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Adopt Urgent Measures to Preclude Fresh Rounds of the Arms Race

Konstantin Chernenko's reply to a message from the co-chairmen of a consultative meeting of representatives of the Churches of Christ, Dr. Avery Post of the United States and Dr. Karoly Toth of Hungary.

Esteemed Gentlemen,

I read your message with interest. It shows that the religious circles you represent have a realistic stance on the important problems of war and peace.

We carefully studied your appeal to our country and the United States regarding measures which you believe should be adopted in the name of peace on Earth.

As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, we share your view that it is important to freeze nuclear arms, those of the USA and the USSR in the first place. We believe that corresponding commitments, first by these states and then by the other states with nuclear potential, would be an important step toward lessening the threat of a nuclear war and would open the prospect of reducing the stocks of nuclear weapons to the extent of complete dismantlement of all types of such weapons, which is what we consider our prime objective in this matter.

If the U.S. side agreed to ban nuclear weapons tests and not to be the first to use such weapons, which your message speaks about, we would only welcome it. It is well known that the Soviet Union has repeatedly advocated a general and complete prohibition of nuclear weapons tests and has assumed a unilateral obligation not to be the first to use such weapons.

We also understand your anxiety over the possible militarization of outer space, including the deployment of nuclear weapons there. Indeed, the attempts by certain U.S. quarters to foist a "star wars" era on humanity are creating a new, additional threat to peace. If the U.S. militarist forces prevail on this issue, an irreversible situation will arise, one fraught with the most baneful consequences. I

would like to point out that this is recognized by virtually all UN states: with the exception of the United States, they voted at the 39th Session of the UN General Assembly for preventing an arms race in space.

The Soviet Union attaches great importance to reaching a package agreement with the United States of America on both the non-militarization of space and nuclear arms. There is a need to adopt urgent and effective measures to prevent further destabilization of the strategic situation and preclude fresh rounds of the arms race.

In this connection I would like to stress that our approach to talks is that they should be honest and business-like. The talks should aim not to deceive the partner and public opinion — we could not agree to such a view — but rather to find mutually acceptable solutions favoring peace.

Whether war breaks out or not depends today on all people, irrespective of world outlook and ideological position.

We have always stood for close cooperation with all the world's peace-loving forces, including religious circles, which in our opinion can play a significant role in ridding humanity of the nuclear threat.

A search for mutually acceptable ways to achieve lasting peace and a constructive approach to solving complex international problems could ensure the security of the peoples and the foremost human right — the right to live.

I wish further success to you and all religious leaders who uphold the ideals of peace.

Respectfully yours,
Konstantin Chernenko

Pravda, January 6, 1985

To Strengthen Socialism and Ensure Peace

From an Address by Erich Honecker at
a SUPG CC Plenary Meeting

A plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany took place in Berlin on November 22 and 23, 1984.

The Political Bureau's report was made by SUPG CC General Secretary, comrade Erich Honecker.

The substantiation of the draft 1985 economic plan was presented by comrade Gerhard Schurer, alternate member of the Political Bureau, Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Chairman of the GDR State Planning Commission.

The Central Committee approved the Political Bureau report, the report on the draft 1985 economic plan and the bills on the economic plan and the 1985 state budget, and submitted them to the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic.

The Central Committee resolved to convene the regular, 11th congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany in April 1986 in Berlin.

After careful consideration, the Political Bureau, in accordance with our party constitution, is proposing to the Central Committee that it should convene the 11th congress of the SUPG in April 1986 in Berlin. Like all previous congresses, the 11th party congress will be a very important event in the life not only of our party but also of the entire people. It will determine the party's future strategy and tactics and discuss the tasks for the further construction of a developed socialist society in the GDR. Our party's work in the period ahead will be carried out under the banner of congress preparations. As always, we will be guided by the principle: do everything for the people's good, for people's happiness, consistently continuing the course of strengthening socialism and ensuring peace.

A significant landmark on the road to the 11th party congress will be the 40th anniversary of the victory over Hitlerite fascism and the liberation of the German people. The victory of the heroic Soviet people and their valiant army, which, as the decisive force of the anti-Hitler coalition, bore the main burden in the defeat of the Nazi tyranny, was, after the Great October Socialist Revolution, the second mission of worldwide historic significance that liberated humanity. Our people, too, were saved from barbarity and received the opportunity to make a change in their history. Under the leadership of the revolutionary vanguard and relying on the lessons and experience of the anti-fascist Resistance, our people consistently used this chance. Through the GDR, socialism has firmly established itself on German soil as well.

It is a sacred duty of our socialist worker-peasant state to carry out the behests of the more than 20 million Soviet citizens and all the anti-fascist Resistance fighters who gave their lives for the victory of humanism and civilization. Friendship with the Soviet Union, the unshakable foundation of the policy of the party and government, has become a vital matter for our people.

As is evident even today from the commitments which they have assumed, the working people of the GDR are going to raise a fitting monument to the historic feat of liberation by participating in the socialist emulation. This anniversary will serve as a special occasion for confirming and deepening the fraternal cooperation between the SUPG and the CPSU and between our states and peoples. In this way, as always, we follow the ever meaningful combative tradition of Thalmann, who said that one's attitude to the party of Lenin and the Soviet Union is a touchstone of revolutionary thought and action, a criterion of one's class position in the struggle for peace and social progress.

The socialist community has always been the foundation and source of strength for the realization of the national and international interests of each fraternal people and a reliable shield for it. This is especially true today when a considerably higher level of socialist development has been attained. That is why we deem it our primary task constantly to strengthen the unity and cohesion of our fraternal alliance and to carry out our country's cooperation more intensively and efficiently.

It is a task of strategic importance, one of significance for the future, to implement the decisions unanimously adopted at the Moscow Economic Summit of the member-countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. At the recent 39th CMEA session in Havana, the GDR underscored that, in the spirit of the joint statement by the Political Bureau of the SUPG Central Committee and the GDR Council of Ministers on the results of the Moscow Economic Summit, it has been making its contribution to deepening and improving socialist economic integration and, together with the fraternal countries, has been working to implement the main directions of cooperation agreed on.

In the period under review, we sent 30 delegations, headed by members and alternate members of the Political Bureau, and also by members and heads of departments of the Central Committee, to exchange opinions and experience with the fraternal parties of socialist countries, and received 11 delegations of fraternal parties. Our party actively participated in the July 1984 Prague meeting of CC Secretaries of fraternal parties of socialist countries on international and ideological questions.

In line with the decisions of the 10th party congress, we sought in the period under review to develop further our relations with the People's Republic of China. Like the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries, we made some progress — to the benefit of both sides and without detriment to third countries. This meets the interests of both states, socialism and peace.

We see the facts as they are and draw the necessary conclusions from them. The international situation continues to give cause for serious concern. The USA is attempting to use increasingly dangerous weapons to gain military superiority over the USSR and the socialist community. Contrary to the peoples' will, the U.S. is speeding up the deployment of new first-strike nuclear weapons in Western Europe. It is openly bent on militarizing outer space and is preparing for "star wars" which would make the skies the threshold of hell.

Washington itself admits that its policy is aimed at achieving world domination, wiping out socialism and putting down the peoples' movement for national liberation and social emancipation. This policy is endangering all humanity and the existence of human civilization in general.

The entire world is presently alarmed at the USA's preparations for aggression against free Nicaragua. We and the people of the GDR and the whole peace-loving world public very strongly denounce the USA's imperialist policy of aggression toward Nicaragua. We are in solidarity with the people of Nicaragua, who are fully determined to defend their gains. The region's problems must be resolved through peaceful talks. This, as we know, is also what the FSLN is striving for.

The foreign policy and military measures taken and the vigorous international protests have somewhat eased the critical situation, but there is still a need for vigilance and solidarity.

We are for peace, which is the basis of humanity's happy future. We want Europe and all humanity to

be rid of the constant nuclear threat. The Soviet Union, the GDR and the other socialist community countries have put forward a concrete peace program to bring about a change for the better.

If, as it has repeatedly stated in the last few days, the West really has a serious desire to attain results at the necessary talks, humanity can be freed of the oppressive burden on the basis of Konstantin Chernenko's initiative and the Soviet Union's principled approach to the main question of today — prevention of nuclear war. The enormous funds being spent on arms today would be released for better purposes for the good of the peoples.

A nuclear war, in which there would be neither victors nor vanquished, must be averted. It is necessary above all to halt the ruinous arms race, for a greater quantity of weapons does not mean more security. We are for a freeze on all mass destruction nuclear weapons. Immense significance would be attached to a pledge by all nuclear powers, following the USSR's example, not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, a pledge to the non-militarization of outer space, to arms limitation and disarmament in East and West, especially in the nuclear area but also in the area of so-called conventional weapons in line with the principle of equality and equal security, to ensuring military-strategic parity at an ever lower level of armament, to ridding Europe of nuclear weapons, to nuclear-free zones, whether in the center of the continent, in Northern Europe, the Balkans or the Iberian Peninsula, to a ban on the production, stockpiling and use of chemical weapons, and to a treaty between the Warsaw Treaty Organization and NATO on mutual non-use of military force and maintenance of relations of peace.

Our watchword is not confrontation and arms build-up but rather cooperation and disarmament, a return to détente and the peaceful settlement of international disputes. In keeping with this, the GDR has been making a constructive contribution to the jointly agreed foreign policy of the socialist community.

It is plain to see that the course toward confrontation and arms build-up advocated by the USA and some of its NATO allies stems from the very unstable situation in their own camp. The extensive processes of the crisis have furrowed the economic ground of imperialist policy with deep clefts. Many of that policy's actions are directly linked with economic contradictions and difficulties.

In spite of all the new optimistic assurances on the part of governments, the immediate future of the world capitalist economy, which is already showing signs of serious deterioration, looks very unsound.

The prospect of a fresh crisis soon is all the more likely because not only are the structural crises of some years in the ferrous-metal and steel industry, ship-building and other sectors becoming increasingly worse, but a crisis has also appeared in the financial sector.

The steady development in the countries of socialism presents a striking contrast to the crisis in the capitalist world. The economic growth of socialist countries is dynamic and stable and considerably outstrips that in the main capitalist countries. The

socialist community has achieved important results in close cooperation to make better use of their immense intellectual and material potential. This facilitates fuller realization of the possibilities offered by the scientific and technological revolution and is reflected in the rise in labor productivity and efficiency. First of all, the results of scientific and technological progress for the working people are quite different than under capitalism. Unemployment and a shortage of vocational training places, and the various forms of social dismantlement are alien to socialism, where economic growth is accompanied by a further rise in people's material and cultural living standard.

While in our world the basis for social security constantly improves — in the sphere of capital's power, however much the situation in individual countries may vary, great insecurity about tomorrow prevails. Against this background, the achievements of socialist society stand out in bold relief.

We are living at a time when the prevention of nuclear war and the ensuring of peace are the fundamental conditions for the peoples' future and therefore for their social progress as well.

This makes ever greater demands of us communists, for at the dawn of the working class movement Karl Marx said that it is the working class, which is coming on the stage of history as an independent force, that must uphold peace while those who consider themselves its masters demand war. It is in precisely this spirit that our party, which is very closely connected with the legacy of the revolutionary German working class movement, characterized the preservation of peace in its program as a matter of the life of all humanity. The SUPG, the program says, wants peaceful coexistence to become the fundamental principle of relations between states with different social systems. It supports all forces that take a realistic approach to the basic questions of international policy and advocate equal cooperation.

There can be no doubt that it is precisely in so aggravated a situation as today that there is a need to mobilize the international public to defend peace and to cooperate with all who, like we ourselves, see a nuclear holocaust as the main danger for humanity. In our time there is a need for a coalition of the forces of reason and realism against the insane nuclear arms build-up policy which endangers all humanity.

There is simply no reasonable alternative to a policy of peaceful coexistence. Very broad unanimity exists on this score. Of course, we do not forget that the politicians in the capitalist countries will not cease to represent the interests of the dominant forces in their states. But it is precisely this that makes necessary relations based on peaceful coexistence, equality, respect for sovereignty, non-interference and mutual advantage. In the struggle for détente, it is a matter precisely of preserving peace and excluding war as a means of settling inter-state disputes despite differences in social relations.

We have no illusions: it will still take a sharp and unflagging struggle to achieve a change for the better in the world political situation. In the USA, the

barometer still indicates confrontation and an unprecedented gigantic arms program, and the USA still has not dropped its striving for military superiority. But the forces opposing this have not become weaker or less numerous. On the contrary, socialism continues to strengthen.

That which has always been determinant in our actions is the principle: do everything to ensure that war never again starts from German soil. The blame for the alarming deterioration in the international situation and for the fact that the Pershing II and Cruise missile deployment in Western Europe has increased the threat of a nuclear holocaust largely rests with the FRG government, which approved this deployment. It is again becoming possible that a war will be unleashed from German soil, from FRG territory. Let Bonn not pretend to be surprised that all this seriously affects the FRG's political relations with the socialist countries on which the Pershing II and Cruise missiles are targeted, especially since recent decisions of the West European Union have lifted the last restrictions on the production of certain weapons systems in the FRG.

If the incorrigible politicians in the FRG, including high-ranking ones, are encouraged by the U.S. administration's "crusade" policy and first-strike weapons, and if they step up their propaganda of the revanchist slogans and "cold war" theses of the 1950s, this rightly encounters resolute opposition in both East and West.

The 35th anniversary of the GDR was conclusive proof of the complete futility of any such aspirations. We have always given them a fitting rebuff. History teaches that he who does not deal with reality ends up in a dead end. That will be so in the future as well.

As a result of the Second World War and postwar development, two sovereign German states independent of each other exist. They are an integral element of the equilibrium of forces in Europe and therefore of the European peace system. All European peoples can coexist with the two German states. However, any attempt to upset the existing balance of forces is inadmissible.

It is necessary to understand once and for all that the talk about "existence of a German Reich within the 1937 borders" is imbued with a desire to change the results of the Second World War and postwar development in favor of German imperialism.

It can only be a matter of regulating and building relations between both German states — socialist GDR, which belongs to the Warsaw Treaty, and capitalist FRG, which is part of NATO — on the principles of peaceful coexistence. The treaty on the principles of relations says unequivocally on this score that the GDR and the FRG shall develop relations between themselves on the basis of equality.

As is well known, the treaty on the principles of relations begins with the words that both sides are guided by a desire to contribute to international détente and the ensuring of security in Europe, mindful of their responsibility for preserving peace. It is this which is important. Since it is a question of peace, we have always sought to build GDR-FRG

relations in accordance with the norms of international law.

The preservation of peace is a vitally important question for both German states, which should consult each other on European security and help seal in international law the renunciation of the use of force. Especially given the greater danger, the borders in Europe must not be questioned.

The cooperation of the GDR and other socialist countries with the states of Africa, Asia and Latin America are characterized by joint actions for peace and progress, against the imperialist policy of arms build-up and confrontation, and against the course toward intimidation and blackmail. Using or threatening to use force and making flagrant use of the economic dependence and difficult financial situation of a number of countries of these continents, imperialism is bent on subordinating them anew to its diktat. But the peoples will not permit the realization of this design. Their desire for social progress in conditions of a reliable peace and their increasingly resolute actions against the war danger and inequality will not be suppressed.

The states, peoples and forces subject to imperialist aggression and humiliating racism can count on our support and solidarity in the future as well. We strongly denounce the imperialist policy of fanning existing conflicts and creating new seats of tension and crisis in an effort to maintain or restore imperialist influence. This applies both to the Middle East and to the situation in Africa or Latin America.

In line with the decisions of the 10th party congress, the Political Bureau has done active work to deepen further the cooperation of the communist and workers' parties, the forces of the working class movement and all anti-imperialist forces. These questions were the focus of the 39 meetings which I and other members and alternate members of the Political Bureau had with General Secretaries, Chairmen and other leaders of communist and revolutionary-democratic parties of non-socialist countries.

Latin American fraternal parties have proposed that the question of an international meeting of communist and workers' parties be considered. The time has apparently come to think about whether and in what form the communist and workers' parties could hold a meeting to discuss the burning issues of today and their cooperation with other forces. In its response to the proposal to convene a world meeting of communist and workers' parties made at the July 5-7 Buenos Aires conference of communist and workers' parties in South America, our party declared its readiness to begin consultations so as to discuss this matter collectively.

We can justly say that our economy is well prepared to tackle the future tasks, which, of course, will not become easier.

Of fundamental significance is the fact that we are considerably expanding scientific, technical and economic cooperation with the Soviet Union. The stable export to the USSR agreed on for the long term and the deliveries from the USSR of raw material, power sources and important equipment that are assured into the distant future are a main condi-

tion for making increasingly efficient use of our internal sources of growth as well.

Mutual deliveries rose by approximately 57 per cent in the 1980-1984 period. After two and a half years of joint preparation, a long-term program for developing GDR-USSR cooperation in science, technology and production to the year 2000 was recently signed. This can be called an historic step aimed to link our countries' economies even more closely.

We take the very same approach to the tasks stemming from the CMEA Economic Summit decisions, in whose preparation our party played a constructive part. It is fully in this spirit that the 1986-1990 economic plans are being coordinated, plans which will determine the content of the long-term trade agreements and thereby the volume and

structure of our future trade.

In the area of the country's defense, everything necessary was done to safeguard socialism in accordance with the concrete requirements.

During my meeting with the Commander-in-Chief of the United Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty States, Marshal of the Soviet Union Victor Kulikov, we discussed the tasks of further deepening the spirit of fraternity and the cooperation of the allied armed forces arising out of the present military and political situation. It was emphasized that the GDR will continue always to live up to its Warsaw Treaty commitments in the interests of peace and defense of socialism's gains.

Abridged from *Neues Deutschland*,
November 23, 1984

Greetings by Konstantin Chernenko to Participants in the National Conference of Peace Champions

I cordially greet the participants in the National Conference of Peace Champions.

Growing public involvement in the drive to safeguard peace has become a symbol of the times. The large-scale peace movement which has grown up in recent years and become truly international, has won great prestige as a social and political force in many countries and already made an important contribution to the preservation of peace. This instills confidence in people and encourages them to take even more vigorous, purposeful and concerted action against the threat of war.

Millions of Soviet peace champions are marching with the world's peace forces. By their activities they demonstrate the firm moral and political unity, high civic awareness and active approach to life typical of the Soviet people who are patriots and internationalists.

The role of the Soviet peace movement today is growing increasingly important and responsible. It is essential to be vigorous in bringing the truth about the Leninist foreign policy of the Soviet Union to people throughout the world, in exposing the intrigues of the enemies of peace, détente and disarmament, and in promoting contacts and cooperation with all those working to remove the nuclear war threat.

The creative efforts of every Soviet citizen are the most effective personal contribution to the cause of peace. The better the state of affairs in our economy, the stronger the USSR internationally and the greater the security of the Soviet people and of all nations.

Your conference is being held in the year of great significance for all progressive humankind, the year of the 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism and the end of World War II. In memory of those who gave their lives for that great victory and for the peaceful life of present and future generations, it is

imperative that we do everything in our power to achieve a fundamental change for the better in the international situation as a whole.

No task is more important today than to avert a nuclear war. Prevention of an arms race in space and simultaneous progress in radical reductions of nuclear arms up to and including their complete elimination would be the beginning of its successful accomplishment.

Guided by these considerations, the Soviet Union has proposed Soviet-U.S. talks on space weapons and nuclear arms. We intend to conduct them in a businesslike and constructive manner. Let us hope that the United States will also adopt an honest and responsible approach.

I wish Soviet peace champions and all peace forces throughout the world new major successes.

Konstantin Chernenko
Pravda, January 24, 1985

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

Y. Bugrov

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On the 40th Anniversary of the Victory Over Hitler's Fascism and the Liberation of the German People

Message from the SUPG Central Committee, the GDR State Council, the GDR Council of Ministers and the National Council of the GDR National Front to the citizens of the republic.

Dear fellow citizens,
Comrades and friends,

Together with all those who are for peace, understanding among nations, social progress and humanism, our people are commemorating the 40th anniversary of the victory of the Soviet Union over Hitler's fascism and the liberation of the German people from the Nazi yoke. The Soviet Union, jointly with its allies in the anti-Nazi coalition — the United States, France, Britain and other countries — and with millions of freedom fighters throughout Europe, defeated Hitler's fascism. The Soviet people and their glorious army bore the brunt of this struggle. Theirs is the greatest contribution to the extirpation of the plague of fascism.

After the Great October Revolution, this victory was the second mission of liberation by which the Soviet people made world history in this century. It saved human civilization from fascist barbarism. It brought liberation from the Nazi yoke to the German people too. It paved the way to the establishment of the German Democratic Republic. Thanks to this victory, Europe has lived in peace for four decades now.

Thousands of links bind our life, our work and our struggle to May 8, 1945, the Day of Liberation. In the German Democratic Republic, the 40th anniversary of the victory over Hitler's fascism will be a landmark on our way to the 11th congress of the SUPG.

We shall never forget how much this victory and liberation cost. The bloodstained record of the German fascists totals almost 50 million deaths, including 20 million Soviet citizens, over 6 million Poles, 1,700,000 Yugoslavs, 600,000 French, 400,000 Americans and 375,000 Britons. The fascist war brought death to over six million Germans.

The memory of those who died is a warning to us and also an obligation. In the struggle we wage today for peace and socialism we are guided by the oath sworn by the fighters against fascism.

THE SOVIET PEOPLE BORE THE BRUNT OF THE STRUGGLE

Hitler's fascism launched the war to attain world domination for the German monopolists and big landowners. Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland were its first victims. Having overrun most of the other European countries, fascism attacked the Soviet Union in an attempt to destroy this mainstay of socialism and advance guard of human progress. This turned World War II into what was primarily a struggle between two social systems — between the most reactionary imperialist dictatorship and socialism.

The Soviet Union had tried to take a timely step and set up a system of collective security aimed

against the aggressor. The anti-Soviet posture of Western capitalist countries doomed this policy to failure. As a result, before attacking the Soviet Union, Hitler's Germany moved against these countries in order to secure sufficiently deep and economically strong positions in the rear for an attack against the USSR.

The Soviet-German front became the principal front of World War II. Here was where the decisive battles were fought.

Fascist soldiers engaged in murder and plunder. They razed cities, villages, factories and schools to the ground. The material losses suffered by the Soviet Union totalled over two trillion roubles. But the Red Army dealt the aggressive predator such crushing blows that they eventually led to the rout and unconditional surrender of Hitler's Germany. Thaelmann's prophetic words came true: Stalin did break Hitler's neck.

The victory of the Soviet Union in the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet people demonstrated the historical superiority of the future-oriented socialist society and showed that socialism could never be defeated or capitalist exploitation restored. Socialism is historical progress, the well-being and future of nations.

The victory of the Soviet Union made an impact on all subsequent world developments. It introduced far-reaching changes into the international alignment of forces, helped to transform socialism into a world system and contributed to the upsurge of the communist and working class movement, to the rapid national liberation and social emancipation and to the collapse of the imperialist colonial system.

The victory of the Soviet Union, won under the leadership of the CPSU, the party of Lenin, means a victory of humanism, freedom and human dignity over the "superman" forces, the forces of racism and anti-Semitism with all their terrible prisons and concentration camps set up for wholesale murder, with all their guillotines, gas chambers and crematoriums.

The victory of the Soviet Union was brought about by the selfless efforts of the entire Soviet people and by the wise leadership of the CPSU and its Central Committee headed by I. V. Stalin. It was a victory of the Soviet art of war, of outstanding generals, of the heroism displayed by Soviet soldiers on a mass scale.

The victory of the Soviet Union whose material and ideological basis fascism tried to destroy was a victory of the immortal ideas of socialism, of the doctrine of Marx, Engels and Lenin. It proved the political and moral superiority of the socialist social and government system over capitalist exploitation and oppression. It was won in the name of a world with-

out slavery or oppression for working people, a world in which all peoples and countries would one day become friends because they would all be guided by the same principle — that of labor and the good of the people.

GERMAN ANTI-FASCISTS IN THE RANKS OF THE WINNERS

By that time the struggle against the Nazi clique had shaped a unique front of peoples and governments, of various social and political quarters, of the forces of resistance and liberation. Broad popular movements emerged, working against fascism and war, for freedom, democracy, national independence and socialism.

We shall never forget the heroes of Brest, Moscow, Leningrad and Stalingrad, the soldiers of Poland, the Resistance fighters of France, the guerrillas of Yugoslavia, the participants of the Slovak National Uprising, the courageous anti-fascists of Amsterdam, the defenders of Narvik, the martyrs of Marzabotto, or the patriots who raised a red flag over the Acropolis.

Nor shall German anti-fascists ever be forgotten. After the defeat of the November 1918 Revolution, Germany's communists were the first victims of the counter-revolutionaries. We remember Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. The German communists paid the highest price in blood when fascism was still on its way up. They warned: he who votes for Hitler votes for war!

When, supported by big capital and the East Prussia Junkers, the Nazis seized power in January 1933, the German communists offered stiff resistance to them — underground, in prisons and concentration camps, in the International Brigades and in exile. Thousands of communists gave their lives to the cause. Ernst Thaelmann symbolized the courage and fortitude of Germany's communists, of all those who opposed Hitler. The Communist Party of Germany did not pause for a single moment in its struggle against fascism inside the country. It fought together with social democrats, trade union activists, Christians, bourgeois democrats and patriotic army officers for joint action against Hitler. These efforts were also expressed in the establishment of the Free Germany movement and its national committee, a movement that was a broad militant alliance of German anti-fascists both in Germany and abroad.

That was why on June 11, 1945, immediately upon liberation, the communists addressed an appeal to the people from the CPG Central Committee. In it, they said: "Do not repeat the mistakes of 1918! No leniency toward Nazism!" And, "End anti-Soviet propaganda forever!" That was "the other Germany" which the communists had always represented. This was a new Germany which from then on was to become a factor of peace and social progress.

WE IN THE GDR HAVE TAKEN UP THE CHANCE OFFERED BY 1945

The mission of liberation discharged by the Soviet Union gave our people a chance to embark on a new, anti-fascist, democratic and socialist path. We did

not forego that chance. We made that choice proceeding from the entire experience of German history, of the German working class movement accumulated since the time of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels.

We were able to seize upon this chance because we had learned a very important lesson. We attained unity of the working class: in April 1946 the CPG and the SDPG merged into the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. The leading role played by a Marxist-Leninist party of the working class has been an indispensable factor in all our accomplishments and is a reliable basis on which all anti-fascist democratic forces are allied.

After the Liberation we swore that war would never again emanate from German soil. It was a weighty pledge, consonant with the interests and desires of millions of our citizens. And, from the outset, it was not merely a declaration, for we created the social conditions necessary to translate it into reality. In accordance with the Potsdam Agreements, we extirpated militarism and the imperialist roots of war. As early as the year of Liberation, we carried out a democratic land reform and a school reform. Enterprises owned by Nazis and war criminals became the property of the people. Democratic government bodies and security agencies and an anti-fascist judicial system were created.

In October 1949 the German Democratic Republic was established. That was a turning point in German and European history. Our Republic emerged on the world scene as a German state dedicated to peace. From the moment of its birth, it has been marching side by side with the Soviet Union, our liberator, and with other socialist countries. It lives in friendship with all peoples.

Within the context of the overall revolutionary process, anti-fascist democratic transformations were effected and the basis of socialism was laid. We are building a developed socialist society. Today, 40 years after the Liberation, the German Democratic Republic is a state which enjoys great prestige throughout the world thanks to its policy of peace and the creative efforts of its citizens. We are effectively pursuing the course adopted at the eight congress of the SUPG and reaffirmed at the ninth and tenth congresses and aimed at discharging the principal task which combines aspects of both economic and social policy. Government by workers and peasants rests on a firm foundation. The determined and skillful efforts of our working class, members of farmers' cooperatives, intellectuals and all other working people enable our national economy to develop dynamically and effectively. Every opportunity for cooperation and participation in management, a high level of education, social security, genuine freedom and a sense of confidence in the future — these are the salient features of life in our country, where a free people shapes its own destiny in a free land. Everything we do we do for human happiness, for the good of the people.

We are citizens of our country, linked by firm bonds of confidence with the party of the working class. We are the parties which cooperate in the

Democratic Bloc and the National Front — the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SUPG), the Democratic Peasant Party of Germany (DPPG), the Christian Democratic Union (CDU), the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany (LDPG) and the National Democratic Party of Germany (NDPG); as well as the Association of Free German Trade Unions (AFGTU), the Free German Youth (FGY), the Democratic Women's Union of Germany (DWUG), other mass organizations and millions of people unaffiliated to any party.

Looking back at the path we have traversed since Liberation, we can say that the indestructible fraternal unity of the SUPG and the CPSU, of our peoples and governments is one of the foremost gains of our development. Friendship with the Soviet Union has taken firm root in the hearts of the people of the GDR. For many, the Soviet Union meant the first piece of bread at a time when the flames of war were still raging. For many, the Soviet Union meant their first contact with socialism, its culture and its human values. For millions of our citizens, the Soviet Union is the embodiment of day-to-day comradesly cooperation for a common cause.

Today, we are translating into reality the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance between the GDR and the USSR signed in 1975. Today, we are following up on the Long-Term Program to Promote GDR-Soviet Cooperation in Science, Technology and Production up to the Year 2000. Our economic, political, ideological and military cooperation with the Soviet Union is advancing on all fronts. Our effective participation in the CMEA and our active membership in the Warsaw Treaty Organization give us strength and ensure our security.

THE RESULTS OF THE WAR ARE FOREVER INVOLABLE

When the Soviet Union and its allies put an end to the fascist regime on May 8, 1945, the German Reich perished in the flames of World War II. This was the final sentence passed by history.

Two states sprang up on German soil — the socialist German Democratic Republic and the capitalist Federal Republic of Germany. They are two sovereign states independent of one another. They are an element in the balance of forces which resulted from the war and the postwar developments, an indispensable element of a peaceful Europe.

The obligation to do everything possible to prevent war from ever emanating from German soil also applies to the FRG, the other German state. It is therefore incumbent on the FRG to observe the Yalta and Potsdam Agreements, the Helsinki Final Act and its treaties with the GDR, the USSR, Poland and Czechoslovakia. Those in the FRG who assert their commitment to peace must follow the spirit and letter of these treaties.

Running counter to this is the instigative deployment of Pershing II and Cruise missiles which increase the danger of a nuclear inferno — a war in which there would be neither winners nor losers.

Running counter to this is the fact that, made bold by the U.S. and NATO nuclear capability, some

people in Bonn loudly make revanchist claims. Clearly, attempts to revise the results of World War II and of the postwar developments are doomed. The establishment of the GDR meant an irreversible historical defeat of any revanchist policy.

Through four decades we have always rebuffed all talk about a "German Reich within the 1937 borders" as it should be rebuffed, and this attitude of ours will not change.

One thing is clear: a peaceful Europe for which so much blood was shed in the struggle against Hitler's fascism demands that the security and the border of all countries of our continent be recognized as inviolable. Those in the FRG who refer to May 8, 1945 as a day of mourning, those who speak about surrender and not liberation and who would like to redraw the map of Europe put themselves beyond the pale of history and endanger peace in Europe.

THE FOREMOST LESSON OF THE WAR: TO ENSURE PEACE

Today, four decades since the rout of fascism, peace is again in danger. The more aggressive imperialist quarters, especially of the United States and NATO, are aiming at military superiority; this means an all-out attempt to change the results of World War II and of the postwar period. Their policy of a nuclear arms race and blackmail is designed to attain world domination. They want to destroy socialism by force. Their action is directed against the national liberation movement: today, this is obvious from the U.S. threats of aggression against Nicaragua.

The foremost lesson of World War II and the behest of the anti-fascists — "Rally all forces together to prevent nuclear catastrophe" — is now more topical than ever.

Faced with the most dangerous situation of the entire postwar period, faced with an imperialist offensive against all that stands for progress, we declare: "Now it is especially important: Everything for peace!"

For peace means: now that U.S. first-strike nuclear weapons have been deployed in the FRG and other West European countries, everything possible must be done to strengthen and defend socialism. Everyone can contribute to it at his or her place of employment, by his day-to-day work. Socialism and peace are indivisible.

For peace means: we must be more vigorous than ever in attaining the highest possible degree of labor productivity, in intensifying production in all spheres and on a wide scale, in developing the productive forces of our republic in accordance with the highest international standards, and in doing all we can to demonstrate, by accomplishing ever more in the economic and social fields, the well-established fact that socialism is historically superior.

For peace means: our foreign policy and our policy of security must be aimed at ending the pernicious arms race. We welcome the agreement reached between the Soviet Union and the United States to conduct new talks on the entire range of issues concerning nuclear and space weapons. The USSR has expressed its readiness to consider the most radical

of solutions if this helps to stop the arms race and prevent militarization of outer space.

For peace — with this end in view the socialist countries have submitted their proposals designed to ease the military confrontation and bring back détente: a freeze on all nuclear arsenals; universal renunciation of first use of nuclear weapons, to emulate the Soviet example; disarmament on the basis of equality and equal security; establishment of nuclear-free zones (and the GDR is ready to incorporate all its territory in such a zone); prevention of the manufacture, stockpiling and use of chemical weapons; conclusion of a treaty on the mutual non-use of armed force and on the maintenance of peaceful relations between the Warsaw Treaty Organization and NATO.

For peace — with this end in view we work to prevent the more aggressive imperialist quarters from achieving military superiority and make our contribution to the maintenance of strategic military parity between the Warsaw Treaty Organization and NATO. To renounce this means to forget the lessons of World War II.

For peace — with this end in view we work to continue our policy of constructive dialogue and thus contribute to the creation of an international coalition of reason and realism. The objective of the anti-Nazi coalition which was formed in the course of World War II and which united more than 50 countries was to destroy fascism, man's worst enemy. Today, a coalition of reason must keep humankind safe from nuclear catastrophe.

The peace movement of the peoples of all five continents is growing. It is a force the imperialists cannot afford to ignore. Never since World War II, has the threat been as grave but, equally, never have the forces capable of blocking the moves of the more aggressive imperialist quarters toward confrontation and the arms race been as powerful.

Dear fellow citizens,
Comrades and friends,

The year 1985 is not 1939 or 1941. Today, the forces of peace and social progress are incomparably stronger than half a century ago. There exists a tangible opportunity to prevent a global nuclear

conflagration if socialism, the international working class movement, the non-aligned movement and the movement of peoples for peace bring all their weight to bear in order to tip the balance. Favorable opportunities are in evidence for the creation of a community which would be guided by a sense of responsibility, which would unite representatives of all classes and social strata, people of all races, all philosophies and denominations. We have reason to be optimistic. And one of the strongest reasons behind our confidence and the secure future of our children and grandchildren is our indissoluble unity with our liberators and brothers in the Soviet Union, with the most powerful country dedicated to peace.

We shall do everything to consolidate this unity even more and to raise its economic, political and spiritual potential to a level equal to the even more important tasks that we face.

We shall do everything to strengthen and effectively safeguard, as before, our socialist German Democratic Republic. Here, of great importance are efforts to fulfil and usefully overfulfil the 1985 economic plan and to smoothly take up the five-year plan for 1986-1990. The accomplishments of our working people in the socialist emulation campaign will be a worthy monument to the liberators from fascism.

We shall do everything to score even greater successes in building a developed socialist society as we prepare for the 40th anniversary of the victory and Liberation and in anticipation of the forthcoming 11th congress of the SUPG. Honest work, diligence and initiative mean a contribution to the well-being and happiness of the people, to security and peace.

This is how the 40th anniversary of the victory over Hitler's fascism and our liberation is understood by the people of the GDR who stand side by side with the Soviet Union, who are a reliable integral part of the socialist community, and who are among the forces committed to the preservation of peace — peace which was so hard to attain and for which such a high price was paid. We shall not waver in following this path.

Neues Deutschland,
January 11, 1985

The Day of Liberation and Peace

Resolution of the GCP Board on Preparations for May 8, 1985, the 40th Anniversary of Liberation

On May 8, 1985 it will be 40 years since the end of World War II. We communists welcome May 8 as the day of liberation and peace. This memorable anniversary will leave a distinct imprint on political discussions in our country. The working class movement, the anti-fascist Resistance movement, the peace movement and all of the democratic public will derive from it historical lessons of importance for today's world. Conversely, the right-wing conservative forces will again try to falsify history and

misrepresent the causes of the war and of fascism.

The Board therefore calls on all GCP members, trade union activists and members of the peace, youth and women's movements to prepare for May 8, 1985 in the spirit of the struggle for peace and jobs, against the arms race and against revanchism.

May 8, 1945 was the day when the military juggernaut of German imperialism was destroyed completely. It was the day of liberation from Hitler's fascism for the German people, the peoples of

Europe and all humankind. It was the day of victory over barbarism.

It is a historical truth that credit for the victory over fascism and for the liberation from the greatest evil in human history goes above all to the Soviet Union. Over 20 million Soviet citizens gave their lives in this struggle. As many as 7,300,000 Germans — men, women, teenagers and children — perished in that war of conquest which was not their war. The Red Army inflicted on Hitler's army defeats which decided the outcome of the war. Our people owe the victory over fascism to the peoples of the anti-Nazi coalition who suffered huge losses. Our people also owe the victory over fascism to those men and women who took part in the German Resistance. They all have the gratitude and respect of our people.

War must never emanate from German soil again — that was the unanimous conclusion all democratic forces arrived at in 1945. Today, however, an arms build-up aimed against the Soviet Union is again under way, more aggressively than ever. U.S. imperialism has deployed in the Federal Republic first-strike nuclear weapons targeted on Moscow and Leningrad. Like 40 years ago, a devastating war of mind-boggling proportions may be launched from German soil. And if a definitive conclusion is to be drawn from the lessons of May 8, it must be this: "Get nuclear missiles out of our country! Disarmament and continued détente instead of the arms build-up, confrontation and the anti-communist 'crusade'!"

If 40 years after the liberation from fascism and war the leading CDU/CSU politicians again question the postwar border arrangements and hold forth on "the German Reich within the 1937 borders," if revanchist associations are rearing their ugly heads, if neo-Nazi groups are free to go on a rampage while communists are subjected to unconstitutional bans on occupations, in these conditions the purpose of the 40th anniversary of liberation must be to trace the roots of war and fascism and expose the past and present role played by German big capital, especially by the military-industrial monopolies. Political and economic power must be taken away from the military-industrial concerns such as the Flick concern which used to finance the Nazis just as it finances Bonn politicians today.

The day of liberation also reminds us of the new democratic beginnings the finest forces of our people tried to make after the rout of fascism. A new, anti-militarist and democratic Germany was to emerge, cleansed of Nazism and racial hatred. A national trade union was established. The goal was to strip the monopolies of power, expropriate the military-industrial concerns and effect land reforms. These were the purposes of the communists, social democrats and Christian workers. After all, the bitter lessons of fascism and war urgently demanded joint action from the working class. In the eastern part of the country the social democrats and the communists merged into a single party, thus becoming the leading force there. In the west, the imperialist occupation authorities, and their German accomplices blocked this historically ordained

development. While the GDR observed the principles of the Potsdam Agreements which stipulated the creation of a democratic postwar Germany, the FRG, under overwhelming pressure from the United States, embarked on the road of restoring the old regime and the old relations of property. Yet again, German imperialism began to gain economic and political strength.

And if today, 40 years later, our country is in the grip of crisis-ridden capitalism with its arms race, mass unemployment, revival of revanchism and anti-Sovietism, if the monopolies can buy anything — cabinet ministers, the law and whole governments — then this makes the historical experience gained by the working class in 1945 extremely topical: what is needed is joint action against the right-wing forces, joint action in the struggle for peace, joint action in the struggle for jobs and wages!

The GCP Board calls on all members and organizations of the party, on all its leading bodies to prepare for May 8, 1985 in the spirit of this resolution and to advance their own initiatives.

The GCP Board welcomes the initiatives of the Association of Persons Persecuted under Nazism — the Anti-Fascist Union and the efforts of trade unions, young union members, the peace movement, the Social Democratic Party and politically active Christians — the initiatives and efforts aimed at marking May 8 as a day of peace and a reminder about the lessons of history.

We communists support everything that promotes joint action within the framework of democratic alliances. The foremost lesson of May 8, 1945 tells us that a threat to peace must be resisted. We must offer resistance when democracy is curtailed, when revanchism and neo-Nazism are again growing arrogant. Better rebuff a turn to the right before it reaches its terrifying culmination, before its terrible seeds sprout into life!

Unsere Zeit,
November 28, 1984

The Working Class and the Trade Unions in the USSR

E. Vittenberg

Paper 316 pp \$4.50

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Poland: A Big Step Has Been Taken Toward Normalization of the Situation in the Country

**Address by Wojciech Jaruzelski,
First Secretary of the PUPP CC**

A plenary meeting of the PUPP CC, held on December 21 and 22, 1984, in Warsaw, discussed a report by the PUPP CC Political Bureau on the tasks to implement the 1985 economic plan and adopted a relevant resolution.

Also approved was a PUPP CC resolution on the 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism and the reunification of the western and northern lands with Poland.

Below is an abridged text of an address by PUPP CC First Secretary Jaruzelski at the meeting.

The year that is ending was on the whole fruitful. It can be said with confidence that this year was not a purposeless one for our socialist homeland. It was a period of enormous efforts by our party, its bodies and organizations, and of hard work by the Central Committee and Political Bureau. By their labor the Polish working people showed that they support the party's program, which aims to strengthen our homeland.

We are not coloring the truth. Not everyone in our country made an equal contribution to the achievements of the outgoing year. There were also many who stubbornly pulled Poland backward, but it was not they who determined the main course of events.

We have done much. There is no area in which progress has not been made. Despite all the difficulties, despite all the enemy's attacks, we step by step created the conditions for making the process of socialist renewal and the strengthening of socialist Poland irreversible.

The party proved its loyalty to the Leninist principles and its consistency and perseverance in carrying out the program of the ninth PUPP congress.

The class trade union movement, which has entered a new phase of its development, has been strengthening. The formation of the All-Poland Trade Union Accord will help the trade unions to acquire the important role which they must play under socialism. Our party resolutely supports this process.

The law on people's councils opened a new chapter in the history of socialist democracy. Elections to the people's councils and the recent elections to the self-government bodies, celebration of the 40th anniversary of Poland's rebirth, broadening of the activity of the Patriotic Movement for National Regeneration and its important initiatives — such are the landmarks on the road toward national accord.

Fewer people now respond to hostile calls. We have taken important measures to normalize the situation in the country. This was facilitated by the broad amnesty.

The recent criminal provocation* directed against our party's line and the interests of the socialist state

did not halt the positive processes although in some areas it made their development more complicated and difficult. Vestiges of the anti-socialist extremist forces are still making themselves felt, but we will not allow them to be legalized in any form. All who break the law must be made to answer for it.

Ideas and proposals which arise in the party, especially at CC plenary meetings, are not shelved as they used to be. Adherence to the line of the ninth PUPP congress is confirmed, notably, by the fact that we publish plans and schedules for carrying out the tasks set by the regular CC meetings. It has become a rule to inform the public on their fulfillment.

At the same time, rereading the CC meetings' decisions and my own discourses at these sessions, I feel dissatisfied that some correct concepts and plans have still not been fully realized. For, after all, the efforts being exerted are enormous. The pulse of party work is beating ever more rapidly. In spite of this, the results are out of proportion to the intentions.

In the past this was a vicious circle. The so-called "top" complained that the "bottom" did not appreciate the profound wisdom with which all the activity of the "top" was imbued. In their turn, the "localities" believed that the "top" did not understand the real conditions and did not know what was really happening in the country. And in reality the key executive mechanisms did not work. That is what we are beginning gradually to overcome.

At the 14th plenary meeting a year ago we said: fulfillment is above all discipline. Does the possibility exist to ensure it? I think so. Those who do not understand decisions must have them explained. Those who do not know how to carry them out must be taught. Those who refuse to must be made to do so.

Summing up the main problems raised during the debate at the plenary meeting, it can be said that the ensuring of performance discipline, fewer new decisions and more, substantially more, verification of how decisions adopted are fulfilled — such is the chief task which must guide us in the year ahead.

On the whole we assess 1984 as a successful year. Progress has been registered in almost every area — industry, agriculture, supply of the domestic mar-

*The kidnapping and murder of the Roman Catholic priest Jerzy Popieluszko. — Ed.

ket. Management efficiency and labor productivity have been raised. But difficulties still exist in acquiring consumer goods. There are many complaints about the forms and low level of services. The disproportion in the size of pensions and many other shortcomings are vexing. A very lively discussion is under way about earnings and prices and their impact on the family budget.

The Executive Committee of the All-Poland Trade Union Accord has published its position regarding next year's economic measures. It is motivated by concern for the living conditions of the working people of Poland. We understand, respect and share these motives. In working on the 1985 plan and budget, we repeatedly considered all possibilities for limiting price changes, improving the situation on the domestic market and raising real earnings.

I think the most urgent and important is the fight against mismanagement. In addition to the management, party organizations and self-management bodies, the trade unions must also deal with this matter.

Our common achievement has been the positive effect of introducing enterprises' economic independence. But independence cannot mean arbitrariness and disregard for the interests of the country as a whole. There was literally no day on which the control bodies did not report incidents in which the spirit and even letter of the norms governing the functioning of the economy were breached. An example is the abuse of independence in the formulation of work schedules.

All of us are concerned and even alarmed at the secondary but socially extremely harmful instances of an incorrect understanding and abuse of independence.

I speak of this having in mind care about our common party endeavor — success of the economic reform. The results show that on the whole this reform has been justified. In its main aspect it is already irreversible. After the first three difficult years, the time has now come to speak not so much of reform as of a new system of economic functioning.

While supporting the reform, many comrades pointed to the need to stabilize its principles and mechanisms and the need to make the changes suggested by experience. To this end, broad consultations are soon to be held at the enterprises. Then, in the first half of next year, I propose that we organize an all-Poland party-economic meeting on this subject. Its conclusions should be the basis of solid and stable principles and mechanisms of economic functioning in the next five-year plan period.

Our economy has enormous reserves that have not yet been exhausted. This primarily concerns a rise in the quality of goods. Experts assess that 60 per cent of the present shortcomings in their quality are the result of subjective causes.

The year 1984 brought a large harvest and good indicators in agriculture. But it should not be forgotten for even a minute that our food problem has not yet been resolved. The productivity of agriculture and a number of other economic sectors linked with it is insufficient. We still import millions

of tons of grain and fodder. This year was successful but who knows what next year will be like. Work needs to be done today to ensure that it will at least be no worse than the outgoing one.

Next year two anniversaries of importance for Poland will be marked: the 40th anniversary of the historic victory over fascism and the 40th anniversary of the reunification of the western and northern lands with Poland. In keeping with the plenary meeting decision, we are going to mark these anniversaries in a fitting manner, remembering our party's immense contribution to Poland's return to the Baltic Sea and the banks of the Oder and Neisse-Luznice.

In past years external factors have had a particularly tangible effect on our economy, but Poland did not allow itself to be pushed from the socialist way.

Step by step we are re-establishing our positions in the socialist community and in Europe. A very important milestone in Poland's development was the visit to the USSR by a party and government delegation of the PPR and its meetings and talks with comrade Konstantin Chernenko, and also the signing in Moscow of a "Long-Term Program for the Development of Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation Between the USSR and the PPR to the Year 2000." Friendly meetings also took place with leaders of other socialist countries — comrades Janos Kadar, Erich Honecker and Gustav Husak. Further contacts are planned.

Poland's cooperation within the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance is strengthening. An important step in this direction was the CMEA Economic Summit.

The internationalist aid and support which the socialist community, the USSR first and foremost, has been giving us played an invaluable role in wrecking the policy of "sanctions" against the PPR. This policy was doomed to failure from the very outset.

The Polish People's Republic is interested in equal participation in the international division of labor. We have repeatedly stated that we can repay our debts if conditions are created — on the part of our creditors as well — for the normal development of the PPR's economy. We expect that reason will eventually win out.

Our country's international position is largely determined by its internal activity, unity and strength. The stronger socialism in Poland, the higher our country's international authority and the firmer our alliances.

There are still many objective difficulties. These are the limited raw material resources, the meager material possibilities, the large debt, the "sanctions," and the disadvantageous price correlation in external trade. Shortage of labor is also a reality even while there has been an extremely large population growth. Between 1980 and 1985 our country's population will increase by more than two million. All the consequences of this need to be taken into consideration.

The PUWP is accountable to the people, the world revolutionary movement and history for our socialist state. It must take into account not only what is

desired but also what actually exists. The objective difficulties of which I spoke cannot be overcome through loud appeals.

High efficiency in implementing decisions in every area and at every level — such is the main watchword of the report and election campaign soon

to begin in the party. The planned holding of the 10th PUWP congress in the first half of 1986 makes it incumbent on us to give a thorough assessment of what has been done and what still needs to be done.

Abridged

PAP News Agency

On the Convocation of the Third Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba

CP Cuba CC Plenary Meeting Resolution

The 10th plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the CP Cuba was held in Havana from December 24 to 26, 1984, to discuss the holding of the third congress of the CP Cuba (the text of its resolution appears below).

The plenary meeting also considered the drafts of the Integral State Plan for Economic and Social Development and the State Budget for 1985. It gave much attention to further invigorating the political and ideological activity of the party and mass social organizations in raising the country's defense capability.

A closing speech at the plenary meeting was delivered by Fidel Castro, First Secretary of the CPC CC, and Chairman of the Council of State and of the Council of Ministers.

In keeping with the statutes of the Communist Party of Cuba, the 10th plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the party resolved to hold the third congress of the party in December 1985, and to make public the announcement of its convocation on January 1, the day on which all the people of Cuba jubilantly celebrate the 26th anniversary of the triumph of the revolution.

Accordingly, the Central Preparatory Commission, composed of the members of the Political Bureau and the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the party, has been formed to deal with all the main matters relating to the organization of the third congress, to take the pertinent decisions, and guide the whole pre-congress political process, primarily, the holding of reporting-and-election meetings in grassroots organizations and intermediate party organizations, and the election of delegates to the congress. In order to perform these tasks, the Central Preparatory Commission will duly coordinate its work with the Young Communist League (YCL), the Central Organization of Cuban Trade Unions (CTU), and other social and mass organizations and central state-administration agencies.

The third congress of the party is to make a critical analysis of the extent to which the political, economic, social and cultural objectives set by the second congress have been fulfilled. Having considered all the positive and valuable elements brought out in the course of such analysis, the third congress is to define the basic tasks for the next five-year period and map out the guidelines for the development of Cuban society through to the year 2000.

The Central Committee of the party believes that the conditions exist for writing the program of the Communist Party of Cuba.

This crucial document, which should become the party's most important political and theoretical work, will reassert the correctness of the socialist work chosen by the revolutionary people of Cuba, and will show the perspectives of its secure future.

The party program will be rooted in the Cuban

people's heroic history and the experience of their struggle for national liberation and social emancipation. Its conclusions will be based on more than 30 years of struggle, revolutionary transformations and victories under the leadership of comrade Fidel Castro, founder of the Communist Party and of the socialist state.

The wealth of the scientific ideas of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, the contribution of the contemporary revolutionary working class and popular movement, and the gains of world socialism will be reflected in the formulations of the party program.

Cuba, a branch of the mighty stem of socialism, will demonstrate in the party program the present achievements in the development of society and the lofty goals which it is to attain through great efforts and austerity.

In contrast to the insurmountable crisis of capitalism, engendering wars, the arms build-up, exploitation, and economic, cultural and social decay, the party program will express the creative optimism of socialism based on the undeniable realities.

The draft party program is to be discussed by the working class and by all the other working people so that their opinions can be obtained and studied, so undoubtedly enriching its content.

The agenda of the third congress is also to include discussion and adoption of the Main Report; the Guidelines for Economic and Social Development for the 1986-1990 Period; changes in the party statutes; and the passage of important resolutions, including those pertaining to the economic management and planning system, and improvement of the country's political administrative division.

It is also to discuss the foreign policy of the Cuban revolution; improvement of the organs of the People's Power; and development of socialist democracy and socialist legality. It is equally to consider the results of the work of the Central Committee and the Control and Review Committee, and also of the party agencies and organizations throughout the country.

The congress is to elect a commission to study and hand down rulings on appeals from party members and candidate members over disciplinary measures applied to them.

The congress, being the supreme organ of the party, is to elect the Central Committee to take charge of the fulfillment of its resolutions and the conduct of the party's policy in guiding society until the following congress.

In the period prior to the third congress, all the working people of the country will have the opportunity to take part in discussing the Guidelines of Economic and Social Development for the 1986-1990 Period, thereby helping to improve them and to assure support of them from the masses, the crucial factor for their successful implementation.

Delegates to the third congress are to be elected at provincial assemblies, at conferences of the Ministry of the Revolutionary Armed Forces and the Ministry of the Interior, on the basis of one representative for every 350 party members and candidate members, and also by direct vote in a group of grassroots organizations specially selected at workplaces and military units, taking account of the positive results of their work and their economic, political and military importance.

The party will seek that workers directly connected with material production make up 30 per cent of the delegates to the third congress. The other delegates are to be elected from among workers in the services, peasants, teachers, members of the professions, engineers and technicians, journalists, artists and writers, workers of the Ministry of the Revolutionary Armed Forces and of the Ministry of the Interior, and political and administrative leaders, among others.

Twenty-six years after that glorious January First, the Central Committee of the Party calls on all the working people, above all its organized Marxist-Leninist vanguard, and the whole people to consolidate their achievements and strive for fresh successes in building socialist society.

The Central Committee calls on the invincible working class, the peasants, workers by hand and by brain, women, students, Young Communists, Young Pioneers, members of the Revolutionary

Armed Forces, and workers of the Ministry of the Interior, and the whole revolutionary people to redouble their efforts in production and in defense.

Production must guarantee future development, fulfillment of commitments, optimal use of the country's resources and maximum economies of energy and raw materials.

Special attention must be given to everything that helps to increase and diversify exports and substitute for imports, as the pivot of our activities. The quality of workmanship in the fields of health, education and culture should be further enhanced; the country's security and defense capability should be further strengthened, so as to make the year of the third congress of the party a period of new and important achievements.

Convening this most important meeting of the Cuban communists, the Central Committee of the party expresses its conviction and confidence that the people, rallied around the party more closely than ever before, will reaffirm their revolutionary consciousness and enthusiasm in carrying out the tasks outlined by the 10th plenary meeting of the Central Committee; take part with élan and vigor in broad socialist emulation in honor of the third congress of the party; score fresh successes in every field of economic and social construction; continue to strengthen the country's defense capability; and march forward to this singular moment of our history with the unflinching fighting spirit and the same firmness as that displayed by the heroic independence fighters of the past century, by the revolutionaries who fought for full liberation in the period of the neocolonial republic, and by those who have fought and died in the past 26 years in the struggle for a dignified, invincible and internationalist homeland.

Long live the 26th anniversary of the Cuban Revolution!

Long live proletarian internationalism!

Long live socialism!

Long live Marxism-Leninism!

Forward to the third congress of the Communist Party of Cuba!

Granma, January 2, 1985

Plenary Meeting of the CC, Organization of Iranian People's Fedayeen (Majority)

Report of the OIPF(M) CC Secretariat

In October 1984 the Central Committee of the Organization of Iranian People's Fedayeen (Majority) held a plenary meeting which successfully tackled all its agenda items. The plenary meeting heard a report of the Central Committee Political Bureau presented by comrade Farroh Negiahdar, First Secretary of the OIPF(M) Central Committee, and dealing with the following issues:

- the situation in the world and in the region;
- the Iranian Revolution and the evolution of the ruling quarters of the Islamic Republic;
- the political course of the OIPF(M);

- the current political situation in the country;
- activities of the Organization since the previous plenary meeting of the Central Committee.

Having heard the report, the plenary meeting ruled that it was to be published in the press.

The plenary meeting also approved the following four resolutions:

1. On the Situation in the World.
2. The Iranian Revolution and the Essence of the Ruling Regime of the Islamic Republic.
3. The Political Course of the OIPF(M).
4. The Political Situation, the Popular Movement

and the Tasks of the Organization.

These resolutions include the main points of the analysis of the situation performed by the OIPF(M) and highlight major aspects of the political course pursued by the Organization.

The plenary meeting stressed that the Organization attaches great importance to the struggle for the unity of the advanced contingents of the Iranian working class, a unity that is to lay the basis for a broad alliance of the nation's popular forces. The need for this alliance was also noted. The plenary meeting identified the tasks involved in the struggle to establish an alliance of all Iranian revolutionary, democratic and anti-imperialist forces within the framework of a United People's Front (UPF), so as to end the sway of the reactionary ruling quarters and form a national-democratic government. The plenary meeting approved the Organization's proposals on the establishment of a UPF and ruled that they were to be published.

The plenary meeting also adopted the necessary decisions on the principles of organizational work in conditions of the current reign of terror and approved measures to ensure the security of the OIPF(M) leading cadre and organizations.

The OIPF(M) plenary meeting then took up the question of adding new members and alternate members to the Central Committee and adopted relevant decisions.

The plenary meeting also elected a Political Bureau and a Central Committee Secretariat and re-elected comrade Farroh Negahdar as First Sec-

retary of the Central Committee of the Organization of Iranian People's Fedayeen (Majority).

In conclusion, the plenary meeting approved the following documents:

- A Message to the People of Iran.
- A Message to the People's Party of Iran.
- An Address to the Members and Supporters of the OIPF(M).
- A Message to Political Prisoners in Iran.
- An Appeal to the Peoples of the World Concerning the Position of Political Prisoners in Iran.

All the decisions listed above were adopted unanimously, in a spirit of comradely understanding and complete ideological and political unity. The plenary meeting helped to consolidate the ideological unanimity and cohesion of the Organization's leadership.

The decisions taken by the October plenary meeting of the OIPF(M) Central Committee are undoubtedly of great historical significance for consolidating the ideological and political unity of the Organization, performing an in-depth analysis of the path taken by the Iranian Revolution, drawing up a correct political course of revolutionary struggle in our country, and consolidating the positions of the Iranian communist and working class movement. They will become a guiding light for the working class and all working people of our country in their struggle against the reactionary ruling quarters and against imperialism, for peace, independence, freedom and social justice.

Appeal to the Peoples of the World Concerning the Position of Political Prisoners in Iran

Freedom-loving peoples of the world!

Iran, our country, is going through a grim period. The ruling quarters of the Islamic Republic have trampled underfoot all political rights and freedoms of the people and installed a brutal regime of terror in our country. The people of Iran, who are fighting for peace, freedom and their rights are subjected to savage reprisals that are growing ever broader in scope.

The Iranian progressive organizations fighting for the freedom and happiness of our people have fallen victim to fascist persecution and reprisals. Having crushed all social and personal rights of our people, the regime of the Islamic Republic has passed an *a priori* death sentence on its progressive opponents.

In order to preserve their despotic regime, Iran's ruling quarters keep building new prisons and torture chambers. Today, tens of thousands of our country's finest sons and daughters are in prison, essentially charged with the crime of loyalty to their country and people, of working to uphold human rights and fighting for the lofty ideals consonant with the interests of the popular masses.

Iranian political prisoners are deprived of all rights; the authorities refuse to recognize any laws that might protect them. The threat of death overhangs even those whom the courts have long sen-

tenced to prison terms. They can be executed under any pretext, even merely out of their jailers' vindictiveness.

Trials of political prisoners are staged in courts which recognize no law except the "opinion of the spiritual judges," that is, those cruel, vicious and bigoted men appointed by the regime. The trials are held in secret. The accused can neither choose a lawyer to defend them or conduct their own defense.

In prison, the inmates are subjected to moral and physical torture in which methods and tools out of the Dark Ages are used. They are whipped almost to death, suspended from the ceiling of the torture chamber, their bones are broken, they are kept awake for days on end and used as guinea-pigs to test the latest instruments of torture.

Prisoners are forced to be present at the executions of their comrades-in-arms and often even to carry out the death sentence. The jailers stage mock executions to crush the will of the prisoners. Death row inmates are forced to donate blood, girls are raped. Prisoners are under constant moral pressure; they are surrounded by the regime's agents provocateurs. The jailers resort to torture and intimidation to try and break their victims and have them confess to crimes they never committed. The regime forces political prisoners into televised public "con-

fessions" so as to dishonor and humiliate them and discredit their struggle and service to their people and country.

Freedom-loving peoples of the world!

Your struggle and protests against the crimes perpetrated by the regime of the Islamic Republic, your action in support of our people's struggle, as well as your efforts to expose the tyrants ruling Iran for what they are have been very effective. Expressing their gratitude for this international support, the Iranian people urge still broader protests and action by progressive parties and international organizations against the regime of terror and brutality, for the release of political prisoners.

The plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Organization of Iranian People's Fedayeen (Majority) calls on you, freedom-loving peoples of

the world, on international democratic organizations, on all progressive parties, on the United Nations Commission on Human Rights and on Amnesty International to step up your support of our people's struggle for political liberties and democratic rights and for the release of political prisoners.

The plenary meeting of the OIPF(M) Central Committee values highly the vigorous and effective support shown by all progressive forces throughout the world. The plenary meeting appeals to all progressive humankind to do everything possible to ensure the release and uphold the rights of Iranian political prisoners.

Let international solidarity with the struggle of the people of Iran for political liberties and democratic rights and for the release of Iranian political prisoners grow firmer!

Jamaica: In the Vanguard of Struggle for Full Independence and Better Life

From a Report by Trevor Munroe,
General Secretary of the Workers Party of Jamaica

The third congress of the Workers Party of Jamaica was held in Kingston from December 13 to 16, 1984. Meeting in private session for the first three days, it was attended by local party delegates; observer delegates from party support groups (non-party community and regional groups comprised of party supporters and which represent the organized form of the party in the non-party masses), women's clubs (mass organizations of women led by the party), trade unions and other mass organizations led by or supportive of the party, and from local independent anti-imperialist groups. Foreign delegations from 16 fraternal parties also participated in the congress.

The agenda of the congress was: Central Committee report reviewing the party's work since the second congress and setting the tasks to the fourth congress — presented by General Secretary, comrade Trevor Munroe; discussion of the report and interventions from different sections of the party and from foreign delegates and elections to the Central Committee.

The public activities of the congress took place on December 16. These began with a wreath-laying ceremony in the Park of National Heroes, where foreign delegations paid tribute to Jamaica's heroes, Paul Bogle and Marcus Garvey; and to Latin American liberator Simon Bolivar. The congress paid tribute to the role of the Soviet Union in the defeat of Hitler fascism by requesting the CPSU delegation to lay a wreath at the monument to Jamaicans who died in the fight against fascism.

A public political and cultural rally, attended by over 5,500 Jamaicans and foreign delegates, ended the third congress activities.

Comrade Trevor Munroe, General Secretary, was unanimously re-elected. All delegates voted for the adoption of the Central Committee report, an abridged version of which follows:

Our third congress is opening in most dangerous times — one month and one week since Ronald Reagan has been returned to the White House; one month and one week since the forces of war, of unemployment, racism and reaction, the same forces who have engaged in what they called a crusade to put communism on the ash-heap of history, have renewed their hold over the presidency of the United States.

Our third congress also opens four years and a few days after Edward Seaga — the main puppet of Reagan and of reaction in the Caribbean, declared that he would eradicate radicalism from the politics of the Jamaican people.

Their aim in the world, in our region, in our country, has been eradication of progress. Our aim has been preservation. In the world, in our region, this aim of preserving peace, of preserving progress in

the community of socialism, of preserving the struggle for national independence, democracy and national liberation, is being achieved, despite the most dangerous threats from imperialism and reaction.

Today more of us are here than three years ago; more of our friends from the international progressive movements are here with us today than were here three years ago. Even the blind can see that in Jamaica, the forces of progress — despite the gravest dangers and difficulties — are holding in check the forces of backwardness and reaction.

THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND THE ACTIVITY OF OUR PARTY

Since 1981, the most reactionary circles of imperialism have increased the militarization of land, sea and air; installed new weapons of mass destruction in Europe against the will of the European

people; they have now begun militarizing space itself — threatening humankind with "star wars" weaponry which only a few years ago was science fiction. The Reagan administration has led this trend in world imperialism, imposing on the American and on the world's peoples the most staggering increases in military expenditure.

Within our region, United States imperialism has made Central America and the Caribbean into a central battle zone of the world between the forces of progress and the forces of reaction. They have attacked militarily the Sandinist People's Revolution in Nicaragua; built up armed occupation of Honduras; immensely increased military, political and economic aid to the genocidal dictatorship in El Salvador and they have sought to strangle the people's resistance in Guatemala.

Worst of all, in our region and for the first time since Vietnam, the war party represented by Reagan and occupying the White House, launched direct, criminal invasion against the people of Grenada, defeating the people's revolution with bombs and bayonets. This force has brought and is bringing the greatest threat ever to the survival of humankind. Not only has it brought bloodshed, oppression and misery to the peoples in our zone and hemisphere, to the peoples struggling for national independence and social progress around the world, particularly in Southern Africa, in Lebanon in the Middle East; as well the present circles dominating world imperialism and United States imperialism in particular have brought down more poverty and oppression on their own working people, particularly the Black minority, in the midst of more wealth and luxury than any previous imperialist administration.

With this war force in power, the danger to the Jamaican, the Caribbean — in the eastern part of which the United States military presence is now 15 times more than what it was at the time of the second congress — the danger to the Latin American and the world's peoples is greater than ever. This danger from imperialism has become not only something from outside, not only something external to the politics of our countries. It has become, especially after the Grenada invasion, something affecting the internal politics of our countries. The imperialist presence in the security forces, in the media, on official government bodies, in the cultural activity of our people, has grown and taken on a new aggressive quality. Hence, the most reactionary elements in the politics of the region's nations now feel more confident that imperialism will back them directly by military means if necessary. The working people, on the other hand, are worried by this prospect and more hesitant in struggling because of this danger.

But to see the danger alone would be to see only one side of the picture. It also represents a mad and vain response to the strength and example of socialism, to the undying efforts of the world's peoples — including within the imperialist states themselves — to gain a better life, to free themselves from oppression.

We along with all humankind must be thankful to the Soviet people for the sacrifices they make in maintaining parity while constantly seeking ways of

reducing the dangers of nuclear war. Moreover, in the midst of these burdens, socialism continued to ensure a steady increase in the working people's living standards. While unemployment grew, prices increased, poverty worsened under imperialism, under socialism, full employment, stable prices, increased incomes, greater access to quality consumer goods, housing and cultural facilities continued to reveal the superiority of socialism in meeting the needs of humankind.

Positive changes have taken place and are taking place. The Reagan administration is returning to new arms limitation talks with the USSR; the patriots, whether of South Africa or Lebanon, the defenders of peace in Western Europe and in Japan, are rallying and strengthening the prospects of making gains. In the states of advanced capitalism, themselves, the heroic struggle of the British miners is an indication of the potential of the working class when roused to action. In the Caribbean and Central America, socialist Cuba remains a bastion against imperialism and a beacon for all the hemisphere's peoples, despite the threat of direct armed attack now posed by the Reagan administration. Revolutionary Nicaragua continues to stand like a rock in the midst of counter-revolution implanted from outside by United States imperialism, in the midst of economic and other aggression from the Reagan administration. The great sacrifices now being made by the Nicaraguan people in defense of their country's revolution and independence, as well as the solidarity of progressive humankind — most of all socialist Cuba and the Soviet Union — continue to block United States imperialism imposing its will on a country 80 times smaller than the U.S. and with 90 times fewer inhabitants than the United States. Moreover, the recent elections held under conditions of external aggression, showed the revolutionary maturity of the Sandinist leadership. The Reagan administration has been completely isolated in its attempt to discredit the Nicaraguan elections and to portray the country as a "totalitarian" dictatorship.

In the Caribbean itself, the Burnham government which has taken anti-imperialist positions in opposition to the Reagan administration — notably on Grenada — remains in power in Guyana; Cato's pro-imperialist government was removed by the people of St. Vincent; the most reactionary administrations — notably Charles in Dominica and Seaga in Jamaica — are increasingly unpopular among the masses. In this context, Blaize's victory in Grenada could hardly have taken place without the shock experienced by the Grenadian people in October 1983, without the military invasion, without continued armed occupation of the country by United States imperialism and without the political and psychological manipulation of the people by reaction.

In this complicated and dangerous situation, our second congress held in 1981 urged us to "make ever more certain that we fulfil our obligations as communists to our fraternal parties, to the national liberation movements, to the people's struggle for peace and against war."

We can truly say that effort has been and con-

tinues to be made on this question. Within a few months of the second congress, the Jamaica Peace Committee, with active assistance from comrades in the Workers Party, and involving personalities and organizations of varied ideological and political persuasions, was launched. This committee, in the short time of its existence and with the active work of our party comrades in fulfilling the second congress decisions, has done well in raising the level of awareness of the importance of peace, mainly by educational activities.

However, despite the problem presented by the fact that our people are almost totally taken up with problems of bread and butter survival and despite the adversity of the political situation, particularly in the mass media, more can and needs to be done on the peace question.

The party needs therefore to improve the resources being put into this important activity around peace. Leaders of the party and other progressive organizations need to bring the struggle for peace into their day-to-day work among the masses, linking it more vividly to the day-to-day concerns of the working people. The Peace Committee needs to make sure that its publications are more suited to wider circulation among working people and that more opportunities are taken up to talk to broad cross-sections of the public. The situation certainly does not allow for the growth of a broad active mass movement for peace in our country, but it is necessary and possible to strengthen popular awareness of this issue, thereby helping to prepare conditions for a mass movement to emerge when the general situation is less unfavorable.

In our international work and activity since the second congress, Grenada must bear special mention.

Alongside internationalists from Cuba and elsewhere, our comrades worked tirelessly to help the Grenadian people build a better life independent of imperialism and their help always attracted high praise from the leadership of the revolution.

Today, tragically, the People's Revolution is no more, having been crushed by the criminal United States invasion in October 1983 — condemned by over 100 member-states of the United Nations, by the non-aligned movement, the Socialist International, by many North Atlantic Treaty Organization states. We must also record that while imperialism killed the People's Revolution, the revolution was mortally wounded by the gravest errors committed by the entire leadership of the revolutionary process. No doubt, the passage of time and the Grenadian revolutionaries themselves will allow full analysis of the mistakes and the lessons.

We are happy to report to the third congress that the hope of imperialism, the hope of reaction that the anti-imperialist movement in the Caribbean would be forever divided and paralyzed — these hopes have been dashed to pieces by mature, revolutionary conduct on all sides. Indeed because of this approach, fraternal relations between the WPJ and other progressive parties and movements have broadened instead of narrowed since the second congress.

For our part, we rededicate ourselves to the primary responsibility of the Caribbean and the Latin American people — the primary responsibility of solidarity with the Cuban revolution which represents the finest achievement of the Caribbean and Latin American peoples.

We rededicate our solidarity with the embattled patriots in Central America, particularly in Nicaragua, facing imminent United States imperialist aggression; to the struggle against war and for peace in our region and in the world.

THE SEAGA REGIME AND THE PEOPLE SINCE THE SECOND CONGRESS

At the time of the second congress we pointed out that Seaga "was U.S. imperialism's man in the Caribbean . . . a government dominated by the most reactionary circles of the Jamaican ruling class." All that this government has done since then, and Seaga in particular, underlines the correctness of this conclusion. Seaga and the oligarchy whom he represents has given away Jamaica's economy to the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, to the interests of international finance capital. All the essentials which imperialism has asked for, Seaga has given.

Seaga has performed true to form in presiding over the new colonization of Jamaica by international finance capital, in particular, the big U.S. commercial banks. This program is not only that of Seaga's. It is also that of Reagan who in March 1982 described Seaga as "making freedom work" in Jamaica. Most of all, this program under the designation of "structural adjustment" is the program of international finance capital for Third World countries like Jamaica. The heart and soul of this so-called model, is to make countries like Jamaica totally dependent on international capital as well as to increase the wealth and power of the super-rich minority at the expense of all other classes in society. What is on trial in Jamaica is not only Edward Seaga, nor even the Jamaica Labour Party Government. What is on trial is whether the program of imperialism for a new colonialism in the Third World can maintain independence and self-respect, increase production and employment, reduce poverty and oppression among the masses of our people.

This trial is now well underway in Jamaica and the accused imperialism and Edward Seaga are well on the way to being found guilty.

IMMEDIATE PROSPECTS

What can our party and our working people look forward to in the days, in the weeks and in the months following the third congress?

First, we can expect continued, even sharper worsening of the social and economic oppression on the backs of all who have to work for a living; as well, we can expect even more riches and power for imperialism and its local representatives.

Second, we can expect the deep frustration of the working people to grow and to help provide a stronger foundation for more active mass resistance to economic hardship and injustice of all types. More protests by the people are likely despite continuing fear of the regime and the use of the security

forces to suppress popular protest.

Third, disagreements in the ruling circles are likely to grow, in the main between a section wishing in their own self-interest to resist the diktat of the IMF and the more reactionary circles standing four-square behind imperialism. However, such disagreements are unlikely to lead to political opposition to JLP rule and support for opposition parties in this sector, unless the activity of the masses brings forward the prospect of generalized instability should Seaga's course continue.

The Workers Party, for its part, needs to make much clearer that the party program in the interests of the masses and at this stage of Jamaica's development, accepts that private business, including those of the national bourgeoisie, have a role to play in a Jamaica independent of imperialism. If this is not done now, and better, as well as directly to the bourgeoisie, then the false idea that the Left is against business and stands for wholesale takeover will remain unchallenged. Thereby, reduction of differences and the growth of cooperation will be held back among the different sectors whose interests are opposed to imperialism and to IMF domination over Jamaica.

The period of stable rule by Seaga is drawing to an end; greater instability is likely to lead to sharper class struggle: local or national elections remain on the agenda for 1985. The completion of electoral registration procedures, the increasing impossibility of living under the socio-economic conditions brought on by the Seaga government and the growth of instability, is likely to strengthen the people's call for Seaga's removal as well as move the political center behind more active demands for early elections. In any such elections, great attention shall have to be paid to the possible use of fraud by the regime.

There can hardly be any question that the Seaga regime is going to resist such a call and such demands, calling on all the reserves that can be mus-

tered from imperialism and the Reagan administration. In that resistance, some concessions will no doubt be made, but the main line will unquestionably be to rely on force to neutralize the Left and cow the center. Political repression is a real prospect, but it will be increasingly unlikely to stabilize Seaga's rule over the people.

In this developing situation, elections, particularly to the local councils in the first instance, in more politically repressive conditions are the likeliest prospect.

Our party therefore needs to strengthen its electoral preparedness, avoid ultra-leftism in all forms, prepare itself and the people more actively for political repression, while at the same time encouraging the protest activity of the masses.

In working toward these ends, the greatest care and attention must be attached to an approach to the working people which spreads our wings, which seeks to reveal to all sectors, particularly among the masses, their interest in coming from under the IMF dictatorship, in removing the Seaga government and in giving support to the WPJ.

The party must continue to emphasize preserving itself in a dangerous situation, but it must now better prepare itself to resume mass struggle alongside the people.

We must also do more to facilitate closer unity between the party and left forces inside and outside the People's National Party (PNP) — by finding ways and means at all levels of reducing differences with the PNP without sacrificing the independence of our party and the growth of the Left.

We are undoubtedly entering a period of greater dangers as well as greater prospects for the advancement of the movement of the Jamaican people against imperialism. Darker days may well come but brighter ones are more possible than at the time of the second congress and we must work actively toward them.

Abrided

Sixth Congress of the South African CP

SACP Communiqué

Recently, the sixth congress of the South African Communist Party was held. Attended by tens of delegates, the congress was characterized by the revolutionary enthusiasm and confidence of its participants who were inspired by the continuing mass upsurge in South Africa and the important contribution of the working class to this struggle.

The congress carried out an extensive review of the work of the party in the period since the last congress. Discussion focused on the task of further strengthening the party ideologically, politically and organizationally as well as heightening its contribution to the struggle for the victory of the national democratic revolution and the advance toward a socialist South Africa.

It also debated all aspects of the developing situation in South Africa, paying particular attention to the further enhancement of the role of the working

class as the leader of the national liberation and socialist struggles in our country.

The congress also discussed the international situation. In this regard, it paid particular attention to the counter-revolutionary offensive of the apartheid regime in Southern Africa and the role of U.S. imperialism in this campaign. It also laid special emphasis on the urgent question of world peace.

The participants noted that the party had continued to grow in strength, especially inside our country, drawing into its ranks outstanding working class and youth activists in particular. Enemy efforts to destroy it, which now span a period of 35 years, have failed.

Lying enemy propaganda which seeks to project Marxism-Leninism as an ideology that is foreign to the people of South Africa and our party as a tool of foreign powers, and not a representative and the

vanguard party of the working class of our country, has also been rejected by the masses of our people.

The conditions therefore exist for the further growth of our party, attracting to itself the most advanced and conscious sons and daughters of the working class of our country. At the same time, this organizational work as well as the practical, political and ideological involvement of our party with the workers in particular, will ensure the continued growth of the influence of the communist cause and enable the working class of our country to carry out its historic mission of taking power from the capitalist class and building a socialist society.

The delegates also noted that in the recent past, certain "left" ideological trends which pose as Marxist, have appeared inside the country. These trends concentrate their attack on the political positions of our party as represented in our program, especially the characterization of the nature of the oppression of the African and Black majority as colonialism of a special type.

The congress reaffirmed the correctness of the perspectives spelled out in our party program. The delegates emphasized the importance of the involvement of the conscious and organized working class in the struggle for national liberation as well as its leading role in this struggle. This will ensure that the democratic transformation assumes the most thorough-going revolutionary character and form.

In carrying out this vanguard role, the working class not only advances its own interests and creates the conditions for an uninterrupted advance to socialism. It also makes it possible for the rural masses and the middle strata to benefit fully from the national democratic revolution. It is this fact which makes the alliance between the working class and the other classes and strata among the oppressed people, under the leadership of the workers, both possible and imperative.

The congress also observed that anti-communism and anti-Sovietism remain the main ideological platform of the apartheid regime and other backward political forces in South Africa. The increased intervention in the affairs of Southern Africa by the Reagan administration is also based on the pursuit of the same anti-communist goals.

The participants accordingly agreed that it remains an important task of the party to combat this enemy ideology, especially among the working and oppressed masses of our country. It is also important that, at all times, the party educates the working class in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, to defeat all tendencies toward tribalism, national chauvinism and racism.

The congress characterized the mood among the masses of the oppressed people in South Africa as one of revolt. A state of incipient civil war exists in the country. In this situation, the urgent task of the liberation forces of our country is to raise further the all-round political and military offensive against the apartheid regime.

The delegates observed that the racist regime has embarked on a campaign of mass repression in the country and continues with its policy of aggression and destabilization against the independent states

of Southern Africa. All this reflects the growing desperation of the enemy and represents a vain attempt, on its part, to alter the balance of forces in its favor.

However, through struggle, the masses of our people, with the workers at the forefront, continue to shift the initiative into their hands. On the other hand, the peoples of Southern Africa are resisting attempts by Pretoria and Washington to impose the apartheid regime on them as a regional power.

The objective and subjective factors exist for the rapid escalation of the struggle which should aim, in particular, to reduce the capacity of the regime to govern our country. The successful accomplishment of this task requires that all the masses of the oppressed people should be mobilized into struggle. In this regard, special attention should be given to the further organization and mobilization of the women and the rural masses, to elevate their involvement in the struggle.

It is also of vital importance that the organized detachments of our revolutionary movement, including our party, should continue to strengthen their presence among the people, and mobilize the masses to address, in action, the question of the seizure of power.

The congress pledged that the SACP would continue to work for the further strengthening of the revolutionary alliance of the African National Congress, the South African Communist Party and the South African Congress of Trade Unions, which is headed by the ANC. The delegates hailed the fact of the growth in the strength and popularity of the ANC inside our country and the further heightening of its prestige internationally. They reaffirmed their confidence that the liberation alliance headed by the ANC would carry out its historic mission of leading the masses of our country to victory in the struggle for the seizure of power by the people and the success of the national democratic revolution.

The congress reaffirmed the urgent need to struggle for a just and durable world peace. It therefore welcomed the decision of the governments of the USSR and the USA to resume discussion on the limitation and reduction of strategic nuclear weapons.

It expressed its opposition to the continued deployment of Pershing II and Cruise missiles in Western Europe and denounced the efforts of the Reagan administration to gain military superiority over the Soviet Union. It called on the people of the USA and the peace-loving peoples of the world to compel this administration to abandon the bankrupt and dangerous policy of brinkmanship.

The participants pointed out that the biggest contribution that the communists of South Africa can make to the cause of world peace and international security is the defeat and destruction of the bellicose and aggressive Pretoria regime.

The congress paid solemn tribute to those members of the party who had died in the period since the last congress. It made special mention of the late Chairman of the SACP, the late comrade Yusuf Dadoo who had served the party and the struggling people of South Africa with great distinction for many decades.

It also saluted all political prisoners held by the apartheid regime, among them many members of the party. It went on to call for their immediate and unconditional release.

The congress also extended its revolutionary solidarity to all forces struggling for national liberation, democracy, socialism and peace, especially the people of Namibia, Western Sahara, Palestine, El Salvador, Nicaragua and East Timor.

It agreed that the international situation demands

SACP Statement on the International Situation

The main contradiction of our time is determined by the competition between the two world systems, capitalism and socialism. The liberating ideas of Marxism-Leninism are inspiring the exploited and oppressed masses throughout the world to strive for national liberation and class emancipation.

Imperialism opposes all progressive transformations with counter-revolution. The re-election of Reagan confirms that the imperialist counter-offensive against the forces of national liberation, democracy, socialism and peace will continue with increased vigor.

In this regard, through its policy of "constructive engagement" U.S. imperialism encourages, aids and abets the apartheid regime to carry out a policy of aggression, destabilization and subversion aimed at imposing racist South Africa as a regional power over the countries of Southern Africa.

For this reason, Namibia continues to be colonized, Angola occupied and the rest of our region subject to constant pressure to sign so-called non-aggression pacts. With relation to the rest of Africa, imperialism continues to strengthen its neo-colonial positions.

Taking advantage of the problems facing Africa, which are a result of the colonial legacy of our continent, imperialism is trying to regain its lost positions. Nevertheless, whatever successes the forces of reaction may have scored, the peoples of Africa pursue the struggle for the total liberation of our continent, for unity, genuine emancipation and social progress.

The recent 20th Summit Meeting of OAU Heads of State and Government confirmed the commitment of our continent to the realization of these goals and to the struggle to overcome the effect of a catastrophic drought and the declining economic standards of the toiling masses of Africa.

We condemn the immorality of the imperialist system which uses food and aid as a weapon in its cold war policies.

We hail the admission of the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic as a full member of the OAU and demand the unconditional withdrawal of the Moroccan occupation forces from the territory of the SADR.

In Central America, U.S. imperialism not only supports with sophisticated weapons and large sums of money the counterrevolutionary bandits in Nicaragua, but is also preparing to invade that country, as it did with Grenada.

In its attempt to impose its hegemony over the people of Central America and the Caribbean, U.S.

the convening of a world conference of the communist movement in order to strengthen further the unity and effectiveness of this movement as well as the anti-imperialist forces as a whole.

The delegates adopted a new constitution to regulate the work and functioning of the SACP.

They also elected a new Central Committee. Comrade Moses Mabhida was re-elected unanimously as the General Secretary of the SACP.

imperialism is also supporting the junta in El Salvador and is preparing for new adventures against socialist Cuba.

In the Middle East, U.S. imperialism and its ally, Zionist Israel, have suffered serious reverses in Lebanon. But Israel continues its aggression against its neighbors. The Zionist regime remains committed to its policy of denying the Palestinians their legitimate national rights, and does everything in its power to block a just settlement of the problems of the Middle East. There remains an urgent need to convene an international conference representative of all interested parties, including the Soviet Union and the PLO, to find a just and lasting solution to the problems of the Middle East.

Afghanistan, Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea in Asia are constantly under attack from U.S. imperialism which acts in concert with its local allies. Chauvinist and separatist forces in India are assisted and encouraged by the CIA to destroy the territorial integrity of India. The same forces carried out the brutal assassination of Indira Gandhi, an outstanding world stateswoman and an anchor of the non-aligned movement.

The communists of South Africa declare their unconditional and revolutionary solidarity with all the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America fighting for national liberation, democracy, peace and socialism.

The continued deployment of first-strike Pershing II and Cruise missiles in Western Europe, which has brought the world to the brink of a nuclear holocaust, requires the unity, cohesion and maximum vigilance of the world forces of peace, democracy and social progress.

Peaceful coexistence between the two different social systems, détente in the political and military spheres and a sharp reduction in the colossal and wasteful expenditure in arms, would release resources which could help to alleviate some of the most pressing problems facing hundreds of millions of people.

We support the proposals which the Soviet Union and its Warsaw allies have made to stop the arms race and to avert a nuclear war. But, up to now, the Reagan administration has refused to discuss these proposals, let alone discuss them in a constructive manner. We welcome the decision of the governments of the USSR and the USA to resume their talks on the limitation of the strategic weapons and call on the people of the USA as well as the peace-loving peoples of the world to compel the Reagan administration to abandon its dangerous and imprac-

ticable policy of seeking military superiority over the Soviet Union.

As an integral part of the world communist movement, the SACP will continue to contribute to the unity and cohesion of this movement. We support the holding of regional conferences of fraternal parties. At a time when U.S. imperialism threatens to engulf the world in a "nuclear winter," we consider it more appropriate than ever to work for the convening of an international conference of the world communist movement.

As long as racist and colonialist South Africa sur-

vives, it will constitute a threat to peace in our region and the rest of the world. We pledge to do our utmost to remove this scourge of aggression and war from our continent. The defeat of apartheid South Africa will be a tangible contribution to world peace.

We call upon the world progressive forces to intensify the campaign for the total isolation of the apartheid regime and for all-round support for the liberation struggles in South Africa and Namibia.

International Bulletin.

South African Communist Party (SACP),

January 3, 1985

USA: The 1984 Elections — on to Fightback II

Excerpts from a report by Gus Hall, CPUSA General Secretary, at a plenary meeting of the CPUSA CC.

POST-ELECTION WORLD REALITIES

The emergence of the structural crisis, the slowing down of the growth rate of the capitalist world to the 1930 levels, the continuing high levels of unemployment and the financial structure that continues to shiver and shake are still very much a part of today's world reality. The continuing overall decline in the position of the United States and now the West European countries is a reflection of the uneven development of world capitalism.

U.S. imperialism's continuing trend toward isolation and a go-it-alone policy in its quest for recapturing world domination is marked by the two recent censure votes against U.S. aggression in Nicaragua in the World Court. It is increasingly isolated in the United Nations, and is especially alienated from the Third World countries. The new Reagan administration faces increasing pressure by many West European governments for a more serious approach to nuclear disarmament negotiations.

Within the administration itself there are opposing forces on questions of nuclear war, on a nuclear freeze, the military budget, extending the arms race to outer space, negotiations with the Soviet Union, on the use of force, intervention and aggression, especially in Central America, and on the role of the CIA and terrorism around the globe.

THE TWO WORLD SYSTEMS

There are many in U.S. leading circles, within the Reagan administration of course, who keep saying, in spite of all the evidence to the contrary, that one can get the Soviet Union to give up its military defense programs because its economy is stagnant and in disarray. In their book, the 4.2 per cent growth rate of the USSR is "stagnation," and the 1.2 per cent U.S. rate is "growth recession." Regardless of labels and myths, it is to the real world situation that the Reagan administration will eventually have to respond.

The Soviet Union has the capability and resources to match every new U.S. weapons system. But it has been and is ready to put a stop to the nuclear arms race. The problem is not on its side.

THE FIGHT FOR PEACE

There are serious differences in monopoly circles and the Reagan administration. There is a lot of

debate and discussion going on inside and outside government and ruling circles. The pressures from the 89 per cent U.S. peace majority on the new Reagan administration to negotiate seriously continues to grow. This is an important moment for the peace forces in the U.S. to speak out loud and clear.

One must welcome the decisions of the fifth annual conference of the National Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign held in St. Louis early in December. It plans to "embrace a wider part of the American population, including the Rainbow Coalition and the rank and file of organized labor." Already, 26 of the biggest international unions have endorsed the Freeze concept. The conference expressed an overall upbeat mood about the gains on the peace issue made in the election campaign. This speaks well for the future direction of the U.S. peace movement.

This is a moment for the U.S. Peace Council to take on sharply questions of anti-communism, anti-Sovietism, the big lie and the "Soviet threat."

The communist election campaign made big inroads in the public mind on these questions.

Taken altogether, the new world balance of forces, the world revolutionary process, the world peace movement, the strong anti-Reagan sentiment that grew over the past four years in many areas of the world, combined with the 89 per cent U.S. peace majority — all these — open up new avenues of struggle and greater leverage for the U.S. peace forces.

To this point there is no basic change in the policies of military and nuclear aggression pursued by the Reagan administration. So far the talk about peace remains just that. It would be a mistake to harbor any illusions. But it would also be a mistake not to take note of and use any opening, no matter how small, that may appear.

ASSESSMENTS OF THE WORKING CLASS

Too many on the left, but also in the party, naively and uncritically accept the polls and the interpretations of bourgeois columnists at their political face value. An uncritical reliance on bourgeois-establishment sources becomes a weakness, especially when these class sources are used to assess political trends and ideological currents.

The party's assessments of political and ideologi-

cal currents must be as scientific as possible because they are so key in deciding tactics. It is most important to be able to separate the reactionary sector from those who are influenced, very often momentarily, by a demagogic appeal based on a single issue. It is most important to be able to separate those who are conscious racists from those who are swayed by other issues that are related to racism.

It is important to be able to separate the conscious supporters of Reagan's policies of imperialist aggression and big lie anti-communism from those who may be influenced by one or another aspect of the Reaganite war propaganda. This includes people who are, to one extent or another, influenced by anti-Sovietism in general.

ELECTION 84 UPDATE

As the party predicted in its reports and documents the 1984 elections were "unusually complex," mainly because of the new factors and forces that came into play. Most would now agree that the overall 84 election results do not constitute a mandate in support of Reaganism or Reaganomics. In fact, a month after the elections *The New York Times* made a 180° turnaround: "The elections were a mandate. But they were a mandate for policies of peace and serious negotiations to end the nuclear arms race, as Reagan promised in the last two months of the election campaign."

Most also now agree that the elections do not in any way confirm the estimate of a popular right-wing political realignment. There was no swing to the right in mass thought patterns.

Consider the massive, all-out nature of the well-coordinated ultra-right campaign — including the \$100 million spent by the ultra-right network on TV, radio and direct mailings in the hundreds of thousands — most of it cleverly molded to take advantage of every possible ideological softness, demagogically baited with "caring and concern" for people's problems. It is a significant plus that, in spite of all this, there was no swing to the right. And further, even sectors of the establishment are now admitting that the 49-state electoral college victory did not express a mass popular landslide for Reagan.

Contrary to the official propaganda, the popular vote of 59-41 percent, with 80 million citizens not voting, does not reflect a huge popular victory for Reagan.

WERE PARTY ELECTORAL POLICIES CORRECT?

The all-people's front against Reagan must be seen as the primary force that prevented the Reagan victory from becoming a victory for Reaganism. Nevertheless, there are still comrades who question the party's electoral policy.

Is the re-election of Reagan, as some say, proof that it was wrong? Is the re-election of Reagan proof — as others say — proof that the party underestimated the strength of the Reagan forces and overestimated the strength of the independent forces? Of course, the real question is: Were there, in the cards, the potential objective and subjective forces that realistically could have defeated Reagan?

No one can seriously argue they were not. The

possibility that all the potential forces and factors may not fully materialize is something that is a possibility in every situation. In dealing with complex situations, in which many forces are involved, there will never be a guarantee that all the factors will fall into place. If we had this expectation we would never undertake anything.

The second real question is: Under the circumstances, what other policy or tactics could the party have pursued? Should it have said that Reagan could not be defeated and thus withdrew from the fight and left the people's forces to do battle without it? Not a single other suggestion was made that the party could have followed. In fact, there have really been no serious alternatives projected in the criticisms which have been voiced.

Just for argument's sake: Could the party have said that because Jesse Jackson did not win the Democratic Party nomination, it was a mistake to have supported his campaign? Raising such a question would demonstrate political naiveté, to say the least.

Posing such questions about party policy shows a lack of an elementary understanding of the complex role of different class forces, the effect of objective factors and subjective forces.

For the party, understanding politics means having a firm grasp of its science and how to use it. In this connection just a few more Marxist observations on the voting patterns.

In making our assessments of voting patterns we must take into consideration the 80 million, or nearly one-half of the voting-age public who did not vote. The following statistics may not be completely accurate, but they give us some idea of who these 80 million people are.

— 46 per cent consider themselves independents. The rest are evenly divided between the Democrats and Republicans.

— 80 per cent are white.

— 83 per cent have a high school education, or less.

— 72 per cent are between 18-44 and 50 per cent are between 18-29 years old.

— The South has the largest number of non-voters, 32 per cent.

In studies of why those who had recently registered did not go to the polls, it was found that one of the problems was that people had moved from their legal addresses. This would, of course, indicate that a big section of the 80 million are poor.

A JOB WELL DONE

It can be said with great pride and a real sense of collective self-satisfaction that the 1984 communist election campaign, in every way, was one of the very best, one of the most effective political and ideological mass campaigns in the history of the party.

— It accomplished a "mission impossible" in the petition campaigns.

— It spoke to and influenced more people than ever before.

— It was out on the streets more than ever before.

— It was welcomed, accepted and respected more than ever before.

— It was on more TV and radio than ever before.

— It distributed more literature than ever before, more *Daily Worlds*, more pamphlets.

— It placed more ads in newspapers than ever before.

— And, to the great surprise of many, including some communists, the biggest vote ever was cast for communist candidates.

REAGAN'S RE-ELECTION — THE COUNTERWEIGHTS

As is always the case with bourgeois electoral politics, the 1984 elections did not present the American voters with any clear-cut alternatives or any viable solutions. In fact, the American public never got any of the facts, the truth about the objective conditions in the country. This is because bourgeois politics do not and can not break out of their class boundaries. Therefore, when the people's forces attempt to use the Democratic Party's electoral machinery they always face the underlying problem that the Democratic Party remains a party of big business.

Illusions and misconceptions about this class reality lead to wrong assessments and inevitably to unwarranted pessimism. The 1984 elections cannot be correctly assessed just by looking at Reagan's re-election. By itself it does not provide a rounded-out national electoral picture, nor does it properly estimate the political balance of power. There are many factors and results that constitute an impressive counterweight to Reagan's re-election.

Besides Reagan's re-election, the ruling class and Republican Party were out to win a landslide victory in the congressional and senatorial races and thus create a historic shift in political power. In this they failed.

The composition of Congress remains about the same. And in the Senate, if anything, there is a slight shift away from Reaganism. The ultra-right also failed to win the governorships and the majorities in state legislatures it was after. This is in spite of the fact that there was a well-organized and super-funded, extreme ultra-right network that went all out not only to win an ultra-right mandate, but to win control of the leadership of the House and Senate.

If the Reaganites had achieved their objectives that would have been a shift to the right. But this effort, by and large, was rejected and turned back.

FACTORS IN REAGAN'S FAVOR

There are a number of factors that contributed to Reagan's re-election.

First, in every bourgeois election there are the severe limitations and contradictions that a candidate running within the two-party system inevitably produces.

Mondale-Ferraro did not offer a clear alternative to Reaganism or Reaganomics. While the independent political forces were, to some extent, able to influence the platform of the Democratic Party, they were not able to influence Mondale's election campaign. For example, 74 per cent of those who voted for Reagan did so because they believed his promise not to raise taxes; only 5 per cent of these showed any concern or interest in the federal deficit.

While Reagan was promising never to raise taxes

— Mondale, Ferraro and O'Neill kept saying over and over, "We will raise your taxes. All Democrats are for raising taxes and reducing the deficit."

While Reagan and Bush demagogically promised, "We will not be satisfied until everyone has a job," Mondale, in spite of pressures from the trade unions and the Afro-American community, refused to come up with any concrete proposal or even a specific position on jobs.

Especially in the last few months, Reagan, Shultz and Bush adopted the theme of peace and improved relations with the Soviet Union.

THE MASS MEDIA

Although there may be some discussion on the extent, there is no question the monopoly-controlled mass media played a major role and had a profound effect on the outcome of the presidential election.

Reagan's TV-created, "good guy" character kept making promises of peace, disarmament, better Soviet-American relations, a continuing stable economic upturn. Using made-for-TV demagoguery, he shrewdly manipulated questions saturated with racism, patriotism, religion, anti-abortion, and great power chauvinism.

The media brainwashing was a total and all-out effort. No other President has gotten such a free ride.

Thus, a clever combination of the monopoly media's propaganda and the Reagan campaign message was able to project and sustain an image of continuing economic growth and upturn, with promises of a piece of the economic pie for everyone. Together with the overtures of peace and pledges of no tax increases or Social Security decreases, millions were understandably fooled into believing Reagan would stabilize and secure their lives, and especially their livelihoods.

THE VOTE ON THE ISSUES

There is also a clear pattern against Reaganism where the voters had a chance to vote directly on issues. For example, whenever specific questions were on the ballot, voters — in some cases overwhelmingly — made the right decision.

- For a nuclear freeze.
- For nuclear free zones.
- For "Jobs With Peace" initiatives.
- For civilian review boards.
- Against cuts in welfare programs.
- Against regressive taxes.
- Against taxes on pensions and unemployment benefits.

- Against U.S. intervention in Central America.
- For divestment in South Africa.

And on the issue of federal programs for the poor, in spite of racist campaigns against them, in exit polls, 40 per cent expressed support for more welfare and aid to the poor; 40 per cent were in favor of keeping the present levels and only 15 per cent said they were for cutting funds from these programs.

HOW THE INDEPENDENT FORCES VOTED

On many levels the 1984 elections marked the beginning of the end of traditional, two-party elec-

toral politics. They marked the parting of ways of the basic class forces.

This was the first national election in which the independent forces emerged as a major, organized political force. This force became the outstanding factor impacting on most of the critical contests.

First, there is the totally unprecedented, almost unanimous vote of the Afro-American community. This vote was a powerful, united expression against racism, Reaganism and Reaganomics. It is a stable, anti-monopoly power base.

Second, the vote by the Jewish community must be seen as expressing a strong feeling against the ultra-right and fascist danger. It was a vote against anti-Semitism and racism. It also demonstrated independence from the reactionary Zionist leadership.

The participation of the Jewish leadership in the anti-apartheid demonstrations against South Africa and the post-election efforts to build unity with the Afro-American community is a further expression of this independence.

Third, the 65 per cent anti-Reagan vote of the Hispanic population.

Fourth, the 60 per cent women's vote for the Mondale-Ferraro ticket.

Fifth, the 61 per cent vote of trade unionists and the even greater 66 per cent vote of steelworkers obviously reflects the higher percentage of industrial workers who went for the Mondale-Ferraro ticket.

THE JACKSON CANDIDACY AND THE RAINBOW COALITION

The unprecedented and historic voter registration and "get-out-the-vote" campaign conducted by Jesse Jackson in mobilizing the Afro-American community and other groups in the Rainbow Coalition was a most important step toward building another base for political independence.

But when Jackson announced his candidacy in the primaries and called for a Rainbow Coalition of many forces, for many in the ruling class and Democratic Party circles this was "going too far." In their book supporting Democratic candidates was one thing, but when the Afro-American community moved onto the path of political and organizational independence this was seen as a dire threat to the establishment.

Efforts to create divisions and diversions appeared everywhere. Forces and resources were thrown into a vicious campaign to prevent the Jackson candidacy from turning into an organized coalition and movement. The weapons used in these efforts were racism, provocation, slander and red-baiting.

Jesse Jackson and the Rainbow Coalition continued to raise the demands, the issues and problems faced by the people. This forced the other candidates in the Democratic primary to respond. The Jackson campaign had an impact on the primaries, on the Democratic Party convention and on the convention platform.

The establishment politicians became really anxious when the independent forces took their second steps along the path of political independence. They got worried because they saw the third step hand-

writing on the wall, a step that would inevitably lead to a third party.

In assessing the emergence and growth of political independence on a new level, it is important to keep in mind that what the leaders of these movements are expressing is a real change in mass thought patterns. This is not a fly-by-night phenomenon, but a developing process that took a qualitative leap during the election campaign.

TOWARD AN ANTI-MONOPOLY PEOPLE'S PARTY

The developments around political independence are laying the foundation for a new anti-monopoly people's party. However, a lot of thought must be given to advancing concepts of unity in struggle in all areas, including the electoral arena and in pushing for the emergence of a third party.

The framework for these developments must continue to be the all-people's front against Reaganism. And the basis for developing these movements must be the cementing of relationships between the trade union movement, the Afro-American community and the Rainbow Coalition.

The collaboration between these forces that succeeded in electing candidates to public office on all levels must be maintained and built upon in the continuing fightback against Reaganism. Besides initiatives for unity of independent forces on a national level, in some ways it is more important and even easier to achieve unity of struggle on a state and local basis around issues.

These efforts must be seen as critical not only for the immediate struggles against Reaganism, but also for victories in the 1985 mayoralty and councilman contests.

The party must consolidate and stabilize its new status within the movements for political independence in order to make its unique and indispensable contributions to these developments.

Abridged from *Daily World*,
December 27, 1984

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PROGRESS BOOKS

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Communiqué on a Meeting Between Delegations of the Communist Party of Saudi Arabia and the Communist Party of Turkey

Delegations of the Communist Party of Saudi Arabia and the Communist Party of Turkey met in November 1984 and exchanged opinions and work experience in a warm and comradely atmosphere.

Both parties expressed profound concern over the danger of a thermonuclear war that U.S. imperialism has created. They stressed that the obtaining situation calls for an even further intensification of the struggle for peace. It was noted that the numerous peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Treaty states meet the interests of both peoples and are deserving of every possible support. Both parties advocate an end to the arms race and close friendship between our peoples and those of the socialist community countries, which are led by the Soviet Union.

Both parties denounced the U.S. policy of preparing for war and whipping up tension, which is jeopardizing peace and security in the Middle East and the Persian Gulf.

The United States has lately stepped up its policy of aggressive actions against the progressive Arab regimes and against the Palestinian, Lebanese and Kurdish peoples in order to restore its lost positions. Both parties want a just resolution of the Mideast problem and support the Palestinian people's inalienable right to self-determination, including the right to set up an independent sovereign state, and are for stronger cooperation of the progressive forces in all countries of the region.

The delegation of the Communist Party of Turkey stated that the fascist dictatorship in its country has discarded the mask of so-called "return to democracy" and intensified its attack against the working class, the Kurdish people and all democratic forces. The wave of executions of patriots is growing and legal proceedings are under way against the Peace Society. Fresh trials of hundreds of intellectuals who demand democracy have begun. CPT members and members of other left forces are being arrested. All this repression is inseparably linked to Turkey's dependence on imperialism.

Turkey's role in the strategic plans of the USA and NATO has grown considerably of late, and this serves the interests of the chauvinist and expansionist forces in the country. Turkey is becoming a base for aggression against the socialist states and a U.S. gendarme in the Middle East. Imperialism is bent on using Turkey to knock together reactionary military political blocs with states like Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Sudan and Morocco.

In order to remove this danger and bring down the fascist dictatorship, the Communist Party of Turkey advocates unity of all democratic and especially left forces and a broadening of the whole people's struggle.

Both parties believe that the special relations and political and military cooperation between Saudi Arabia and Turkey, cooperation which is realized behind the screen of so-called "Islamic brotherhood," endanger the future of the peoples of the region and call for unity of all national and patriotic forces to counter the imminent danger.

The Communist Party of Saudi Arabia reported on its struggle against the absolute monarchist regime — an ally of imperialism, and for radical transformation to benefit the masses, for the exercise of the working class' rights, an end to the human rights violations and the establishment of a constitutional system, for the liquidation of the military presence of imperialism, U.S. imperialism in the first place, in the region, and for democracy.

The Communist Party of Saudi Arabia wants to set up a broad national and patriotic front to put an end to the dominance of monopoly corporations in the working of the country's natural resources, including oil, and in the use of the funds earned from exploitation of the national wealth.

Both parties declare their determination to continue to strengthen on the basis of proletarian internationalism their solidarity in the fight against the imperialist policy of whipping up tension, against the threat of a thermonuclear war and the dangers facing the region.

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Develop the People's Revolutionary War

Statement by the CC Political Commission, Guatemalan Party of Labor, on the 35th Anniversary of the GPL

Underlying the entire home and foreign policy of the Guatemalan military dictatorship is the strategic concept of trying to defeat the Nicaraguan revolution as the "principal means" of saving oligarchic rule in Guatemala. This should be borne in mind when estimating both the "democratization" which is going on within narrow limits and has been accompanied by increasing terror through genocide and the seemingly flexible stand of the regime "in favor" of a negotiated settlement of the Central American crisis.

There are several obvious reasons for the current political gamble. The cunning maneuvers in question are designed to mislead international opinion by giving the dictatorship a facelift. The regime would like to come out of political and diplomatic isolation and so gain greater access to credits in order to ease the chronic economic crisis and tackle the political crisis by military means. A military-industrial complex is in the making. Lately Mrs. Kirkpatrick herself has made it clear that Guatemala is secretly financing operations against Nicaragua in conjunction with other countries.

The Guatemalan dictatorship has thus been preparing secretly to join in aggression against revolutionary Nicaragua. The only reason for its using roundabout ways of participating in those operations is its own crisis and the militancy of the revolutionary movement in the country.

MAIN ASPECTS OF THE SITUATION IN GUATEMALA

In the economic sphere, *the past three years have seen the country thrown more than a decade back.*

The current economic crisis is the worst in our history. It expresses itself in a marked shrinkage of the home market dooming thousands of small and medium proprietors to ruin. However, *the brunt of the crisis is borne by the overwhelming majority of wage workers, primarily the urban and rural proletariat.* Their worsening condition is due to the social cost of payments on the foreign debt: a wage freeze, cuts in spending for social purposes and a high rate of interest. All this makes for increasing profits, which are taken out of the country in the form of interest payments on debts while wage workers are compelled to pay these debts at the price of further impoverishment.

Attempts to alleviate the impact of these structural factors of the crisis led to coups on March 23, 1982 and August 8, 1983 which produced no substantial reforms and translated into putting the burden of the crisis on the people's shoulders under new forms of dictatorship. This went hand in hand with unprecedented repression and terror.

Special mention should be made of certain cases of genocide against the civilian population of highland areas. Over a million people were displaced by force; there are at least 60,000 refugees; 10,000 people are dead; thousands of children have become

orphans; (there are 28,000 in El Quiché Department alone); as for the number of the "missing," it is incalculable. A whole system of agricultural production using backward forms (minifundiums) was brutally disrupted.

Genocide also spread to large sections of the urban population. Prior to April 1984, in a matter of hardly 10 months, repressive measures were taken against more than a thousand noted politicians and leaders of student, trade union and peasant movements.

The aim of the regime is to *destroy the Guatemalan revolutionary movement by means of state terrorism and genocide.* The main political parties adhere to a frankly reactionary orientation. Prospective "presidential hopefuls" make a point of reassuring the oligarchy by affirming that there is "nothing to reform" in Guatemala, that the country "needs no reforms." Furthermore, the ruling quarters' utterances and actions, in particular the fact that they request time and again more money and arms from the USA and other imperialist powers for the murderers of their own people, are indicative of a hardening of their policy. As if a toll of 90,000 lives were not enough to show that the insensate brutality of counter-insurgency has never helped solve the difficult problems of the nation. This policy has only benefited the top military, who see war as good business and so are uninterested in peace. The ruling classes are consolidating their alliance with these murderers by giving the intention to institutionalize dictatorial rule a green light.

Democracy is out of the question where the people are being massacred.

IMPERIALIST POLICY IN CENTRAL AMERICA

For 20 years U.S. imperialism contrived to stave off the breakdown of the Central American economy by expanding markets through the Central American Common Market. This made it possible to evade solution of the long-standing problems of the economic structure of Central American countries, primarily the agrarian problem. However the existing pattern began to fail when the cyclical crisis of the economies of industrial capitalist countries entered a new stage. While underdeveloped countries are generally going through "the worst depression since the war," revolutions are maturing in countries where the *structural crisis* is still unsolved, as in our country. This is one of the reasons for the victory of the Sandinist revolution in Nicaragua and the intensification of revolutionary processes throughout Central America.

However, Washington will not accept these simple realities. Compelled to admit that the "roots of the Central American problem lie in the eventful past and present of the region," the White House argues that Central America "has also been strongly

influenced by external forces." This arbitrary proposition is the basis for the U.S. policy of intervention whose closing phase is to be a *direct invasion by troops of the USA and probably its puppet allies* against Nicaragua and the revolutionary forces of El Salvador.

On the plea that "the USA cannot but be concerned about the intrusion of aggressive powers into Central America," the imperialists substitute this willful interpretation for the real meaning of the problem while at the same time staging make-believe elections and institutionalizing military dictatorships. It is U.S. imperialism that resorts to out-right interference in the affairs of our region by financing the mercenaries who are used against the Nicaraguan revolution, trying to push democratic governments to the right, extending financial and political support to puppet regimes like El Salvador's, laying the foundations for a war industry in Guatemala, and lastly, setting up a vast military infrastructure in Honduras, although changes in Central America do not endanger the USA even if they are revolutionary, as the Kissinger Commission had to admit.

Along with this the imperialists *are doing their utmost to prevent any peaceful settlement of the regional crisis.*

What is happening in Central America today is incredible. Billions of dollars pass through countries where hunger is rife and yet, paradoxically, they are not used for solving these countries' acute economic and social problems.

Acts of aggression against the fraternal people of El Salvador furnish a tragic example of this absurd imperialist policy.

The case of Honduras, reduced to a strategic bridgehead of U.S. imperialism in Central America, is equally tragic. This country, one of the poorest and most exploited in the region, has a powerful Air Force which has 156 planes and 14 air bases and is the best-equipped in Latin America.

Costa Rica, the Central American country which has the largest foreign debt and has been hit by the economic crisis hardest of all, is likewise involved in aggression against Nicaragua. Its present pro-oligarchic government is considerably increasing the strength and armaments of the National Guard as an instrument of exerting pressure, curtailing democratic freedoms and creating more suitable political conditions for the active presence of Nicaraguan counter-revolutionary forces on Costa Rican soil.

Cynical and brazen encroachments on Nicaraguan territory show only too well how hard neo-colonialist forces are trying to hold their positions. Imperialism invests hundreds of millions of dollars in this "crusade," steadily extending the scope of aggression. The direct use of mercenaries for combat operations and the equipment of the counter-revolutionaries' air force with missiles in the recent period are evidence of a further escalation of this undeclared war by which imperialism is making a brutal and cynical attempt to repeat, in a more sophisticated version, its "successful" experience of aggression against tiny Grenada.

Central America has been turned into a new seat

of world tension. There, as elsewhere, this serves the militarist policy of the USA. Imperialism has opened a new arms market. While stepping up the militarization of the region and pursuing a policy of provocation and aggression, it rejects peace talks, preferring to waste colossal resources. If invested in the economy, these resources could help end the crisis, backwardness and poverty of Central American peoples. The U.S. gross interference in matters coming within the jurisdiction of states of our region has extended the crisis far beyond Central America's boundaries. Unqualified U.S. support for dictatorships imperils the achievements scored by our peoples in the struggle for freedom, well-being, progress and peace.

OUR ATTITUDE TO ARMED STRUGGLE

The 1982 coup in Guatemala led off electoral stagemans reproducing in "improved" form the tricks that have long been used by the most reactionary sections of the ruling classes. They fit into the global strategy of imperialism and are aimed, in the case of Central America, at disguising the repressive policy of counter-insurgency which the regime goes on implementing.

In our country this policy found a clear expression before the latest elections. The regime cracked down on large sections of the population. Genocide assumed such proportions that important socio-economic structures were seriously affected. It was intended to do away with the Guatemalan revolutionary movement, above all the forces belonging to Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity (GNRU), at a more or less early date. But all attempts failed. This confirmed the correctness and timeliness of the political resistance of the Guatemalan revolutionary movement to counter-insurgency in any form. Any other approach would create a situation dooming the movement to defeat. And the death of revolutionaries would make the people still more defenseless in the face of terror on the part of paramilitary bands and other reactionary formations. A weakening of our revolutionary movement could also have other unforeseeable consequences, including damage to the interests of fraternal peoples.

In view of the foregoing — the lack of structural reforms, the continuing genocide with its inspirers still in power, and the implementation of vast counter-insurgency plans laid by imperialism — our historical duty is to help the people organizationally, politically and militarily in continuing their revolutionary war. There is no other road at the moment to deliverance from poverty, exploitation and oppression.

TRUST IN THE PEOPLE'S VICTORY

Recent years have been particularly difficult for our party. Many selfless communists lost their lives while carrying out revolutionary tasks or were seized by the regimes' repressive agencies and have been "missing" ever since. Nevertheless, *the enemy was unable to do away with the communists' party.* The experience gained to date helps us correct our main mistakes as far as possible while moving on. At present we are busy together with members of the

Leading Core of the GPL* accomplishing an important political unification process as we strive to fulfil our historical tasks with due regard to present-day realities. We are working to make a tangible contribution to the revolutionary struggle in Guatemala in common with fraternal revolutionary organizations affiliated to GNRU.

The revolutionary movement in our country is advancing. Its political and military structures have taken shape in the main despite the genocide being practised by the dictatorship's armed forces. The movement has gained tactical and strategic experience fighting against counter-insurgency troops and their foreign advisers.

We consider that important political, organizational and military changes for the better are going on within the vanguard of the movement. This helps increase the leading role of GNRU. We invariably support these changes; we believe that since the views of the main democratic and revolutionary forces on a number of issues coincide, which is seen, among other things, in the five main points of the GNRU government program, it is necessary to seek closer relations between our organizations and serious exchanges of opinion in order to lay the groundwork for a broad democratic front against military dictatorial rule in our country.

We welcome the bishops' denunciation of institutionalized violence, of "injustice, economic and social inequality, the oppression of our people, who are constantly barred from political decision-making, and the lack of effective civil freedoms." We fully identify ourselves with the struggle to ascertain the fate of the tens of thousands of "missing" Guatemalans and support the various social movements against institutionalized violence. The independent activity of these movements is the most conclusive evidence that what makes the people "come out against the dictatorship and fight for a better world" is poverty and violence.

Persistent U.S. interference in Central American affairs and the absence of real political decisions intended to solve the more acute structural problems of various countries of the region have added to the intensity of the anti-dictatorial struggle. Confrontation is going deeper against the background of preparations for a massive armed invasion by imperialism and its puppets in Central America in line with an insensate logic. This invasion would be countered by a struggle in which the invaders' forces would get bogged down. The aggressor would have to pay dearly for it in lives and material resources, nor would the invasion solve Central America's problems; besides, the theater of war would probably assume regional dimensions.

In declaring for the preservation of peace, we Guatemalan communists remain advocates of peaceful coexistence, international détente, the self-determination of nations and non-interference in the affairs of other countries. It is in this context that we back the efforts of the Contadora Group by taking a stand against the transformation of Central America into a seat of world tension. *However, we are*

*Group that withdrew from the party due to differences over anti-dictatorial tactics. — Ed.

not going to disregard or sacrifice the interests of our peoples' liberation struggle in favor or out of fear of U.S. imperialism.

We are deeply concerned at the bellicose policy of the Reagan government, especially at Washington's wild idea of the possibility of "limited" or even "protracted" nuclear conflicts. This idea is as insane as the policy of intimidation which the Reagan administration is pursuing contrary to the demand for a freeze on nuclear arsenals prompted by elementary common sense.

We are at one with that section of U.S. opinion which is fighting for peace; we consider that it should firmly resist the policy of nuclear blackmail endangering the whole of humanity. We Guatemalan communists appeal to the conscience of the U.S. people, to their leaders and progressives, to all sensible people, to come out against the planned invasion of Central America.

We resolutely support the peace policy of the socialist countries, primarily the Soviet effort to achieve by negotiations, ruling out an approach from positions of strength and hegemonistic claims, global agreements on disarmament based on equality. We also support the peace initiatives of other democratic and progressive forces and express our solidarity with the powerful international anti-war movement as a whole.

Fellow compatriots, the situation in the world is most disquieting. Central America is going through a difficult period. Our country, where deep-rooted internal contradictions have yet to be eliminated, is being bled white by the senseless counter-insurgency policy of the more bellicose domestic reactionaries. In spite of these unfavorable circumstances, however, we are convinced that our people will put an end to social injustice and achieve victory in their revolutionary struggle. We must eliminate the forces which are keeping Guatemalans shackled by backwardness and poverty; this is an imperative task and the surest road to its fulfillment is to extend the people's revolutionary war. This is the right concept of a mass struggle pivoted on alliance between the working class and the peasantry.

In observing the 35th anniversary of the party of Guatemala's communists, founded on September 28, 1949, we call on all members of our party to close their ranks around the Central Committee. Once again we pay tribute to the memory of communists who have fallen in struggle, in particular, those leading and rank and file members of the GPL who gave their lives in defending the unity of the party. Once again we pay homage to the memory of our leaders who fell in September 1972 and December 1974. Confident of victory, we urge all working people to take a more active part in the revolutionary struggle. We will yet have to fight many battles for well-being, democracy, progress and peace. The strategy of the people's revolutionary struggle is consistent and correct; now as in the past, it is *the only road* to victory for our people and to the necessary revolutionary changes.

Long live the 35th anniversary of the GLP!

Long live the process of unifying the forces in-

volved in the people's revolutionary war under the leadership of GNRU!

Down with plans for imperialist armed intervention in Central America!

Let us organize and mobilize in support of the

policy of safeguarding peace and defeating the militarist policy of U.S. imperialism.

For Guatemala, the revolution and socialism!

Guatemala, September 28, 1984

Abridged

Avert the Imminent Danger to the Country!

Statement by the Tunisian Communist Party CC

Broad sections of the Tunisian public have lately been gripped by insecurity and fear about the future. This concern is caused, on the one hand, by the president's illness and the complications on the question of succession and, on the other hand, by the general situation in the country, which is increasingly characterized by a slide into the unknown and a growth in internal and external dangers.

Inside the country, the accumulated socio-economic problems have worsened and the political situation has deteriorated in connection with the revival of the doctrine based on the recognition of only one party and its monopoly on the formation of public opinion, and also with the government's refusal to hold serious dialogue with other socio-political forces.

What is more, certain external forces have lately activated their attempts to interfere in order to influence developments in the country, banking on a worsening of the internal situation and a weakening of Tunisia's national will.

All this is worrying to the population, which is faced with an aggravated crisis, no prospects, the danger of decline and adventures, an unclear future and the threat that the gains achieved will be liquidated.

Under these conditions, the Tunisian Communist Party, taking class and patriotic positions in defense of the interests of the workers and peasants and of the country's independence, appeals to the workers, peasants, youth and intelligentsia, to all the nation's active forces, irrespective of conviction and orientation, and to every citizen of Tunisia who loves his homeland and feels responsible for its future to unite their ranks to oppose the mood of passive waiting for further developments, to mobilize the patriotic determination of each of us and to join battle against the imminent danger. Our common duty is to assume responsibility for Tunisia's fate and for the interests of its people.

The Tunisian Communist Party, which for many years has consistently defended its viewpoint regarding the causes of the worsening crisis engulfing the country, stresses the need for an alternative progressive and democratic policy to put an end to the crisis. The party is for radical economic, social and political transformations, this being a condition for real all-round development to benefit the entire people and not a privileged minority.

These profound radical transformations can only be carried out on the basis of the Tunisian people's collective democratic will, which is capable of changing the correlation of forces in favor of the advocates of progress and democracy.

The dangers which today threaten the country, the people's gains and Tunisia's independence, stability and future place on the agenda as a paramount national task the demand to halt the process of decline and ward off these threats. All the nation's healthy forces, whatever their views and convictions, must unite on a common platform to fulfil this task. However important and complicated the question of the president's successor, it is even more important to take a principled position in defense of the national interests, a position making it possible to withstand the difficulties which the country is experiencing and to take its destiny into our own hands. Such a platform could include the following fundamental tasks:

1. Defense of Tunisia's independence and right freely to take decisions affecting the country's future from all external encroachments, above all on the part of the USA. This is not at variance with maintaining normal relations with all states on the basis of mutual respect, development of cooperation and solidarity, and fraternal relations with our neighbors.

2. Urgent socio-economical measures to benefit the workers, the poorest peasantry and the unemployed; effective price control; a serious fight against corruption, protectionism and abuse. In this respect the Tunisian Communist Party supports the working people's movement for the satisfaction of their legitimate demands, believing that it will help to improve the country's socio-economic situation since national questions are inseparable from social ones.

3. Defense of the constantly threatened progressive democratic gains in the social and economic areas.

4. Defense of ideological and political pluralism from all kinds of encroachments; preservation of the trade union movement's independence and unity; lifting of restrictions on civil and personal freedoms.

We are sure that our people have their own socio-political traditions which formed over a long period and have been deepened by the changes for the better in our society. We are sure that in Tunisia today there are national-democratic social and political forces capable of taking the homeland's destiny into their hands, for it is not only the Destourian Party that is concerned about Tunisia's future. We are all concerned about it, which is why all social forces, the General Labor Union of Tunisia primarily, and the opposition movements should have the opportunity to fulfil their role in national life fully. Their activity should be aimed at influencing

developments through pooled efforts, invigorating the actions of all honest people in the country, releasing our people's energy and again tempering the national will. Unity of the broadest national cir-

cles of various views will arouse the people of Tunisia, who will themselves determine the road of the country's present and future development.

Tunisia, November 28, 1984

On the 80th Anniversary of the 1905-1907 Revolution in Russia

CPSU CC Resolution

January 1985 marks 80 years since the outbreak of the 1905-1907 revolution in Russia — the first popular revolution of the epoch of imperialism. This revolution roused the very broad masses of workers and peasants and other strata of the population to political life, and heralded a new historical period — the period of deep-going social upheavals and revolutionary battles. Though defeated, it shook the foundations of the autocratic and landlord system and was, as Lenin defined it, the "dress rehearsal" of the Great October Revolution.

The first Russian revolution was prepared by the country's entire economic and political development at the turn of the century. The objective requirements of social and economic development were in irreconcilable contradiction with the outmoded political superstructure. This contradiction was brought to a head on the eve of the revolution by Russia's defeat in the war against Japan. It was aggravated by tsarism's political, ideological and national oppression and by the sway of foreign monopoly capital, arousing the mounting resistance of the working people. The working class, inspired and led by its staunch vanguard — the Bolshevik Party — entered the arena of open political struggle. The peasant movement broadened. The peasants were pressing for the abolition of landed estates and the other vestiges of serfdom in the countryside.

Russia became the focal point of the contradictions of imperialism and its weakest link. The objective conditions and subjective pre-requisites for a revolution were present in it. The center of the world revolutionary movement moved to Russia.

The 1905-1907 revolution has gone down in history as a bourgeois-democratic revolution of a new type. For the first time in history, the main force of the revolution and the leader of all the working masses was the working class. While a bourgeois-democratic revolution in social and economic content, it was a proletarian one in means and forms of struggle.

An alliance of the working class with the peasantry and other non-proletarian strata of the working people was taking shape in the heat of the revolution, with the working class having the leading role. There was a step-up in revolutionary actions in the army and in the navy. The growing national liberation movement became part of the general current of democratic forces. Together with their Russian brothers, workers and peasants of the Ukraine, Byelorussia, the Baltic region, the Transcaucasus, Central Asia and other national regions joined the fight against tsarism. The Russian working class, led by

the Bolsheviks, held aloft the banner of proletarian internationalism, creating a united front of struggle of the working people of all nationalities against social and national oppression. "1905 brought together the workers of all the nations of Russia," Lenin wrote.

In the vanguard of the people's struggle for liberation was the Bolshevik Party, led by Lenin, a party of a new type which had in practice fused revolutionary theory with the working class movement. The 1905-1907 revolution was the first one in world history in which a Marxist party operated as an independent political force with its own program and well-defined strategy and tactics. Relying firmly on the working masses and expressing their aspirations and strivings, the party trained and tempered them politically in the class battles and rallied them around the proletariat.

The years of the revolution brought out Lenin's creative genius as a great theoretician and leader of the proletariat. In an uncompromising struggle against revisionism and opportunism he upheld and developed Marxism in conformity with the new historical conditions. Lenin's ideas on the specific features and motive forces of the bourgeois democratic revolution in the epoch of imperialism and on the ways in which it develops into a socialist one, on the hegemony of the proletariat and the strategy of class alliances, the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry, on the creation of a provisional revolutionary government, the ways of solving the agrarian and national questions, and on the leading role of the proletarian party of a new type as a very important condition for the victory of the revolution, marked a new stage in the development of the Marxist teachings. These ideas enabled the Bolshevik Party to elaborate scientifically-substantiated strategy and tactics and outline the immediate and long-term tasks in the struggle of the working people.

The 1905-1907 revolution gave the masses great political experience and made them conscious makers of history. New forms and means of class struggle were discovered. For the first time the working people used the powerful weapon of a mass political strike. The high point of the revolution, its culmination, was the December armed uprising in Moscow. As Lenin noted, the people "got a baptism of fire. They were steeled in the uprising. They produced the fighters who won in 1917."

Soviets of Workers' Deputies set up by the people in Ivanovo-Voznesensk, St. Petersburg, Moscow, Postov, Saratov, Baku, Kiev, Yekaterinoslav,

Sevastopol, Kostroma, Chita, Krasnoyarsk, Irkutsk, Smolensk, Revel, in the Urals and in many other places, and later the Soviets of Peasants' Deputies and Soviets of Soldiers' Deputies, were the militant bodies of revolutionary power. In the Soviets Lenin saw the prototype of future socialist statehood, which was firmly established once and for all by the triumphant October Revolution.

Expressing the general requirements of historical development, the 1905-1907 revolution in Russia was of immense international significance. It evoked the fervent sympathy and support of the oppressed masses in Europe, the Americas and Asia and cemented the internationalist solidarity of the working class. In many countries a wave of revolutionary and national liberation movement arose, bringing nearer the beginning of the general crisis of the world capitalist system.

The experience of struggle against the exploiters for freedom and democracy that was gained in the course of the first Russian revolution substantially enriched the theory and practice of class struggle and helped the people to bring down the hated tsarism in February 1917 and then to eliminate the domination of the bourgeoisie in October. That experience is to this day of abiding significance for the peoples seeking social emancipation and national liberation, socialism and peace.

In the course of socialist construction our country has traversed a glorious road of struggle and victories. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, the Soviet people have eradicated all forms of exploitation and have implemented Lenin's plan for the building of socialism. Within a short historical period the country's century-old backwardness was overcome. The USSR became a mighty industrial and agrarian power. A socialist transformation of agriculture and a cultural revolution were effected. An unshakeable alliance of the working class, collective farm peasantry and people's intelligentsia was formed. Living conditions in the country have changed immeasurably. Democracy of a new type, a socialist democracy guaranteeing citizens rights and liberties which do not and could not exist in a bourgeois state has been firmly established in the USSR. All the Soviet republics have truly flourished. Equality, friendship and brotherhood of nations have become a reality.

The country has advanced far ahead within the first phase of communism and has now entered a new and historically long stage — that of developed socialism. The planned and all-round improvement of this socialism constitutes the main content of the activity of the party and people for the foreseeable future. It is in the process of improving developed socialism that a gradual advance is made toward communism. In paving the way to socio-economic progress, the CPSU is guided by the decisions of the 26th party congress and of the subsequent plenary meetings of the Central Committee and the statements and speeches made by the CPSU CC General Secretary Konstantin Chernenko.

A key link in the many-sided work to improve developed socialism is a radical rise in the efficiency of social production and in labor productivity,

development of the productive forces to a qualitatively new level and making all sectors of the economy intensive by accelerating the introduction of scientific and technological achievements, restructuring the economic management system and the economic machinery, and promoting labor initiative and the activity of the masses.

The main task of steadily increasing the people's material and cultural living standard is being tackled with reliance on the firm economic foundation and on the ever more impressive results of Soviet people's work. The party pays special attention to doing everything possible to assert and promote the principle of social justice which is inherent in socialism. The molding of a new person and the ideological and moral education of the individual remains a very important goal of our society and an indispensable condition for gradual advance toward communism.

In carrying out the tasks of improving society's political system and developing socialist self-government by the people, the party attaches primary importance to the broad involvement of the working people in the management of society's affairs, to the extension of their democratic rights in combination with their duties and to the more active participation of work collectives in the work of the state.

Under developed socialism, the role of the Soviets of People's Deputies will increase still further. Born in the course of the first Russian revolution, they form the political basis of our state and ensure true democracy. The Soviets concentrate and direct the creative energies of the broadest masses toward accomplishing the urgent socio-economic and political tasks. Their activity meets the interests of all classes and social groups, nations and nationalities and all generations of Soviet society.

The CPSU constantly sees to it that the powers of the Soviets are expanded at every level, that the Leninist principle of unity of legislation, administration and control in their work is consistently implemented, the functions of party and government bodies are clearly demarcated, full use is made of the enormous potential of the Soviets, and that their supreme power laid down in the constitution of the USSR is consistently expressed in both the content and style of their activity.

The CPSU and the Soviet state have been undeviatingly pursuing the Leninist foreign policy of peace. With the international situation aggravated because of the attempts by the USA and its NATO allies to reverse the course of history and impose their will on the peoples, the significance of the unity and cohesion of the socialist community countries — a reliable bulwark of peace and the peoples' security — is especially great. United by the Warsaw Treaty, the fraternal socialist countries have everything necessary to give a resolute rebuff to the warmongers. The economic, scientific and technical cooperation of the CMEA member-countries is being comprehensively developed and steadily deepened.

The international communist and working class movement and the anti-imperialist and anti-war forces of all continents have been playing an increasingly active role in the struggle for peace and the prevention of a nuclear holocaust.

The Soviet people look to the future with confidence. They enthusiastically approve and wholeheartedly support the policy of the Communist Party, which has convincingly proved its tremendous ideological, organizational and creative strength and its ability to lead the masses in the struggle for society's transformation on just, socialist principles, and for the cause of communism. The monolithic unity of the party and people is the source of the invincibility of the Soviet system and the further prosperity of our homeland.

The CPSU Central Committee resolves: broadly to mark the 80th anniversary of the first Russian revolution as a signal event in the history of the party and the country and the world communist, working class and national liberation movement.

The Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the Union Republics, the party territorial, regional, area, city and district committees, the primary party organizations, Soviets, trade unions, the Young Communist League and other social organizations, and the political organizations in the Armed Services shall start active political and organizing work in connection with the anniversary. This work shall aim to foster Soviet patriotism, further strengthen the unity of the party and the people, rally the working people even closer around

the CPSU, and mobilize the masses to implement the decisions of the 26th party congress and the subsequent plenary meetings of the CPSU CC, and the targets of the 11th five-year plan, and to mark the approaching 27th CPSU congress in a fitting manner.

Ideological and political work with the masses shall focus on popularizing the revolutionary traditions and heroic achievements of the Soviet people in the creation of a new society, the CPSU's experience, which is of world historic significance, and the growing role of the Soviets of People's Deputies as an effective tool of socialist construction. This work shall vividly and convincingly present the activities of the party and the people to improve the developed socialist society and broaden socialist democracy.

A session shall be held in Moscow to mark the 80th anniversary of the December armed uprising and a national conference and workshop on the 80th anniversary of the first Soviets shall be convened in Ivanovo.

* * *

The CPSU Central Committee expresses confidence that the communists and all working people of the Soviet Union will fittingly celebrate this glorious date in the history of the Party of Lenin and the people — the 80th anniversary of the first Russian revolution, and mark it with new labor achievements for the good of our great socialist homeland and the triumph of socialism and peace.

Pravda, January 3, 1985

The Chileans' Desire for Freedom is Unswerving

Statement by the National Council of the People's Democratic Movement

The People's Democratic Movement informs the Chilean and international public of the following:

1. In response to the people's growing demands for an immediate end to the dictatorship, which were reiterated during the successful national strike of October 30, 1984, the regime, under cover of the state of siege imposed on the country's entire territory, has unleashed fierce and brutal repression. Pinochet has declared war on democracy. Every day the homes of thousands of citizens and residential blocks are subjected to humiliating and forcible searches and round-ups. Chileans are being tortured and imprisoned and many sent to remote regions. Our compatriots live under conditions of military occupation and are constantly taunted by the military. The regime mercilessly persecutes the leaders of social and political organizations. It has been closing educational institutions to avoid student protests. At the same time, the regime silences or censors the national press and makes reprisals against the foreign press in an effort to mask its criminal policy of state terrorism, which is aimed against the Chileans who are fighting for their fundamental rights.

2. In spite of the fierce repression, the Chileans again valiantly confirmed their unwavering deter-

mination to put an end to the dictatorship as soon as possible by protesting actively and successfully on November 27 and 28. Hundreds of thousands of our fellow citizens — students and women, workers and professionals, civil servants, traders and transport owners — defied the state of siege and courageously expressed their disgust for the dictatorship. Not even the military occupation of the country has succeeded in containing the combative protests of the entire people.

3. Once again the Chilean people have made it clear to the tyranny that they do not intend to continue to be oppressed and humiliated and they demand the immediate restoration of all their rights, which have been trampled on by this regime of hunger, violence and death. The people have once again made it known that they will not end their struggle until the dictatorship has been removed and the necessary conditions restored for them to exercise their right to a free will.

The regime's attempts to hold on to power by means of fire and bloodshed will only lead to an open confrontation which will cause immense suffering but in which the Chilean people will be victorious.

4. The aggravation of the national crisis brought about by the dictatorship requires that all demo-

cratic, social and political forces put aside their differences and unite in the anti-dictatorial fight for a democratic alternative and the broad national accord necessary for the future provisional democratic government which will replace the dictatorship. Unity of the opposition is a fundamental and indispensable condition for bringing down the present regime as soon as possible and restoring democracy in Chile. We call on all social and political forces that want real democracy to exert fresh efforts to coordinate their policy, thereby giving the Chilean people the weapon necessary for the triumph of the cause of democracy.

5. Finally, we call on the Chilean people to double their efforts to strengthen their organizational unity and make it correspond to the new repressive conditions imposed by the regime, to improve coordination of action during the struggle, broaden agitation and propaganda and resolutely champion their just demands, creating the basis for new and more decisive anti-dictatorial actions. Only determined and sustained struggle will give us freedom and the necessary force to restore democracy on new bases of justice, mass participation and freedom. Democracy now! Chile will win!

Beginning of December 1984

Cyprus: A Misconceived and Harmful Decision

Statement by the CC Political Bureau of AKEL

The CC Political Bureau of AKEL held an extraordinary meeting to consider the statement made at a press conference by the President of the Republic on terminating Democratic Cooperation. On this issue Mr. Kyrianiou declared: "It is generally recognized that there is a need to ensure the conditions and prerequisites for the broadest possible unity and cooperation. Precisely for this reason we now feel it would be expedient to terminate the bilateral cooperation between the Democratic Party (DP) and AKEL, believing that in the present situation and in view of the new realities this step will be a positive contribution to creating broader cooperation and unity on the domestic front."

After discussing this development, the CC Political Bureau stated that the unilateral decision of the Republic's President and Chairman of the Democratic Party on terminating and abandoning Democratic Cooperation is untimely and politically misconceived.

The Political Bureau considers that the agreement on Democratic Cooperation reached in April 1982 was a major political event in the nation's history, an event that was of positive significance and served the interests not only of the two cooperating parties but also those of all the democratic forces and, in the final analysis, those of Cyprus and the cause for which its people are fighting. This is what explains the enthusiasm with which the Democratic Cooperation and its program were welcomed by the people and the fury with which it was attacked by Cyprus' internal and external enemies. Everybody knows the disquiet that the formation of Democratic Cooperation generated in imperialist circles, in NATO, among Americans, West Germans and the British.

There is no doubt that the enemies of democracy and Cyprus will be pleased with the decision to terminate Democratic Cooperation. Similarly, there is no doubt that it will disappoint Cyprus' friends.

The words "broader unity" will convince nobody. Democratic Cooperation has never been an obstacle to such unity on the Cyprus issue. On the contrary, it was the core of such unity, which cannot be promoted by unilateral actions. Such actions, as those of any single party or individual, cannot en-

sure patriotic unity and concord. This can only be achieved by actions based on a collective spirit, a joint policy, and equality.

The Political Bureau considers that Mr. Kyrianiou's unilateral decision on terminating Democratic Cooperation conflicts, especially in the present critical and decisive stage in the efforts to settle the Cyprus question, with a vital need for broader unity and cooperation among all the political forces of Cyprus, and is a blow to the interests of the Cypriot people at a most crucial time.

The CC Political Bureau believes that the situation stemming from the unilateral termination of Democratic Cooperation will negatively affect both the struggle of the Cypriot people for a peaceful, mutually acceptable and lasting settlement of the Cyprus question and political stability, the people's economic and social progress, and all developments on the domestic front.

The favorable course of events that has taken shape in the Cyprus question for the first time in the 10 years that have elapsed since the treacherous putsch and the Turkish invasion, gives grounds for cautious optimism in regard to achieving a mutually acceptable and lasting settlement of the Cyprus question. This was made possible by the struggle of the Cypriot people, international support and solidarity, and also the tireless efforts of the UN Secretary General. Democratic Cooperation has been a key factor of this struggle and favorable course of events.

The evolution of the Cyprus question, as a result of which there is to be a summit meeting on January 17, 1985, bears out the correctness of the policy and tactics enunciated in the joint minimum program. The latter underlay Democratic Cooperation and was characterized by the cooperating parties — DP and AKEL — as a "contract of honor with the people," which they pledged to fulfil truly and consistently.

In his statement the President of the Republic referred to disagreement that had arisen between the two parties. There indeed were problems and disagreements between AKEL and the Democratic Party. However, as we said time and again, the proper way to resolve any difficulties and problems

is not to cease action and annul agreements unilaterally but to have them considered sincerely at the highest level by the cooperating parties in a spirit of mutual respect and understanding.

Guided by this belief, our party has repeatedly suggested such meetings and through its Chairman the DP has expressed agreement with our party's proposals. But now instead of getting down to discussing problems of cooperation we are placed before the fact of Mr. Kyprianou's decision to terminate and abandon cooperation.

The CC Political Bureau is certain that the new situation will be used by all the enemies of Democratic Cooperation, especially by our people's chief enemy, U.S.-NATO imperialism. With the termination of Democratic Cooperation they will step up their efforts to split our people, undermine the domestic front, and carry out their anti-people plans that will prejudice Cyprus. U.S.-NATO imperialism aims to harness Cyprus to its chariot and use it for its militarist strategic purposes in our region.

The Political Bureau deeply regrets the President's decision to annul Democratic Cooperation and reject its minimum program.

Although a blow has been struck at Democratic Cooperation, our party remains faithful to the "contract of honor with the people" and to its election statements and promises; it will go on fighting for its consistent implementation and endeavor to justify the trust of the people, of all patriots, who, welcoming the Democratic Cooperation minimum program, voted in 1983 for the common presidential candidate of the cooperating parties — Mr. Spyros Kyprianou.

The CC Political Bureau of AKEL stresses that political tension and inter-party struggle must be avoided. For its part, AKEL will make every effort to avoid such a struggle and work steadfastly for patriotic unity of action, in the struggle for which it has always been in the forefront. AKEL believes that this unity of action in the true national interest must be based on a common approach to the settlement of the Cyprus question, firm democratic principles, equality, a collective spirit, and collective responsibility.

Haravghi,
December 23, 1984

Contribution to the Struggle for National and Social Liberation

Statement by Six Turkish Parties About the Formation of Left Unity

In conclusion of work which our parties had been carrying on for some time, delegations of their top leaderships held a meeting in December 1984.

The meeting assessed the latest developments in the world, our region and Turkey. Our parties, which at the close of the meeting resolved to join forces against fascism and imperialism, formed an action alliance under the name of Left Unity of Turkey and Turkish Kurdistan (Left Unity).

Our parties decided to release for the public a declaration setting out the functions, tasks and objectives of Left Unity, and a program under which they see their next objective in ending fascist rule and which meets the demands of all democratic forces and calls on them to cooperate in the struggle for peace and democracy.

At the same time the parties forming Left Unity resolved to publish the following communiqué.

The more reactionary imperialist forces headed by U.S. imperialism are continuing with the greatest intensity their policy of solving international problems by force, escalating the manufacture of nuclear, chemical and conventional weapons and blocking initiatives in favor of disarmament and peace. They are threatening the world with nuclear holocaust. The re-election of Reagan in the USA gives added cause for concern in this respect. The United States is preparing for a new invasion on the pattern of its aggression against Grenada to forcibly remove the revolutionary leadership of Nicaragua from power.

This makes it a task of vital importance to all peoples to resist imperialism's policy of aggression, stop and push back the forces advocating war and safeguard the whole of humanity against a disastrous nuclear war. We fully support the actions of the peace forces of the world and undertake to play our role in this struggle.

Our region, the Middle East, is still a major area of

tension and war due to continuing aggression on the part of imperialism and Zionism as well as the more reactionary forces in the region inviting them to do it. The imperialists and Israel are trying to implement their reactionary plans regarding the Palestinian problem in collaboration with reactionary Arab regimes. We reject these plans and uphold the right of the Palestinian people to establish an independent state on their own territory.

We demand an end to the continuing war between Iran and Iraq, which only benefits imperialism, and support the two peoples' progressive forces fighting for democracy and social rights as well as those of the Kurdish people fighting for their national and democratic rights.

The fascist regime, which has practised terror against our peoples for nearly four years, has brought them despite its demagoguery nothing but widespread unemployment, hunger and economic and social failure.

The fascist regime has made our country still more

dependent on imperialism economically, politically and militarily. The Ozal government, which comports itself like an employee of international financial institutions, is leading Turkey to economic disaster. The fascist regime has turned our country into a base for aggression against neighbors and liberation movements. In Cyprus and the Aegean Sea and along the eastern frontier, it has been pursuing a policy of escalating tensions, expansionism and adventurism.

It is evident that the Evren-Ozal regime is following a policy hostile to the people and to peace. The masses now see its nature better than before. The junta and its puppet government, having taken a stand against the mass of our people, can only maintain their rule by bayonets.

The junta finds itself in dire straits and is searching for a way out in increased dependence on U.S. imperialism and stepped-up terror against the masses. The new wave of terror in Kurdistan for which certain border incidents were used as a pretext, acts of aggression reaching beyond the frontiers of the country, new massive arrests, new trials of members of the Peace League and intellectuals, new death sentences and executions are specific indications of this. The junta is bending over backwards to distract the people's attention and foment chauvinism through demagogical talk about the "danger of na-

tional division." At the same time it launches new attacks on the left movement and other democratic forces.

None of these efforts can save the fascist regime from defeat. However, the regime will not collapse of itself, nor will democracy come automatically. This requires unity of the democratic forces and a tenacious struggle by the masses.

Our parties have therefore resolved to join forces in order to remove the fascist regime from the leadership of the country as speedily as possible, introduce democracy, meet the people's pressing demands and pave the way for their national and social liberation.

Turkish and Kurdish working people who are for peace and democracy and against fascism, Left Unity calls on you all to unite and fight.

Let us rally together to overthrow fascism, save our country from economic catastrophe and adventures and deliver our peoples from distress and poverty!

Vanguard Workers' Party of Kurdistan (KOIP)
Workers' Party of Turkey (TIP)
Communist Labor Party of Turkey (TKEP)
Communist Party of Turkey (TKP)
Socialist Party of Turkish Kurdistan (TKSP)
Socialist Workers' Party of Turkey (KSIP)

from the press

International Terrorism: Code-Word and Reality

Tom Foley

For the Reagan administration, "international terrorism" is a code-word, a phrase to mask repression at home and aggression abroad, its assault on the forces of peace, democracy, socialism and national liberation. The assault has been a top item on the ultra-right's agenda for at least a decade, but only when an administration under its control took office in January 1981 could it be fully unleashed.

This assault takes the form of state terrorism directed by Washington. The examples are legion: the CIA's mercenary armies attacking Nicaragua and Afghanistan, the invasion of Grenada, the U.S. support for the Pol Pot terrorist forces on the border of Kampuchea, the Reagan administration's military interventions in Chad and Lebanon and its backing for South African aggression against Angola and other African states.

In a rather embarrassing disclosure for the Reagan administration in mid-October, a CIA manual for terrorist operations against Nicaragua came to light. Among other things, the manual advocates hiring professional criminals for "selective jobs" of assassination, tells how to provoke violent confrontations in order to create "martyrs" for the anti-Nicaraguan cause, how to kidnap and kill officials, blow up pub-

lic buildings, blackmail innocent citizens, etc.

By the use of the code-word phrase, "international terrorism," the ultra-right in the U.S. hopes to build up broad domestic support for its aggression and repression abroad. At the same time it is building a repressive apparatus which will be available for dealing with "terrorists" at home.

Creation of the "right" climate of public opinion in the U.S. is absolutely mandatory for this. It will give the ultra-right the political leverage it needs to push through Congress all kinds of anti-democratic legislation which will enable it "legally" to repress dissent at home and abroad. This clearly is the intent of the bills supposedly against "international terrorism" introduced by Senator Jesse Helms (R.-N.C.) and by Senator Strom Thurmond (R.-S.C.), two of the most notorious racist, anti-labor, anti-democratic ultra-rightists in the entire U.S.

A simple, standard dictionary definition of "terrorism" is "a mode of governing, or of opposing government, by intimidation." In that respect, note should be taken of the statement of St. Thomas Aquinas in his Treatise on Law that "an unjust law is no law at all but rather a kind of violence."

It was to end once and for all this ruling class violence, the violence and terror of capitalism and colonialism, that the founders of scientific socialism

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studied, wrote and organized.

But Marxist-Leninists have always rejected individual terrorism, not just for moral reasons but also for eminently practical ones: organized masses, millions of people, are required to change an entire system of class rule. Individual terrorism is self-defeating, runs directly counter to the needs of the oppressed and exploited working masses.

Capitalism has always tried to equate revolution or even the desire for social change with "terrorism." During and after the 1917 Great October Socialist Revolution, imperialism attempted to pin this "terrorist" label on the Soviet communists and the communist movement in general. All sorts of faked incidents and manufactured "stories" were used to further these imperialist aims: the fake "Zinoviev letter" in Britain in the 1920s, the Reichstag fire in Nazi Germany in the 1930s, the "atom spy" cases in the U.S. in the 1940s and 1950s, including the Rosenberg case. But in the past few decades, with the steady growth of socialist world power, the spread of all kinds of progressive movements at home and abroad, and the deepening of capitalist crises, a new approach has been sought by the ultra-right.

A key event in working out this approach was the July 1979 meeting in Jerusalem of the Jonathan Institute, named after an Israeli officer killed during the lawless raid on Entebbe Airport in Uganda. The subject of the Jonathan Institute's symposium was "international terrorism."

French scholar Dr. Christian Roulet has noted that the council that directs the Jonathan Institute "is the natural offspring of the entourage which paved the way for Reagan's election as governor of California way back in 1966." The council is backed by the Hoover Institution, Georgetown University's Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) and the Heritage Foundation — all ultra-rightist think tanks.

The Jonathan Institute recently (June 1984) held a second symposium on "international terrorism" in Washington, and to no one's surprise it was attended by practically every ranking member of the Reagan administration. It was a gala affair, a kind of ultra-rightist celebration of their take-over of the Republican Party and governmental power. In 1979, the ultra-right was not yet in that position.

Apparently the first meeting of the U.S. National Security Council after the Reagan administration took office in January 1981 was devoted to "international terrorism." Then-Secretary of State Alexander Haig fired the opening shot in this assault on the minds of the public in his first press conference on January 28, 1981.

Haig charged that the Soviet Union was following a "conscious policy" of "training, funding and equipping" what he called "international terrorism." In mid-March of that year, speaking before a House of Representatives committee investigating Central American matters, Haig asserted the region was on a communist "hit list." He once again charged that Moscow was behind the phenomenon of "international terrorism", that the USSR was maintaining "camps, training centers in the Soviet

Union, in their Eastern European satellites, in Libya, where literally thousands of third-world embryo-terrorists are running through a training course."

Haig and the administration evidently expected Congress, reporters and the public to swallow the Jonathan Institute/ultra-rightist line. But of course many asked for at least some proof of these wild charges. Haig then asked the CIA to come up with the "proof" he needed.

The CIA has been accused of many things, but never a lack of anti-Soviet zeal. However, their secret study, it was later revealed, repudiated Haig's whole idea. The June 23, 1981 *New York Times*, using the delicate wording with which it usually treats "sensitive" subjects, reported that "the CIA's analysts reportedly had difficulty marshaling strong evidence that would indict Moscow for responsibility for most terrorism, and they were ordered to rewrite a National Intelligence Estimate." That is, they were ordered to come up with "proof" whether it existed or not!

Mehmet Ali Agca shot and seriously wounded Pope John Paul II in Rome on May 13, 1981. Agca is a Turk, a member of the fascist National Action Party (NAP) of Turkey, a political assassin condemned to death *in absentia* for his 1979 murder on NAP orders of progressive editor Ahmed Ipekci. He escaped from a maximum security Turkish prison in 1979, walking through eight locked doors while wearing a prison guard's uniform (the NAP had "friends" in the Turkish prison system). Three days later he sent a letter to the newspaper threatening to kill the Pope if he dared set foot on sacred Turkish soil.

Agca then traveled merrily all around Western Europe with at least \$20,000 in West German marks, picked up a heavy, 14-shot 9 mm Browning automatic pistol (originally sold by an Austrian arms dealer with a Nazi family background), arrived in Rome and tried to assassinate the Pope. At his trial he said not a word about Bulgaria or the socialist countries ... Agca was condemned to life imprisonment with no possibility of parole.

At the end of December 1981, Agca was visited in his isolation cell in a Rome maximum security prison by two Italian secret service agents who promised him a reduction in sentence to 10 years if he "cooperated" with them. Then the "Bulgarian plot" story began to take shape. Agca evidently needed a lot of coaching, especially since he knew no Bulgarian and the chief "plot" story target, Sergei Antonov, knew no Turkish.

Antonov was not arrested until November 25, 1982, and has remained either in prison or under house arrest ever since. However, the "trial" began even before his arrest, with the publication in September 1982 of Claire Sterling's article, "The Plot to Murder the Pope" in the *Reader's Digest*.

Sterling's article was the first in a steady propaganda barrage on the "international terrorism" theory proposed at the 1979 Jonathan Institute meeting. Ms. Sterling has an interesting background: she was a contributor to the *Rome Daily American*, a newspaper later exposed as owned by the CIA; she

took part in a 1976 conference on the "communist menace" to Italy sponsored by the Georgetown University CSIS and attended by William Colby of the CIA, John Connally, member of the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board and others of similar ilk.

Frank Brodhead and Edward S. Herman, in their detailed examination of the background of the case (*Covert Action*, No. 19, Spring-Summer, 1983), point out that "Claire Sterling has long been noted for using, and serving as a conduit for, the Free World's intelligence services . . ."

The Church Committee (the Senate committee chaired by Senator Frank Church) found nearly a decade ago that the CIA has often used journalists to plant "disinformation." The committee also found that "the CIA currently maintains a network of several hundred foreign individuals . . . who provide the CIA with direct access to a large number of newspapers and periodicals, scores of press services and news agencies, radio and television stations, commercial book publishers, and other foreign media outlets."

Brodhead and Herman also show that the flood of television broadcasts and newspaper and magazine articles on the alleged plot, after Ms. Sterling's article appeared, were practically devoid of facts and were filled with "reports of somebody's opinion or speculation about the case." Nonetheless the notion of a Bulgarian or KGB "plot" was put constantly before the public.

"A further characteristic of mass media coverage of the Bulgarian-KGB connection has been the virtually complete exclusion of dissenting opinion," state Brodhead and Herman. "The 'debate' is confined to assertions and speculations by Western terrorism experts, intelligence sources and politicians, on the one hand, and Soviet and Bulgarian denials on the other . . . Non-Establishment Western critics of the story, who might have greater credibility, are not admitted to the debate."

But it is not exactly a "debate." Antonov has been undergoing the equivalent of psychological and physical torture while in prison. Bulgaria, the USSR

and the other socialist countries have been thoroughly smeared, month after month, in a steady propaganda bombardment. No, not a debate. Rather, a "trial" by ordeal.

If the massive propaganda campaign has succeeded, in any degree, to convince the public that "where there's smoke, there's fire"; succeeded in shifting public attention from the idea that a person is innocent until proven guilty, then it has largely gained its end. Without proof, without evidence, it has buttressed its case for the "international terrorism" theory.

President Reagan this summer proposed an "anti-terrorism" bill. In the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism (SST), the bill was attacked by conservatives, liberals, Democrats and Republicans alike as being "so broadly worded that it might threaten civil liberties" (*New York Times*, June 6, 1984). Senators testified that the proposed legislation "could be used to prosecute Americans for speaking out on foreign policy issues."

In fact, Rep. George Crockett (D-Mich) pointed out that allowing the Secretary of State to designate "terrorist" nations under the bill's provisions was not subject to judicial review.

The bill, Crockett said, would greatly restrict all civil liberties in the U.S. He might have gone further: the bill, unlikely to come up now until next year, would make the president an autocrat in the true sense, able to overrule all law on the pretext of fighting "international terrorism." The bill sets no standards for what is "international terrorism," which is quite in line with the no-proof, no-evidence Jonathan Institute theory on the subject.

By some strange coincidence, the Jonathan Institute was holding its second conference on "international terrorism" in Washington at roughly the same time that Congress was discussing these horrendously anti-democratic bills. Featured speakers were the administration's United Nations envoy, Jeane Kirkpatrick, George Shultz and FBI Director William Webster.

The conference was sharply criticized by Ambassador Clovis Maksoud of the Arab League. Maksoud said the conference was "a shameless attempt to cover up for institutionalized terrorism" on the part of Israel, such as its invasion and continuing occupation of southern Lebanon and other Arab territories.

Maksoud said it was "mind-boggling" and "very disturbing" that several top Reagan administration officials had attended the conference. The political observer of the Afghan news agency *Bakhtar* commented that it was revealing that the two official sponsors of the conference "are the U.S. and Israel, the two countries whose policy is nothing but open international banditry and terrorism."

Bakhtar quoted the secretary general of the Non-Aligned Movement Institute of India in New Delhi, who stated in an interview that "the non-aligned countries are fully aware of the fact that terrorism and force are the two main parts of U.S. official policy."

Abridged from *Political Affairs*,
No. 11, 1984

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National Democratic Revolution: Its Nature, Tasks and Prospects

The Great October Socialist Revolution and the building of the first socialist state in the world under the leadership of Lenin's party ushered in a new stage of human history, the stage of transition from capitalism to socialism. This transition is still the main content of our epoch. The establishment of socialism in a country covering one-sixth of the world's land mass marked the beginning of the crisis of the capitalist system. Following the historic victory over Hitler fascism achieved by the peoples of Europe with the Soviet Union at their head and the establishment of socialism in several European and Asian countries, the world socialist system became a reality.

Socialism's achievements contributed to the intensification of the struggle of colonial peoples for freedom and social progress and to the downfall of the colonial system, which disintegrated under the impact of an active struggle by the three main forces of the world revolutionary process.

After casting off the shackles of colonialism, young states proceeded to consolidate their independence and seek social emancipation.

The Soviet Union and other socialist countries are loyal friends and allies of these states in their effort to smash the chains of dependence from imperialism and embark on the road of progressive development. It is from them that the peoples of developing countries receive disinterested aid in various fields as well as support on the international scene. The achievements of the socialist countries and the progress made by them in industry, agriculture and social development plus their steadfast struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence of states having different social systems, a struggle curbing the nuclear arms race which imperialism and its accomplices want to step up, are factors tying the hands of reactionaries who interfere in the internal affairs of peoples. This interference and attempts to suppress the aspiration for socialism are often backed with armed force. The successes of the socialist system are evidence of its superiority over capitalism. They lay bare capitalism's evils, deepen its crisis and spur the struggle of peoples for liberation and social progress.

The achievements scored by the socialist countries in every sphere, actions in capitalist countries by a working class suffering from numerous manifestations of crisis and exploitation, and the struggle of the peoples of developing countries led by liberation movements are dialectically interlinked and merge into a common revolutionary stream. The socialist revolution, Lenin pointed out, will not be limited to action by the revolutionary proletariat of the given country against its bourgeoisie; the peoples of all colonies, of all oppressed and dependent countries, will rise against world imperialism.

Socialism will triumph in all countries, but in each country this will take place in accordance with local conditions and national peculiarities. This calls for a

discussion of some problems of the national democratic revolution, which constitutes an important milestone on the road to socialism.

On freeing themselves from colonial dependence, the peoples of developing countries began fighting for social emancipation. This fight has been characterized by a diversity of national situations. Experience has shown, however, that a socialist orientation is the only reliable road to final deliverance from imperialist dependence and backwardness and to full independence.

All the social forces and classes whose interests clash with those of the colonialists and their allies march together in the national liberation struggle. At the stage of national democratic revolution, which historically precedes socialism, the working class, peasantry, petty bourgeoisie and revolutionary intelligentsia operating in alliance are the main motive forces.

The tasks of the national democratic revolution in each particular country depend on the degree of social development attained by that country. In some countries the national democratic revolution has achieved a reasonably high level of development. These countries (they include Democratic Yemen, Ethiopia and Mozambique) have formed vanguard parties guided by the theory of scientific socialism, Marxism-Leninism; they have registered major economic and social advances toward socialism. Other countries, where power within a broad national front is held by the petty bourgeoisie, have yet to attain this level. Indeed, the forces in power in some countries have begun to mark time due to their class nature, being fearful of decisive steps toward socialist transformations. A further factor is the emergence of a bureaucratic and parasitical bourgeoisie which has gained influence and power. In a third group of countries, national forces still lack political power and are dependent on imperialism in this or that field as in the past.

The road to the national democratic revolution understandably varies in the above groups of countries for all that they are carrying on a common fight against imperialism, Zionism and reaction.

The common tasks of the national democratic revolution include the following:

1. Undermining the economic and political influence of the domestic big bourgeoisie. Regulating the activity of the middle bourgeoisie and the private sector according to national and social development tasks.
2. Passing progressive social legislation taking account of the working people's interests, increasing their role in the production sphere and improving their condition.
3. Encouraging the people to take a more active part in socio-political life.
4. Setting up a democratic universal education system and advancing national culture.
5. Combating imperialist and neocolonialist ideology. Disseminating revolutionary-democratic,

anti-imperialist ideas.

6. Pursuing an anti-imperialist foreign policy and fostering solidarity with national liberation movements and newly-free countries committed to a progressive patriotic orientation.

7. Cooperating extensively and maintaining close relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries as the mainstay of developing countries in their effort for social progress and their advance to socialism.

8. Ensuring that the vanguard party guided by scientific socialism and fully backed by the people operates as a force guaranteeing consistent fulfillment of the tasks of the national democratic revolution and the transition to socialism.

9. Effecting a radical reform of the state apparatus inherited from the colonial past and being used by home and foreign reaction for undermining revolutionary achievements and putting down national progressive forces, especially where the petty bourgeoisie is in control.

In countries where the national democratic revolution is developing and yet power is still in the hands of domestic reaction tied economically, politically and socially to imperialism, it is necessary to form a broad national front comprising all progressive democratic forces. The purpose of this front is to fight for final deliverance from imperialist dependence and achieve a higher level of social development with due regard to prevailing socio-economic conditions.

Accomplishing the tasks of the national democratic revolution in such countries involves great difficulties due above all to the lack of even modest democratic freedoms. National and revolutionary forces there are crushed and persecuted, as is the case in Saudi Arabia, Jordan and elsewhere. The reactionary rulers of these countries stifle every patriotic initiative of the people, doom workers to emigration, foment division and discord among them and replace domestic by foreign workers. Without producing anything for their part, these countries are degenerating into markets for imported consumer goods. They advertise the "American way of life" and use the media for spreading nihilist and individualist sentiments and indifference to the fate of one's own country. Jordan is a striking case in point.

Foreign capitalist penetration and imperialism's political, economic and military interference are on the rise in the group of countries in question, particularly in Egypt, Somalia and the Sudan. The result is a declining national economy, growing dependence on the world capitalist market, increasing unemployment and poverty and a persistent lag.

To cope with the difficult tasks facing them and achieve victory, national democrats in these countries must:

(1) bring about the unity of all progressive forces within a national front under a militant program taking account of the actual conditions in the country concerned and indicating ways and means of delivering the country from every form of imperialist dependence and neocolonialism;

(2) fight relentlessly for freedom of the press,

association and to strike and for real participation of the people in socio-political life;

(3) seek closer relations with socialist countries;

(4) expose imperialist, Zionist, racist and domestic reactionary intrigues; resist attempts to drag developing countries into military blocs and the setting up of military bases on their soil, as in Egypt, Oman, Bahrain, Somalia and other countries; take a stand for world peace and against the danger of nuclear war and the nuclear arms race mounted by the U.S. imperialists;

(5) promoting and improving forms and methods of publicity; putting up proper resistance to ideological subversion on the part of home reaction and imperialist media, which denigrate the socialist countries, primarily the Soviet Union, in the eyes of peoples, defame socialism as a system and gloss over and conceal the evils of capitalism — these are important and pressing tasks facing the national democratic forces of the countries in question, primarily their communist parties;

(6) intensifying the activity of national fronts with the support of the mass of the people in order to force reaction into retreating; secure important gains in advancing to the complete deliverance of the people from imperialist and reactionary domination.

Experience of the struggle for national independence and social liberation has shown that the issue of alliances is highly important. In Arab countries, the petty and middle national bourgeoisie has betrayed its inability to lead this struggle or to raise the national democratic revolution to a higher plane. This is why the working class, poor peasants and revolutionary intellectuals should form the core of the national front. It is these forces that can fulfil the tasks of the national democratic revolution with a socialist perspective.

The Arab peoples are at differing stages of the national democratic revolution. Some countries, such as Democratic Yemen, are socialist-oriented and are effecting fundamental social and economic reforms under the leadership of the Yemeni Socialist Party. Other countries, such as Egypt or Iraq, show stagnation and retrogression. Some Arab countries which are ruled by nationalist regimes and have failed to carry out sufficiently far-reaching changes are still in danger of a retreat.

The petty bourgeoisie directing the present stage of transformation is unstable and vacillating. A section of it, having adopted the ideology of scientific socialism, may take a position close to that of the working class. Other sections of the petty bourgeoisie are afraid of the people by virtue of their class nature and dread decisive changes on socialist lines. This is due in part to the conditions in which the petty bourgeoisie came to power. It generally treats the people with arrogance and contempt and ignores their great creative potential.

The Arab nationalist regimes in countries where a certain socio-economic progress has been made are faced with the following tasks: furthering changes in favor of socialism, abolishing big private property, stopping the growth of a new bureaucratic and parasitical bourgeoisie, lessening dependence on the capitalist market and expanding cooperation with

the socialist countries. Unless these tasks are fulfilled there will remain fertile ground for neocolonialists and domestic reactionaries, who are out to undermine political independence and the people's gains. Egypt is typical in this respect. The 70s there saw the rise of a bureaucratic and parasitical bourgeoisie known as "fat cats" as well as the emergence of a rural bourgeoisie. They have amassed enormous fortunes. They strongly influence the state apparatus and induced the Sadat regime to abandon its revolutionary policy and adopt a counter-revolutionary position.

The experience of Arab and some other developing countries has shown that the petty bourgeoisie is often unable to accomplish the tasks of the national democratic revolution and advance it to the stage of transition to socialism. The parties of the working class must therefore assume the chief role at precisely this stage, which will enable them to consolidate the people's achievements, make progress in the social sphere and set about building socialism.

Abridged from *Al-Haqiqa*
(organ of the Jordanian Communist Party),
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