Israeli invaders as a result of the 1967 aggression. The dissolution of the municipal councils in Nablus, El Bir, and Ramallah, the second closure of Bir-Zeit University, the use of bullets in attempts to suppress the protest of the people against these arbitrary acts, attempts that resulted in dozens of people being killed or wounded, the proclamation of a curfew in many towns, villages, and refugee camps, the establishment of a blockade and the discontinuance of communication with them are all aimed at imposing a so-called civilian administration that has been totally and categorically rejected by the heroic Palestinian people and by its various national institutions. The Palestinians have flatly refused to have anything to do with this occupation administration, which is one of the measures to spread the operation of Israeli laws to occupied regions and serve as preparations for the final annexation of these lands, as was done in the case of the Arab part of Jerusalem. A similar fate recently overcame Syria's Golan Heights, whose heroic population is at present being subjected to various kinds of pressure in the calculation that this will compel it to abide by Israeli laws and agree to the receipt of Israeli identification papers. A further aim is to consolidate and perpetuate Israel's decision to annex these territories as a *fait accompli*.

Israeli officials openly declare that it intends to disband other Palestinian municipal councils on the pretext that they support the Palestine Liberation Organization. Israel's Defense Minister Sharon has confirmed that in the immediate future the Zionists plan to get rid of what he called the "present leadership" on the occupied lands.

The above-mentioned dangerous terrorist acts are accompanied by a reinvigoration of the efforts of the Israeli invaders to set up and reinforce so-called rural leagues, which they are trying to form of their agents and ostracized land dealers. They count on turning these leagues into a political apparatus in opposition to the Palestine Liberation Organization, which the Palestinian people in and outside the oc-

cupied territories have elected as their sole lawful representative.

In the Palestinian town of Rafah the occupation authorities are continuing one of the largest eviction operations. Its victims are nearly 30,000 Palestinian refugees who have lived there ever since they were evicted from their homes in 1947. They are being uprooted and taken forcibly deep into the Sinai, beyond the Egyptian-Israeli frontier demarcated in the perfidious Camp David agreements.

Moreover, by means of terror, harassment, and starvation (even relative to children, who are being denied milk) efforts are being made to break the will of the heroic inhabitants of the Golan Heights, who are now in the third month of their general political strike. They are staging it to state their emphatic refusal to recognize the decision to annex their lands to Israel and accept Israeli identification papers, and to reaffirm their civil and national affiliation to the Syrian Arab people.

Having no weapon other than their unbending will, the heroic Palestinian people in the occupied territories and the courageous inhabitants of Syria's Golan Heights are challenging the bullets and sinister terror of the Zionist invaders, telling the world of their unqualified condemnation of these aggressive, expansionist acts. Their actions have evolved into a further powerful rising. This year on Land Defense Day (which expresses the essence of the struggle against the aggressive expansionist designs of the Zionists) their will fused and their blood mixed with the blood of their fellow-Arabs of Israel shed at the hands of the invaders.

There is no doubt that this dangerous escalation of Israel's aggressiveness, of its expansionism is taking place with the knowledge, approval, and undisguised instigation of the USA. It fits into the global strategy of U.S. imperialism, which is fanning international tension in order to dominate the strategically located Arab world with its colossal reserves of petroleum and crush the Arab national liberation movement.

This is borne out by the undisguised support given by the U.S. imperialists for Israel's aggressive expansionist policy, their promotion of Israel's military capability to assure its continued military superiority, the conclusion of a "strategic alliance" between the two countries, and the USA's use of its veto in the UN Security Council that prevented imposing sanctions on Israel for the annexation of

the Golan Heights and demanding that it annul the unlawful decisions to dissolve municipal councils.

On the other hand, the just courageous struggle of the inhabitants of the occupied Arab territories on the West Bank of the Jordan, the Gaza Strip, and the Golan Heights is winning the sympathetic understanding of world opinion, including that of democratic circles in Israel itself. Moreover, today as in the past, it has the powerful and many-sided support of the Soviet Union and other socialist community countries.

While endorsing this heroic struggle and expressing the most determined militant solidarity with it, we, on behalf of the communist and workers' parties of Arab countries, call upon the Arab peoples, upon their progressive patriotic forces to strengthen solidarity with our brothers and sisters in the occupied territories and step up the struggle against the interests and influence of U.S. imperialism in the region. U.S. imperialism is the force without which Israel would not have been able to perpetrate such monstrous crimes. We call for greater persistence in making sure and demanding that wider use be made of petroleum as a weapon in the struggle against U.S. imperialism. It cannot be permitted that for its crimes it should be given the possibility, in collusion with reactionary Arab regimes, notably the rulers of Saudi Arabia, to continue pillaging that wealth.

We express our gratitude to international democratic organizations, to all progressive forces, parties, and organizations in the world for their acts of

solidarity with the fighters on the West Bank of the Jordan, the Gaza Strip, and the Golan Heights and call upon them to continue and extend these acts.

We salute the struggle of the people in occupied Arab territories against the brutal Israeli occupation.

Long live the unity of the Palestinian people in and outside the occupied territories around their sole legitimate representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization, for the liberation of the seized lands, the attainment of national independence, and the creation of an independent Palestinian state!

We denounce the murderers — the Israeli rulers with their expansionist plans. We denounce the alliance between the USA, Israel, and reaction!

Down with the conspiratorial designs for a civilian administration and an autonomous administration! Down with the perfidious Camp David conspiracy!

Jordanian Communist Party
National Liberation Front of Bahrain
Tunisian Communist Party
Socialist Vanguard Party of Algeria
Communist Party of Saudi Arabia
Communist Party of the Sudan
Syrian Communist Party
Iraqi Communist Party
Palestinian Communist Party
Lebanese Communist Party
Egyptian Communist Party

Al-Tarik al-Jadid, April 17, 1982

Toward Final Liberation

Statement by the Central Committee, CP El Salvador, on the 50th Anniversary of the Armed Uprising of 1932.

The events of January 1932 were brought about by the disastrous effect on our country of the crisis of the world capitalist system. They reflected the firm resolve of the working and popular masses to solve the problem of winning power, which was the first order of the day. At present, 50 years later, we should see these events not only as a monstrous bloodbath perpetrated by the oligarchy and the armed forces against the ordinary people, who were trying to achieve social emancipation on their own. The events of those days also help to understand the substance of the present events, that is, the fact that the Salvadoran bourgeoisie has never wished and does not wish to give up its social, economic and political privileges without a fight. It has always defended and continues to defend its narrowly self-fish class interests at any price, even to the extent of murdering tens of thousands of people.

Today, we, communists, lower our banners to the memory of the heroic founders of our party and the popular fighters who did their duty.

The Communist Party of El Salvador, founded on March 28, 1930, was the result of the development of a workers' movement, which felt the need for a

political party of its own in order to fight the power of capital. Having emerged at a time when the grave economic and political situation in El Salvador was further aggravated, the party launched a serious effort to organize trade unions in town and country, immediately drawing the hatred of the oligarchy, which saw communist activity as a grave danger that had to be eliminated at any cost if its untroubled reactionary rule was to continue.

A revolutionary situation took shape in El Salvador, bringing to the fore the problem of power.

To get an idea of the scale of the unprecedented crisis sweeping the country and assess its political consequences, one should only recall the disastrous plunge in coffee prices, the thousands upon thousands of unemployed in town and country, the day-laborers roaming the country with their families in search of food and shelter, and the state's inability to cover its expenses.

It was against the background of worsening social contradictions and political decline that the newly established Communist Party of El Salvador stood the main test of any revolutionary organization, rallying the masses to an armed struggle for power.

The results of that struggle are known to history, although they have yet to be adequately assessed.

The insurrection of 1932, caused by the country's social backwardness, was primarily a peasant uprising. But it did not — and could not — have the necessary military-political guidance on the part of the Communist Party, which at that time was less than two years old, so that its experience and capacity for organizing the insurrection and giving it effective guidance were still insufficient.

The problem of power was unquestionably the central problem in the course of the insurrection of 1932. In some insurgent areas, attempts were even made to set up "soviets." But the nature of the revolution was not quite clear. According to comrades who took part in these events, the party defined it as corresponding to the stage of "bourgeois-democratic revolution." At the same time, it is highly doubtful that the party's rank-and-file members, let alone the popular masses, were able to understand that.

In any case, we believe that to understand the peculiarities of the revolutionary movement of those days one should bear in mind that the working class was still only taking shape, both in quantitative and qualitative terms, for the productive forces of the agrarian country were still poorly developed.

When the insurrection was crushed with grave consequences for the country's history, even some communists began drawing conclusions far removed from the historical truth, saying that the insurrection was a tremendous and catastrophic error, for which the country had "to pay over many decades." As a result of such conclusions, the CP El Salvador stood aloof far too long from elaborating a revolutionary line based on its own revolutionary experience. At one time, communists were even forbidden to mention the existence of their party in order to "ensure its development without incurring the danger of repression." However, the history of the world revolutionary movement has repeatedly reaffirmed Marx's idea that defeat after a good battle is no less important in historical terms than an easy victory.

In 1932, the oppressed people and the newly established Communist Party rose to the challenge of history, mounting an armed struggle against their class enemy. As a result of the insurrection's defeat and the subsequent brutal massacre of 30,000 working people, the country fell into the hands of a military dictatorship, which is now on its last legs under the people's blows.

Today, 50 years later, the people and its advanced organizations have again challenged history. We confront the heirs of those who in 1932 hunted down thousands of revolutionaries and peaceful citizens, who welcomed murder as a "sacred need" for defending "law and order." Our enemies today are those who were our enemies yesterday.

The Yankee imperialists, who after 1932 supported the brutal right-wing military dictatorship that emerged from the bloodbath, are still supporting it today, committing in criminal collusion with the dictatorial regime bloody atrocities against our people, atrocities that are even worse than in 1932.

Now as then, the economic and the political crisis

are two aspects of the historical situation which needs to be resolved. The solution that was already an imperative 50 years ago is now inexorably making headway.

The Salvadoran communists, the fraternal revolutionary forces, and the whole people, who now have greater experience and greater strength, who are better organized and are moved by an invincible will to victory, are continuing their struggle to fulfil the task that was not completed yesterday.

At the same time, the present situation differs from that of 1932. The main point is that the Salvadoran people have formed their largest ever association of forces: the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front. The banners it has raised at the fronts of the revolutionary war are inscribed with demands that voice the interests and aspirations of broad sections of the people, who have deliberately chosen the road of organized struggle. The heroes of the Revolution of 1932 could not count on the powerful movement of international solidarity which is now giving us immense support. In those days, the world found out about the defeat of the Salvadoran patriots only from press reports which primarily spoke of a "red plot" suppressed in one small Latin American country, and also about "communist vandalism," castigated by the "arm of the law." It was only rarely that the world press wrote about the terrible massacre. But today the Salvadoran people's struggle arouses feelings of international solidarity throughout the world, notably, on the part of the U.S. people.

Augustin Farabundo Martí — the outstanding founder of the Communist Party of El Salvador and the most prominent revolutionary leader of the time — will always remain in the hearts of the working people. His name was given to the united vanguard which directs the Salvadorans' struggle. The names of other heroes of 1932 — ordinary working people — have become symbols of the present struggle. Diverse fronts of the popular war have been named after Modesto Ramirez, Francisco Sanchez and Feliciano Ama as a tribute of respect and admiration paid by the present generation of revolutionaries to those who half a century ago taught us not to abandon the ranks of the insurgents and carry on a resolute struggle for the victory of the revolution.

In 1932, the working people who took the road of revolutionary force supported the demands of the Salvadoran people and came out for freedom and justice, for the right to work, health and education, for the people's right to decide their own future. Nevertheless, experience has shown that revolutionary use of force by the masses necessarily requires a revolutionary army.

At that time, our people and party, which was still young and lacked experience, were unable to form such a force, and that was the crucial factor behind its defeat.

The defeat of the popular movement in 1932 was followed by long years of sanguinary military dictatorship. In spite of the crushing blows dealt at the Communist Party, it remained the only force fighting for Marxist-Leninist ideas. Although tendencies emerged within it whose representatives,

solely on the strength of the results of the insurrection, came out against armed struggle, so engendering reformist feelings within the party, the CP El Salvador was still the only revolutionary organization capable of standing its ground throughout the decades of ceaseless brutal repression on the part of diverse governments that were links within the chain of cruel and reactionary military dictatorships.

Whole generations of revolutionaries were formed within the ranks of the CPS. The party was the main vehicle of Marxist-Leninist knowledge, spreading it among the leaders of the revolutionary, trade union and student movements, the peasant leaders, political activists, and guerrillas, some of whom joined fraternal revolutionary organizations.

Half a century after the glorious popular uprising, we face such historical tasks whose fulfillment is impossible without the use of force. Our people are once again called upon to perform this exploit. The CPS, which was forced in the course of armed struggle and has a half-century-long record of heroism, successes and failures, has been fighting and shedding blood shoulder to shoulder with the people. Our party, enriched by the lessons drawn from all forms of the struggle it has carried on throughout its long, complicated and perilous existence, is well aware of its duty and its role.

Since 1970, the revolutionary movement has expanded to include fraternal revolutionary armed organizations, together with which — after a turbulent period of sharp debates — the CPS is now fighting, the party which has formed the largest unitary organization in our history: the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front. The Communist Party of El Salvador has made a valuable contribution to the unification of diverse forces under the Farabundo Marti NLF banner, and urges continued loyalty to this unity.

Our party has done a great deal to consolidate the revolutionary forces. Its consistent struggle, its frank and honest criticism of its own mistakes have enabled it to bring out and overcome its shortcomings in order to take the place which corresponds to its historic mission and the vanguard role of Marxist-Leninist ideas.

After the Plaza Libertad massacre on February 28, 1977, the broad masses of people began vigorously to take the road opened by the fraternal rev-

olutionary organizations and the most advanced forces seven years ago. It was at that time that the CPS began the complicated turn toward armed struggle with the subsequent formation of its armed units: the Armed Forces of National Liberation. Thus, on the basis of its large and abundant experience, our party entered the people's revolutionary war, which has been gathering momentum.

At the turn of the past decade, as in 1932, our people had no other choice than to follow the road of armed struggle in order to end the cruel repression, win freedom, justice and true national independence, and ensure respect for the Salvadoran people's interests and will.

The country's obsolete socio-economic structure needed to be replaced back in 1932. Today, a half-century later, the Farabundo Marti NLF and the Revolutionary Democratic Front voice the non-acceptance by an overwhelming majority of the country's population of the unjust socio-economic and political system of oppression. And while 50 years ago the crisis was somewhat alleviated, today this is impossible. That is why the revolution has been advancing as the only possible means for ensuring a final and reliable end to the crisis in the interests of the people.

The heroes of 1932 were unable to form a revolutionary army that could launch and direct military action by the masses against the army of the oligarchy. Today, we have been able to form a people's revolutionary army, which correctly expresses the interests of the ordinary people and is the only true guarantor of the revolution's victory and its reliable defense. All the peoples of the world and friendly governments are today in solidarity with our struggle. El Salvador has become a symbol of boundless heroism, courage and indomitable will to victory.

Fifty years ago, the working people of the world felt compassion for the brutally suppressed and humiliated people of El Salvador, mourning the fate of its revolutionary vanguard, which did its duty to the very end but was defeated, whereas today they support its actions, regarding these as a culmination of the heroic feat of its predecessors. They hail the people, who have learned to hit and rout the enemy. It is not for nothing that our heroes have been shedding blood for more than half a century. Their cause lives on in the present struggle. Our victory is at hand.

The popular insurrection of 1932 and the formation of the Communist Party of El Salvador are two interconnected events, which profoundly reverberated throughout the country's political life. The defeat in the clash with the oligarchy was due to the weakness of the revolutionary vanguard, in spite of the just aspirations of the insurgent people.

Today, we have every reason to expect a victory. Our strength and indomitable spirit are a guarantee of this victory. The Salvadoran people have been inexorably advancing toward final liberation.

Our steadfast and irreconcilable struggle is the best tribute to the memory of the heroes and victims of 1932.

El Salvador, January 1982
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35 Years of Persevering Struggle and Heroic Sacrifice

Statement by the Central Committee,
Communist Party of the Sudan

On the 16th of August 1981, the communists and all progressive forces of our country celebrated the 35th anniversary of the Communist Party of the Sudan. On August 16, 1946, advanced representatives of a young working class and revolutionary intellectuals founded the Sudanese Movement for National Liberation which later became the CPS.

The rise of an independent political organization of the working class adhering to Marxism-Leninism was of great historical significance and left a deep imprint on the anti-colonial movement which ended in winning national independence early in 1956.

Since the deterioration of the political atmosphere in the country after the dictatorial regime's bloody repressive measures against the communist and democratic leaders in July 1971, the CPS has been carrying out its activity under conditions of strict illegality.

The dictatorial and despotic regime which relies mainly on the administrative bureaucratic bourgeoisie and the army élite and which is now living in deep isolation mounts fierce repression against progressive democratic forces. Its policies have alienated it from wide sections of the population. Sudan is now passing through an unprecedented crisis in its history. The 12 years of the rule of the present regime have resulted in the most acute crisis which has hit every sphere of life: economic, social and spiritual. The result of all this is a steady worsening of the material conditions of the masses.

The Communist Party of the Sudan is continuing to struggle for the establishment of a national-democratic front to unite the working class, the peasantry, the small and middle bourgeoisie in industry, trade and the handicrafts, and the patriotic-minded intelligentsia. The CPS believes that only a national-democratic front based on the alliance of the workers and peasants could lead the Sudan out of its crisis through the successful accomplishment of the tasks of the national-democratic revolution, mainly the following: defense and strengthening of national independence and sovereignty, release of the Sudanese economy from the domination of foreign monopoly capital, a radical reorganization and democratization of the state apparatus, mobilization of all resources for the needs of a balanced economic upswing and development of the productive forces, a radical agrarian reform, ensuring broad democratic rights and freedoms, etc.

But at the present time, the CPS believes that the chief and immediate task of the country's progressive and patriotic forces is to overthrow the

military dictatorship and to restore democratic rights and civil liberties. Without this, it is impossible to go on fulfilling the tasks of the national-democratic revolution. That is why the Communist Party of the Sudan urges all patriotic forces to unite their efforts for the establishment of a Front for National Salvation and Defense of Democracy, within which the party is prepared to cooperate with all those who oppose the present regime and are capable of actually fighting against it. This alliance of forces which are so different in character and basic aspirations can, of course, be based only on the most general jointly formulated minimum program which reflects the present stage of the struggle.

The Communist Party of the Sudan has set forth its principled stand on the tasks of the Front for National Salvation and Defense of Democracy since August 31, 1977. The way out of the crisis, the party stated, is a relentless struggle to overthrow the dictatorial regime, followed by a transitional period in the course of which the old forms of the government which had produced the crisis would be finally eliminated, and new democratic institutions of power set up; there would be fundamental changes in the constitution and legislation, provision of broad and real democratic rights for the mass of people, political parties, trade unions and public organizations, release of political prisoners, re-establishment of the independence of courts, a revival of all treaties and agreements infringing Sudan's national sovereignty, etc.

In the recent period, there has been a definite change in the development of the working people's mass struggle. It has entered an upward phase. This will be seen from the scope of the strike movement all over the country, the growing revolutionary activity of the working class, the increasing politicization of its mass action, the increasing class character and radicalization of trade union mass action and a revival of the organized expansion of other democratic organizations.

This is largely the result of the dedicated struggle of the Communist Party of the Sudan, which it has to carry on in harsh underground conditions.

The CPS is resolved to stand to its historical tasks undauntedly. Its 35 years of existence are a common fight waged with the price of heroic sacrifice. Our party believes that whatever repression the dictatorship may stage, the change that has taken place in the political atmosphere of the Sudan is irreversible.

Sudan Bulletin, CP of the Sudan,
No. 4, April 1982

Military-Industrial Monopolies, the Government, and the Military

“The Domestic Arms Race”

The arms race is increasing the threat of war. This is being realized by a growing number of people in the FRG and finding expression in various actions aimed at limiting armaments and achieving disarmament. In this context people are asking ever more urgently: What motivates the arms race? Why arm at all?

Regarding the arms race the Stockholm Peace Research Institute declared as early as 1977, endeavoring to be fair: “A comparison of the U.S. and Soviet arsenals in terms of major elements for a counter-strike strategy indicates that the USA has always had a substantial lead, which it will maintain even if no new programs are started.” A comparison of the time of the development of new weapons systems likewise shows that the USA or, correspondingly, NATO is the first to develop and manufacture new weapons systems, beginning with the atomic bomb and ending with Cruise missiles, thereby compelling the USSR to respond in every case.

Why has every new round of the arms race been initiated by the USA and NATO?

After the Second World War, with the aggravation of capitalism’s general crisis as a result of the emergence of the world socialist system and the growing efforts of the new nation states to achieve full liberation, a close intertwining took place in the USA and other imperialist states between the interests of the arms monopolies, the military élite, and governmental agencies. A military-industrial complex thus came into being.

The arms monopolies are eager to get new and ever larger orders for weapons. Because the consumer, in this case the government, is dependable they can count on obtaining risk-free super-profits. In the war industry the profit rate on investments is roughly two or three times higher than in other industries.

The military élite gets the possibility of augmenting their arsenals with advanced weapons systems, and stimulate and direct the development and manufacture of new types of armaments.

In the case of governmental agencies their first concern is to preserve the imperialist sphere of domination, erode the influence of socialist states, and suppress the liberation movements in the Third World. To these ends imperialism deliberately plans the use of military force (the formation of the rapid deployment force, the threats of a “limited” nuclear war, and so on). In order to be able to use this force at any time and on any scale, imperialism seeks military superiority. For that reason it constantly sets its sights on the continued development of a

powerful war industry, on manufacturing ever larger quantities of increasingly more effective armaments.

This is seen in the many benefits extended by the state to the war industry at all stages of armaments development — from research to the receipt of the finished product:

— While in other industries the corporations carry on research at their own expense and risk, relative to military projects much is undertaken by the state. According to the Defense Ministry, in the FRG 13 billion marks were spent from the state budget in the period from 1970 to 1978 on military-technical research, experimental design, and testing. How large the proportion of expenditures is on research in the development of new weapons systems is seen from a comparison with the expenditures on the purchase of armaments and other military hardware during the same period: 48 billion marks.¹ The government undertakes the risk for the failure of costly projects, such as the development of the vertical take-off aircraft (roughly 1,600 million marks) or the 70 tank (475 million marks).

— In some cases the arms concerns are provided with buildings and installations, as in the case of the MBB (Messerschmitt-Boelkow-Blohm) in Ottonbrunn near Munich.

— The federal government pays in advance for weaponry that has not been manufactured. In the balance sheets of the war concerns this money comes under the heading of “advance payments.” In 1979 the advance payments to five of the largest war concerns in the FRG amounted to more than 3,400 million marks.

— In its settlements for military orders, the government pays an additional five per cent on all costs. This gives the war concerns a larger incentive: the higher the costs, the bigger the profit. In addition to this and to undertaking the risk, the government allows the arms manufacturers to manage with no more than a small capital of their own and use large loans. The interest rate on these loans is put down to “costs,” for which the government likewise pays an additional five per cent.

This enormous assistance given to the military concerns by the state led the American economist Galbraith to the following conclusion: “The only thing that is private in these firms is their private profit.”²

Obviously, with these promises of profit the war concerns do not wait passively for their share of military orders; they go to all ends to extend their

business, to ensure a further quantitative and qualitative build-up of armaments.

One of these channels is that although military research is funded by the government, 80 per cent of it is in private hands.³ The motivation here is to ensure the obsolescence of weapons systems by speeding up the development of new systems, put these new systems on the market, and get the profit. By this means each concern conducts its own "domestic" arms race, which is spurred by competition from other military concerns. In this context these concerns want the Soviet Union's military power not as an incentive but as an alibi chiefly for their advertising and public relations agencies.

Further, the military-industrial monopolies use their own research in order to get the military leadership interested in new weapons systems as soon as possible, so as to influence military-strategic planning before it is decided to manufacture these systems. This planning is then used as an important argument in favor of the manufacture of new types of armaments.

The French military expert F.O. Mitschke, for example, noted: "The renewal of strategic concepts, which we have repeatedly observed in NATO, is motivated not only by the need to adjust to political and technological development but also by business considerations."⁴

These considerations make military-industrial concerns eager to sign contracts with retired military men who had formerly held high rank. One of the most vivid examples in this respect is Alexander Haig, who after his retirement from the post of NATO Supreme Commander became president of U.S. United Technologies, an arms manufacturing concern; today he is the U.S. Secretary of State and one of the most vociferous proponents of the line toward confrontation with the USSR, thereby ensuring the war industry orders worth billions of dollars.

However, the weapons manufacturing concerns are by no means dependent on casual contracts with retired military men or on lobbying. Cooperation between the war industry, the military élite, and government agencies is being increasingly institutionalized as well. In the FRG, for example, a War Economy Working Group has been functioning since 1971. In it the executives of military-industrial concerns, ministers, and members of the military élite discuss projects for new weapons systems and the distribution of orders for their manufacture. This

exclusive club was formed by the then Defense Minister Schmidt and his State Secretary Mommsen. Prior to this, Mommsen was Board Chairman of Thyssen-Roehrenwerke. After retiring from the government he became Board Chairman of the Krupp concern. One of the fruits of his work as State Secretary was the project for the multipurpose Tornado fighter-plane.

The War Economy Working Group is not confined to the FRG. In 1975 defense ministers of the European NATO countries agreed to set up a European Secretariat on military procurement and prepare a study of long-term military technology procurement problems of that European organization.⁵ The predecessor of this secretariat was the Independent European Program Group formed in 1976.

The monopolies' interest in arms production rises steeply during economic crises, when sales of civilian goods drop and the struggle for markets becomes more acute. If at the same time international tension can be aggravated and used, this interest reaches fantastic heights.

In February 1980 the journal *Wehrtechnik* recommended: "Make haste to sell your gold and invest in the firms you read more about in this journal than in any other publication. Take, for instance, shares in companies like Rheinmetall or Krauss Maffei, Bremer Vulkan or Siemens. Because international tension is growing they are attracting investors and speculators. Within the span of a single week Rheinmetall shares leaped from 244 to 286 marks, while those of Krauss Maffei from 850 to 905 marks. The rate is continuing to go up."

From this angle one can well appreciate why the military-industrial concerns are so eager to sustain and aggravate international tension. For them this is the quickest and easiest way of making profits.

To achieve further, significant headway in the struggle for peace and disarmament, the peace movement must make an all-out effort to help limit the power of the military-industrial complex and, in the long run, put it out of business altogether.

Unsere Zeit, March 12, 1982

1. *Der Bundesminister für Verteidigung*, Weissbuch, 1979, p. 267.

2. *Der Spiegel*, September 30, 1969.

3. *Der Bundesminister für Verteidigung*, Weissbuch, 1979, p. 36.

4. F.O. Mitschke, "Rüstungsdilemma," *Wehr und Wirtschaft*, Munich, February 1962, p. 111.

5. *Der Bundesminister für Verteidigung*, Weissbuch, 1979, p. 33.

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