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The Peoples Await Constructive Decisions

Speech by Leonid Brezhnev

At a dinner given in honor of President Kekkonen of Finland during his visit to Moscow on November 12, 1980, a speech was delivered by Leonid Brezhnev, in which he said, in part:

Ours is a turbulent time with hotbeds of dangerous conflict erupting one after another in different parts of the world and certain circles whipping up the arms race. In this atmosphere, the major duty of responsible statesmen, of all the peace forces, is to take an active part in the effort to strengthen the foundations of peace.

The Soviet Union and Finland were among the first to appreciate the fruits — both material and spiritual — yielded by the policy of peace and cooperation. And our two countries have done a great deal to advance détente and spread the principles of peaceful coexistence in international relations.

The code of principles for interstate relations adopted by the European Conference in Helsinki largely assimilated, among other things, the broad experience of Soviet-Finnish good-neighborliness.

It is now very important to consistently realize the Helsinki accord. Europe should, at long last, be given an opportunity to live in conditions of assured peace and tranquillity.

At present, representatives of the states that took part in the European Conference have met in Madrid. We are well aware that some would like to turn this conference — an occasion for business-like dis-

cussions — into a forum for cheap propaganda and demagoguery. But we shall carry on a resolute struggle against such attempts and follow a firm line aimed to achieve understanding that would serve the interests of détente, security, and the nations' peaceful future.

If a business-like approach at the Madrid Conference prevails, there will be grounds to hope that it will be able to discuss and in substance adopt important decisions which, in particular, will pave the way for a conference on military détente and disarmament in Europe.

The peoples await such decisions, and we should not disappoint their expectations.

As for Northern Europe, we share your concern, Mr. President, for preserving peace and stability in that region. I think we agree in believing that the way to ensure security in the North of Europe does not lie through an activation of military blocs in that region, but through a joint quest for solutions that would shield it from conflicts.

That is why Finland's initiative calling for a nuclear-free zone in the Northern Europe has met with understanding in the Soviet Union.

Pravda, November 13, 1980

Soviet-Mozambique Relations Have A Great Future

Visit to the USSR by Samora M. Machel

At the invitation of the Central Committee of the CPSU, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Soviet Government, an official visit was paid to the Soviet Union from November 17 to 22, 1980, by Samora Moises Machel, Chairman of FRELIMO and President of the People's Republic of Mozambique. At a dinner given at the Kremlin in honor of the distinguished guest on November 17, Leonid Brezhnev and Samora M. Machel delivered speeches, slightly abridged versions of which are published below.

SPEECH BY
COMRADE LEONID BREZHNEV

We attach much importance to the visit to Moscow by the distinguished representatives of the courageous people of Mozambique and its militant vanguard, the FRELIMO Party.

This visit is another testimonial to the steadily growing friendship between our peoples and countries. A friendship that was born and tempered in the years of struggle for the liberation of Mozambique

from the 500-year colonial oppression. A friendship that has been growing daily now that the people of Mozambique, under the leadership of their party, are advancing along the road of profound social and political transformations, upholding the ideals of peace, democracy and socialism.

We are sure that Soviet-Mozambique relations have a great future before them. Bilateral ties between the USSR and Mozambique are being extended and deepened in the most diverse spheres on

the solid basis of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation. Contacts between our parties — the CPSU and FRELIMO — are developing in a fruitful way.

In international affairs, we are also working together as true comrades-in-arms in the struggle for peace, national liberation and social progress of the nations. Both our countries resolutely oppose the imperialist policy of oppression, exploitation, and the trampling of the people's sovereign rights, the policy of militarism and diktat.

The whole of progressive Africa knows of the positive contribution made by Mozambique to the strengthening of the solidarity of the freedom-loving peoples, of its support for the national-liberation struggle of its African brothers.

For its part, the Soviet Union has invariably and consistently worked to help the African peoples become true masters of their own destiny and to decide for themselves, without outside interference, on the road of their development. We support the aspirations of all the peoples for the earliest elimination of the hard legacy of the colonial past.

This year marked 20 years since the adoption by the United Nations of its historical declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. It was adopted on the initiative of the Soviet Union, other socialist countries and a number of countries of Africa. A great deal has been done over the past two decades. Nearly the whole of Africa is now independent. Only in the south of the continent is there still a bridgehead of colonialism and racism, a kind of anachronism in the present historical conditions, but an aggressive and dangerous anachronism.

The prospects in the struggle of the peoples on all the continents for consolidating independence and for social progress largely depend on the shaping of the international situation as a whole. Regrettably, it has been markedly complicated. Imperialism is stepping up its attempts to reverse the objective tide of world development and to frustrate the peoples' urge for freedom and progress.

This is a dangerous trend. Before it is too late, the peace-loving states must pool their efforts in order to prevent the world from sliding down to the fatal brink, to put an end to the arms race and reliably ensure the security of the nations.

The Soviet Union's stand is clear and well known. We stand for the maintenance of détente, for deepening it, for peaceful and equitable cooperation among states. We do not threaten anyone, we do not interfere — and have no intention of interfering — in the affairs of other countries and peoples. And we should like the other powers to act in the same way. We want to see all the mechanisms for a peaceful and just settlement of international problems set in motion.

Much in the development of the international situation will, of course, depend on the stand of the United States of America. A new President has now been elected in that country. I shall not dwell on what was said by him, his supporters and his adversaries in the heat of the electoral struggle. I can merely declare with full responsibility that any con-

structive steps on the part of the U.S. administration in the sphere of Soviet-American relations and vital world problems will meet with a positive response on our part.

Our people are looking forward to the 26th Congress of their Communist Party with faith in the future. Following Lenin's precepts, we shall continue perseveringly to stand for the cause of peace and international security, to consolidate our alliance with the progressive forces of the whole world, and our solidarity with the liberation struggle of the peoples.

Those are also the terms in which we intend to develop in every way the friendship and cooperation between the CPSU and FRELIMO, between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of Mozambique for the benefit of the peoples of our countries, and for the triumph of the noble ideals of freedom and progress.

SPEECH BY COMRADE SAMORA M. MACHEL

Our revolution has triumphed, our socialist state is being consolidated from day to day in the region of the globe where imperialism behaves most aggressively, the frontier across which fascism and apartheid reigns.

Just as it is in your history, so the sources of our victory are the heroism of the people and the working people, our party's correct political line and the great power of international solidarity.

Our Marxist-Leninist party was born of the people's war against foreign invaders. It was born in the flames of the class struggle which developed with the Mozambique Liberation Front, in the liberated areas, in the struggle against internal reaction and new exploiters. In the course of this protracted and complicated process, tens of thousands of fighters were tempered and seasoned, and in 1977 set up the Marxist-Leninist party, the FRELIMO Party.

The process of socialist transformations is manifested in our country's daily life. It is evident in the work of the people's assemblies, through which the working class and the peasantry, its chief ally, exercise their power in society, it is expressed in the successes we have already scored in the collectivization of the countryside, in the establishment and development of state agricultural enterprises and cooperatives, in the construction of collective villages based on socialist property in land. The nationalization of the banks, insurance companies, the main industries, foreign trade, the mines, land, and the public health and education systems, all of this created the basis for building a socialist society.

Today, under the leadership of our party, our people are on their way to storming the new decade, in the course of which we must triumph over underdevelopment, put an end to hunger, poverty, disease, ignorance and illiteracy, a decade in the course of which we shall complete the collectivization of the countryside, partially mechanize our agriculture and lay the foundations of a modern industry.

We attach much importance to the principles and

practice of proletarian internationalism, which is an inalienable part of the political line of our party and state. We invariably stand for the strengthening of the natural alliance between the socialist countries, the national-liberation and social movements of the peoples, and the working class and other democratic forces of the capitalist countries. As a non-aligned country, we shall continue in the future as well to promote the strengthening of the anti-imperialist and peace content of the non-aligned movement.

Our internationalism is also manifested in the support which we have given to the liberation of the oppressed peoples. Our solidarity is with those who are fighting for their liberation, those who are defending themselves against the aggressions of imperialism and reaction. Mozambique internationalist volunteers fought in Zimbabwe, and our socialist state was a reliable hinterland in the struggle for that country's liberation.

Close cooperation with the other fraternal socialist states is an assurance of our victory in the struggle against underdevelopment. Combining our diverse resources, we are able to develop, to strengthen our economy, to obtain mutual benefit and so to resist the economic and political blackmail of imperialism.

Since the Mozambique people's armed struggle for national liberation, strong bonds of cooperation have taken shape between us and the Soviet Union. The Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation signed between our states in 1977 is the most important instrument of the development and strengthening of our cooperation on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

We regard cooperation between the developed socialist states and socialist states whose economy is at the stage of development as the crucial factor in consolidating the positions of socialism on four continents.

The victory of the Zimbabwe people over colonialism and racism, its winning of independence and the advent to power of the government headed

by Prime Minister Robert Mugabe as a result of the first free and democratic elections are major events for Africa and the whole of progressive mankind. The victory in Zimbabwe has created in southern Africa fresh prospects for peace and cooperation, it is an invaluable stimulus for intensifying the struggle for the liberation of Namibia and the Republic of South Africa, the crucial impetus in the struggle for achieving the economic independence of the countries in the region.

The people of the Republic of South Africa, under the leadership of the African National Congress, has been delivering powerful blows at the apartheid regime, and has refused to be duped by pseudo-reforms.

The struggle for the liberation of Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO has entered the decisive phase. The racists' aggression against Angola and Zambia and the moves to use puppets will fail.

We have been following with great concern the development of the armed conflict in which Iraq and Iran are involved. This conflict requires that all the progressive and peace-loving forces make the necessary efforts so as to bring about an immediate cease-fire and a peaceful political settlement of the problem that caused it. The war between Iraq and Iran is being used by the imperialist forces, above all by the United States of America, to build up their bases and strengthen their fleets in the Indian Ocean, something that prevents the conversion of this ocean into a zone of peace, free from nuclear weapons.

The threat of armed intervention by imperialism in the Persian Gulf area, the military strengthening of the Zionist regime, the Camp David betrayal — all of these are aimed against the interests of the people of Palestine, the Arab peoples, and the cause of peace as a whole.

For that reason, the struggle for peace and détente in international relations becomes the most important and crucial task before all the revolutionary and progressive forces of mankind.

Pravda, November 18, 1980

Meeting of Leaders of the Warsaw Treaty States

A meeting of the party and state leaders of the Warsaw Treaty countries was held in Moscow on December 5, 1980. It was attended by:

— from the People's Republic of Bulgaria — Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the BCP CC, Chairman of the State Council of Bulgaria; Stanko Todorov, member of the BCP CC Political Bureau, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of Bulgaria; Petr Mladenov, BCP CC Political Bureau member, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria; Dimitr Metodiev, BCP CC member;

— from the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic — Gustav Husak, General Secretary of the CPCz CC, President of Czechoslovakia; Lubomir Strougal, CPCz CC Presidium member, Chairman of the

Government of Czechoslovakia; Vasil Bilak, CPCz CC Presidium member, CC Secretary;

— from the German Democratic Republic — Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the SUPG CC, Chairman of the GDR Council of State; Willi Stoph, SUPG CC Political Bureau member, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the GDR; Hermann Axen, SUPG CC Political Bureau member and CC Secretary; Heinz Hoffman, SUPG CC Political Bureau member, Minister of National Defense of the GDR; Erich Mielke, SUPG CC Political Bureau member, Minister of State Security of the GDR;

— from the Hungarian People's Republic — Janos Kadar, First Secretary of the HSWP CC; Andras Gyenes, HSWP CC Secretary; Janos Borbandi, De-

puty Chairman of the Council of Ministers of Hungary;

— from the Polish People's Republic — Stanislaw Kania, First Secretary of the PUPP CC; Jozef Pinski, PUPP CC Political Bureau member, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of Poland; Kazimierz Barcikowski, PUPP CC Political Bureau member and CC Secretary; Stefan Olszowski, PUPP CC Political Bureau member and CC Secretary; Wojciech Jaruzelski, PUPP CC Political Bureau member, Minister of National Defense of Poland; Jozef Czyrek, PUPP CC member, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Poland; Miroslaw Milewski, PUPP CC member, Minister of the Interior of Poland;

— from the Socialist Republic of Romania — Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of the RCP, President of Romania; Ilie Verdet, RCP CC Political Executive Committee member, Prime Minister of the Government of Romania; Virgil Cazacu, RCP CC Political Executive Committee member, CC Secretary; Stefan Andrei, RCP CC Political Executive Committee alternate member, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Romania;

— from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics — Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU CC, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR; Nikolai Tikhonov, CPSU CC Political Bureau member, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR; Mikhail Suslov, CPSU CC Political Bureau member, CC Secretary; Yuri Andropov, CPSU CC Political Bureau member, Chairman of the State Security Committee of the USSR; Andrei Gromyko, CPSU CC Political Bureau member, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR; Dmitry Ustinov, CPSU CC Political Bureau member, Minister of Defense of the USSR; Konstantin Rusakov, CPSU CC Secretary.

The participants in the meeting exchanged views on the development of the international situation over the past few months. They believe that the course of events has reaffirmed the correctness of the assessments and the urgency of the proposals made at a meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty States in Warsaw in May 1980. These proposals are having a positive effect on the processes under way in Europe and in other regions of the world, and meet the interests of the nations.

They noted with satisfaction the invigoration of political contacts between states with different social systems; the continuation of the dialogue on the key international problems; the fruitful examination by the UN General Assembly of the proposals of the socialist and other countries aimed to achieve the earliest implementation of effective measures for limiting and ending the arms race. All of this promotes the process of détente.

The socialist countries expressed their intention to continue contributing to the improvement of the international climate, strengthening of peace, the continuation of the policy of détente, the development of international cooperation, and the settlement of all conflicts through negotiation. The

participants in the meeting firmly stand for the development of relations with all countries, irrespective of their social system, on the basis of the principles of independence and sovereignty, for the repudiation of the use or threat of force in relations between states, and for scrupulous respect for the UN Charter.

The participants in the meeting emphasized that they stand for cooperation with all the progressive, democratic, anti-imperialist forces, for the strengthening of the solidarity of all the peoples in the struggle against the danger of war, and for a policy of peace and disarmament, nuclear disarmament in the first place, for détente and equitable cooperation.

The participants in the meeting voiced their readiness to act constructively in developing relations with the United States of America, if the new U.S. administration takes the same approach.

The countries participating in the meeting welcome the start of the work of the Madrid conference and want it to develop in such a way as to open fresh prospects for the implementation of the Helsinki documents, for the cause of peace and détente on the continent.

At the same time, the participants in the meeting noted that the situation in the world remains tense. The arms race is becoming ever more dangerous. In various regions of the world, hotbeds of military confrontations and tensions remain. New conflicts break out. The situation calls for greater vigilance with respect to the aggressive aspirations of the imperialist forces, and the attempts by reaction to erode the positions of the socialist countries, the developing states and the national-liberation movements.

The participants in the meeting declared their resolve to continue strengthening the unity of the socialist countries on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and international solidarity, and equitable mutually advantageous cooperation.

The conviction was expressed at the meeting that the joint efforts of all the countries and peoples desiring peace, security and international cooperation, can ensure the assertion of détente as the leading trend in international development.

The participants in the meeting held an exchange of information on socialist and communist construction in their countries. They favor a further development of economic, scientific and technical cooperation and coordination of plans for socialist and communist construction in their countries, and the raising of their peoples' material well-being.

The representatives of the PUPP informed the participants in the meeting on the development of the situation in the Polish People's Republic, and on the results of the Seventh Plenum of the PUPP Central Committee. The participants in the meeting expressed the conviction that the communists, the working class, and all the other working people of fraternal Poland will succeed in overcoming the difficulties that have arisen, and in ensuring the country's further development along the socialist road. It was confirmed that socialist Poland, the Polish Un-

ited Workers' Party and the Polish people can firmly rely on the fraternal solidarity and support of the Warsaw Treaty countries. The representatives of the PUWP emphasized that Poland was, is and will be a socialist state, and a solid member of the com-

mon family of socialist countries.

The meeting of the socialist countries' party and state leaders was held in an atmosphere of comradely mutual understanding and unity of views.

Pravda, December 6, 1980

CPSU CC Resolution

We publish below the CPSU CC resolution on the draft for the 26th congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, "Guidelines for the economic and social development of the USSR from 1981 to 1985 and for the period up to 1990".

1. To approve the CPSU CC draft for the 26th congress of the party. "Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR from 1981 to 1985 and for the Period up to 1990."

2. To publish the CPSU CC draft "Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR from 1981 to 1985 and for the Period up to 1990" on December 2, 1980, for discussion by the whole people.

3. To hold discussions of the draft "Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR from 1981 to 1985 and for the Period up to 1990" in work collectives, academic institutions,

army units, in party, trade union and Komsomol organizations, at meetings of activists and plenary meetings of party committees in urban districts, cities and areas, at regional and territorial party conferences and congresses of the communist parties of the union republics, in the press, on the radio and television, within the system of party, Komsomol and economic education, and also talks in residential neighborhoods.

General Secretary of the CPSU CC,
L. Brezhnev

Pravda, December 2, 1980

New Horizons of Communist Construction

Pravda Editorial

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is confidently advancing toward its next, 26th congress. A new and important stage has begun in the preparation for the congress: the stage of discussion by the whole people of the CPSU CC draft "Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR from 1981 to 1985 and for the Period up to 1990."

The CPSU CC draft is a document of tremendous theoretical and practical importance. It creatively sums up the practice of communist construction in the USSR, takes account of the experience of other socialist countries, and embodies the CPSU's strategy and tactics on the key questions of the economic, social and spiritual development of the Land of the Soviets in light of the concrete conditions of the 1980s.

"Every congress," comrade Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU CC, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, said at the June 1980 plenary meeting of the CPSU CC, "has opened new horizons before our party and the country. I am sure that such will also be the forthcoming congress, which is to formulate the strategy and tactics of struggle at the next stage of communist construction."

The CPSU CC document outlines the new and

broad horizons of our further advance. It is difficult to attain these horizons, but they are fully realistic, for they are based on the country's tremendous achievements in the sphere of the economy, social life and spiritual culture.

Thus, in comparison with the ninth five-year period, in the 10th five-year period the production of the national income has increased by almost 400 billion rubles, industrial output by 717 billion rubles and agricultural output by 50 billion rubles. More than 1,200 large-scale industrial enterprises have been commissioned. The output of consumer goods went up by 21 per cent, including cultural and everyday goods by 41 per cent; the range of items has become broader, and their quality higher.

The party's agrarian policy is being consistently realized, and this has ensured an increase in the output of agricultural produce. Over the five-year period, the annual average gross grain crop has exceeded 200 million tons for the first time. The output of meat, milk, eggs, cotton and other produce has increased.

Another major advance has been made in the fulfillment of social tasks. In the five years, 329 billion rubles more than in the ninth five-year period have been allocated from the national income for raising the people's living standards. Real incomes

per head of the population have increased by 17 per cent. The average wages of industrial and office workers have increased by more than 15 per cent, and the incomes of collective farmers from work on collective farms, by 26 per cent.

The consumption of many food and non-food commodities has continued to grow. There has been a further development of the sphere of the services. Retail trade has gone up by 24 per cent, and the volume of everyday services by 43 per cent.

Housing construction has been conducted on a broad scale. In the five years, houses with a living space of 530 million sq. m. have been built. The housing conditions of more than 50 million people have been improved.

Further progress in science, education, culture, public health, physical training and sports has been achieved.

At the same time, the CPSU CC draft says, the achievements in developing the economy and fulfilling social tasks could have been much greater with the fuller use of the advantages of the planned economy, more active involvement of economic reserves, and more persevering efforts to combat shortcomings.

On the whole, the results of the past five-year period indicate that the Soviet Union has advanced along every line of economic and social development. What has been achieved in economic and social development makes it possible to tackle tasks on an ever larger scale. These are the tasks that are determined in the CPSU CC draft.

The forthcoming decade, the draft says, is a new and major stage in the build-up of the material and technical basis of communism, the development of social relations, and the molding of the new man.

In the 1980s, the Communist Party will consistently continue to follow its economic strategy, whose supreme goal is a steady rise in the people's material and cultural standards, creation of better conditions for the all-round development of the individual on the basis of a further enhancement of the efficiency of the whole of social production, higher labor productivity, and the Soviet people's more vigorous social and labor activity.

The 11th five-year period will become a responsible stage in realizing these long-term tasks, for its main purpose is to ensure a further growth of the Soviet people's well-being through a steady and progressive development of the economy, a switch of the economy to the intensive way of development, more rational use of the country's production potential, accelerated scientific and technological progress, utmost economies of all types of resources and improvement of the quality of workmanship.

The party believes that in order to fulfil this task it is necessary: to effect a system of measures for consistently raising the people's well-being; to ensure the progressive growth of the economy, to perfect the structure of social production, perseveringly to enhance the efficiency of production and improve the quality of the goods and services in every sector of the national economy through its all-round intensification; to bring about a further acceleration of

scientific and technological progress; to intensify environmental protection and conservation; to improve administration and raise the level of economic management in every echelon of the economy; to intensify their orientation upon the attainment of the best final results; and to enhance the efficiency of external economic ties.

The CPSU CC document attaches special importance to the development of science and technology, which should be even more emphatically geared to the solution of the key problems of the further progress of Soviet society, and the accelerated switch of the economy to the way of intensification. Accordingly, it is intended: to ensure the elaboration and realization of goal-oriented complex programs for solving the key scientific and technological problems; substantially to reduce the periods for the development and mastering of new hardware; to strengthen the ties between science and production; to build up the material, technical, experimental and production facilities of research and development organizations; rapidly to change R and D lines and the organizational structure of scientific institutions in accordance with the demands of the scientific and technological revolution: to improve the training, raise the qualification standards and certification of research workers; promote to the utmost the development of mass scientific and technical creativity among inventors and rationalizers.

The CPSU CC draft envisages a further development of the whole of our economy. In the five years, the national income going into consumption and accumulation is to increase by 18-20 per cent.

The key tasks of industry are fuller satisfaction of the requirements of the economy in the means of production, and of the population in consumer goods, enhancement of the quality of goods, and intensification of production through the utmost use of the achievements of scientific and technological progress. Here, the boosting of the output and enhancement of the quality of goods designed to meet the demand of the population are regarded as a primary task for every industry, every enterprise and organization, as a matter of special concern of all party, government and economic organs.

Industrial output is to increase by 26-28 per cent, including the output of the means of production by 26-28 per cent, and consumer goods by 27-29 per cent. The following figures show the scale of the growth of industrial production. In 1985, electric-power generation is to reach 1,550-1,600 billion kwh; the extraction of oil, including gas condensate, 620-645 million tons; coal, 770-800 million tons; and the production of finished rolled ferrous stock, 117-120 million tons. The output of cultural, everyday and household goods is to increase by at least 40 per cent.

Much importance is attached to improving the structure of industry, balancing out the development of the extractive and manufacturing industries, more rapidly increasing the output of products which determine technical progress in the economy, markedly enlarging the scale on which new and highly efficient technology is developed and brought into

production, expanding and systematically renewing the nomenclature and assortment of structural materials, improving the use of fuel and energy resources, and ensuring economies of material resources. It is also intended to enhance profitability, cut production costs, improve the forms of industrial-production organization, raise the level of its specialization and cooperation, markedly to enlarge the scale of technical re-equipment and remodelling of existing enterprises, to introduce progressive technology, scientific organization of labor and production, and improve the use of production capacities and fixed assets.

The CPSU CC draft contains a full-scale characterization of the development of the agro-industrial complex, whose main task is reliable supply of the country with foodstuffs and agricultural raw materials.

For the successful realization of the food program, it is intended to ensure integral planning, proportional and balanced development of the industries of the agro-industrial complex, a considerable build-up of material and technical facilities, improvement of economic relations between the industries, and organization of their efficient interaction in boosting agricultural output and improving the storage, transportation, processing and supply of farm produce to the consumer.

The task set in agriculture is to achieve dynamic development and enhance the efficiency of every sector, and greater output and higher quality of produce, thereby continuing the effort to bring about the utmost intensification of agricultural production. It has also been decided to perseveringly apply advanced experience, improve the organization of labor and production on the collective and state farms, to markedly enhance the efficiency in the use of land, production assets, material, financial and manpower resources, and to effect a system of measures for tightening up economic calculus.

In the five years, the annual average output of agricultural produce is to go up by 12-14 per cent. The annual average gross grain crop is to be increased to 238-243 million tons, raw cotton to 9.2-9.3 million tons, sugar beet to 100-103 million tons, production of meat to 17-17.5 million tons, milk to 97-99 million tons, eggs to at least 72 billion, and wool to 470,000-480,000 tons.

The CPSU CC document envisages a further development of land improvement, increase in the supply and more rational use of chemicals for farming and stock-raising, and continued technical re-equipment of agriculture. In the five-year period, collective and state farms are to receive 1,870,000 tractors, 1,450,000 trucks, 600,000 grain harvesters, many other machines, and also mineral fertilizers, chemical feed-additives and plant-protectors. Specialization and concentration of agricultural production is to be consistently developed on the basis of inter-farm cooperation and agro-industrial integration.

In the food industries, output is to go up by 23-26 per cent, and flour-milling, groats, mixed fodder and

microbiological production is to be developed at a fast pace.

All types of transport are to be further developed for the fuller and more timely satisfaction of the transport requirements of the economy and the population.

The scale and pace of the country's economic development are largely determined by the pace and quality of construction. In the five years, capital investments in the economy are to go up by 12-15 per cent. The task is to bring about a basic improvement of capital investments. With that end in view, main attention is to be given to ensuring the timely commissioning of fixed assets and production capacities, concentrating funds and resources on the key construction projects, directing capital investments above all into the remodelling and technical re-equipment of enterprises and completing construction projects started earlier, reducing the period of construction, and improving designing, blueprinting and calculation estimates.

"Material and spiritual values are created by the labor of workers, collective farmers and the intelligentsia," the CPSU CC document says. "Labor is the only source from which the national wealth is multiplied. Society can distribute only that which has been produced. That is why, the higher the results of labor, the stronger the might of the socialist Motherland, the fuller the satisfaction of individual and social requirements, and the higher the living standards of the Soviet people." Also, the higher the productivity of labor, the greater its results. In the five-year period, at least 85-90 per cent of the national-income increment is to come from the boosting of the productivity of social labor.

The program of social development and the raising of the people's well-being is a prominent and important component of the CPSU CC document. Real incomes per head of the population are to go up by 16-18 per cent. The average monthly wages of industrial and office workers are to increase by 13-16 per cent, to 190-195 rubles a month by the end of the five-year period, and the incomes of collective farmers from work in the social sector of the collective farms, by 20-22 per cent. In addition, the role of payments and benefits from social consumption funds, which will go up by 20 per cent in the five-year period, is to be enhanced. In the five years, 530-540 million sq. m. of housing are to be built.

The CPSU CC draft contains measures aimed to create the most favorable conditions for the Soviet people's work, rest and leisure, for a growth of their educational and cultural standards, for health protection, consolidation of the family, and education of children. There is to be a further development of the system of social security, the marketing network, public catering and everyday services, and public education. In the five years, the training of highly skilled workers at vocational schools is to reach 13 million, and roughly 10 million specialists with a higher and secondary special education are to be graduated. Much is to be done in the development of socialist culture and art so as to enhance their role in the shaping of the Marxist-Leninist world view

and the fuller satisfaction of the Soviet people's diverse spiritual requirements.

The growth of production planned for the five-year period calls for a better location of the productive forces, and this can be achieved only through further specialization and proportional development of the economy of the union republics and economic regions within an integral economic complex of the country. There is to be further development of the economy of all the union republics, and the build-up of the economic potential of the country's eastern regions is to be accelerated.

Provision is made for further developing the USSR's external economic ties, above all, those with the socialist countries, and active participation in further deepening the socialist economic integration of the CMEA countries. Mutually advantageous exchanges of goods and other ties are to be developed with the developing countries. In light of the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems and the need to consolidate international détente, stable mutually advantageous ties are to be effected with developed capitalist countries displaying an interest in cooperation with the Soviet Union.

A special section of the draft deals with the further improvement of administration, and the raising of the level of economic management in every sector of the economy. A complex of measures worked out by the party and the government designed to improve the economic mechanism and enhance its influence on raising the efficiency of production and the qual-

ity of workmanship is to be introduced in the 11th five-year plan period.

The CPSU CC draft for the 26th congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union "Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR from 1981 to 1985 and for the Period up to 1990" is the basis for drawing up the state plan for the 11th five-year plan period. It opens up before our country new horizons and fresh and inspiring perspectives. The nationwide discussion of the draft is beginning in an atmosphere of universal patriotic élan, and will, undoubtedly, generate a fresh tide of political and labor activity of the masses.

The inexhaustible forces of the Soviet system, the tremendous production, scientific and technological potential, and the country's rich natural resources, says the CPSU CC draft, should be skillfully directed for fulfilling the tasks of the five-year period. It is the duty of party, state and economic organs and of all social organizations, work collectives and of every Soviet citizen to make the utmost use of the available potentialities, to put our reserves at the service of the economy, and to sharply enhance the efficiency of production.

Fulfillment of the tasks of the 11th five-year plan period calls for an improvement of organizational and political work. There must be more exacting demands on our cadres for the fulfillment of the set tasks, for a high level of organization and efficiency in work, for scrupulous observance of plan discipline, and the fostering among them of the business-like approach, a sense of responsibility and initiative.

All the party committees and party organizations must muster the working people for the unflinching fulfillment of plan tasks in each production collective from the very first days of the five-year period, to improve the style and methods of work, displaying intolerance of bureaucratic practices and red tape. The Soviets of People's Deputies, the trade unions, and the Leninist Young Communist League have a big part to play in fulfilling the tasks set by the party. It is important to unfold socialist emulation involving the whole people for successfully realizing the 11th five-year plan, for fully mobilizing reserves in production, most rapidly applying scientific and technological achievements, and making rational use of everything that has been created by the people's labor.

Successful fulfillment of the five-year plan will ensure a further growth of the country's economic potential and a rise in the people's well-being, the maintenance of the Soviet state's defense capability on the required level, will further enhance its international prestige and promote the consolidation of the world socialist system and cohesion of all the forces fighting for peace and social progress.

The CPSU CC expresses its firm conviction that the Soviet people, under the leadership of Lenin's party, will score fresh successes in communist construction, in solving a broad range of economic and social problems, and in strengthening the might of our Motherland.

Pravda, December 3, 1980

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Joint Declaration of the Communist and Workers' Parties of Central America, Mexico and Panama

The communist and workers' parties of Central America, Mexico and Panama held a conference in a Central American country from October 1 to 3. The conference adopted a political declaration which gives an analysis of the situation in the region at present. Below is the full text of the document.

A characteristic feature of the situation in Central America today, which reflects the conditions of the general crisis of capitalism, is continuous erosion of the domination of imperialism and the bourgeois-landowner oligarchy, and the irresistible upsurge of the people's and democratic struggle, which with every passing day is being joined by ever broader masses who are resolved to liberate themselves from oppression and to win the right to decide themselves, their countries' destinies.

The depth of the crisis of the imperialist-oligarchic domination and the scope of the peoples' struggle varies from country to country. However, on the historical plane the ultimate development goal is clear: to win freedom, genuine national independence and social justice. Central America is now closer to a revolution than it has been at any other stage of its history. The people's democratic and anti-imperialist Sandinista revolution has triumphed in Nicaragua. The revolution in El Salvador is nearing victory. Following decades of suffering and torment, a people's revolutionary movement has emerged in Guatemala: even a policy of genocide is powerless in the face of the people's firm resolve to fight for their national liberation and social emancipation. The people's movement in Costa Rica and Honduras has chalked up notable victories in the struggle against reaction, which is more and more often resorting to violence and brutal repression. U.S. imperialism is having recourse to all manner of maneuvers in an attempt to put a stop to the Latin American peoples' liberation process. These maneuvers include genocide, support for the counter-revolution in Nicaragua, growing military-political interference in the internal affairs of El Salvador by supplying the junta with weapons and sending U.S. "advisers," which threatens to turn into open and direct intervention involving U.S. troops. These measures are combined with toying with reformist-type projects.

Hypocritically pretending to be concerned with the interests of peace in Central America, the U.S. government is exerting pressure to achieve a settlement of the differences stemming from the 1969 war between El Salvador and Honduras. In principle, the solution of this problem is overdue. But actually the imperialists are out to use the Honduran army in the interests of the rabid fascist militarists for step-

ping up the genocide and war against the Salvadoran people.

In an attempt to preserve its shaky prestige and to cover up the criminal nature of U.S. imperialism, which has recurrently threatened to use force in Latin America, Washington is out to use others to realize its foul aim of suppressing the courageous, embattled Salvadoran people.

The reactionaries in Central America, particularly in Guatemala and El Salvador, see the only solution to the crisis in brutal suppression of the peoples' aspirations in order to preserve the old, unjust and hated socio-political regime. There is a real threat of aggression by the reactionary forces of central America against the peoples of Nicaragua and El Salvador, which could plunge the entire region into war. Surmounting all difficulties, the peoples of El Salvador and Guatemala are resolutely advancing toward their ultimate victory.

In 1980, thanks to the Salvadoran people's courageous struggle for their liberation, the united will of the masses, the vivid example of the Sandinista revolution and the maturity of the leadership of El Salvador's revolutionary organizations, including the Communist Party, there began a rapid process of unifying the revolutionary forces. It led to the creation of a united, broad, mass movement of town and country, to the regrouping of all democratic, patriotic, Marxist, Christian, religious, civilian and military forces. The Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front, which unites the revolutionary military-political organizations, and also the revolutionary democratic front consisting of other civilian democratic and patriotic forces of the country — is a concrete expression of the rapidly developing process of the unification of the Salvadoran masses, a strategically important factor for its speedy victory.

The process of uniting the revolutionary and democratic forces in Guatemala is developing successfully. We salute and fully support the struggle for unity of all, without exception, revolutionary forces of Guatemala, which will help to create favorable conditions for the victorious struggle of its people.

The revolutionary armed actions in El Salvador and Guatemala, combined with various forms of political and economic mass struggle, represents the optimal course of the revolution. We support this

heroic struggle. We are contributing in every possible way to the victory of this struggle and will continue to do so.

The priority task of the communists and all revolutionaries today is to do everything possible for the victory of the Salvadoran revolution, and for the victory of the Guatemalan revolution. We shall strive to avert imperialist aggression, but failing this, we shall mobilize our people for active struggle against it.

In Costa Rica and Honduras too, unification of the revolutionary and democratic forces is in progress with the United People's Movement and the Patriotic Front as its centers. Stimulated by the victories, the struggle of the people is expanding in both countries.

The Costa Rican reactionaries are pushing the government to ever more brutal repression of the working people. In Honduras, imperialism is looking to new outlets abroad to stabilize the political situation, that is, it is attempting to create a favorable atmosphere for strengthening the army, allotting it the role of a gendarme of the Central American peoples. A part of the Honduran army is already being used for repressions against the Salvadoran people. It tolerates former Somoza guards and supports their criminal activity against the Nicaraguan people. All this represents a serious danger.

In Nicaragua the glorious Sandinista revolution is gaining in strength. Headway has been made in the reconstruction of the country. The task of eliminating illiteracy, which was long overdue, has been resolved in the short period of one year. The revolution is laying the groundwork for the solution of important social problems, and organizing a reliable self-defense that is based on broad mass support. This is an assurance that the counter-revolution, which is raising its head, will be defeated.

Important events in the life of the Latin American countries are taking place in the Caribbean, where revolutionary tendencies are forging ahead in the struggle against imperialism and the most reactionary forces.

The triumph of the glorious Cuban revolution marked a historic turning point for our peoples. After 20 years of imperialist blockade, socialist Cuba today exemplifies the fact that only a revolution provides the opportunity to implement deep-going and irreversible social changes in the interests of the people. The example of Cuba also shows that under socialism a people which only recently was persecuted, exploited and consigned to ignorance and poverty can play a historic role on a world scale.

After the victory of the Cuban revolution, the most important and influential events in the continent's contemporary life are the revolutions in Grenada and Nicaragua. They are the continuation of the unintermittent, prolonged and hard-fought process of our peoples' advance toward definitive liberation.

The gains of the Panamanian people, who have restored their sovereignty over the Canal Zone, are now being threatened, for the treaties signed by

Torrijos and Carter are being violated by the United States. The most reactionary forces of the USA are out to nullify the treaties. The communists and all Panamanian progressives are endeavoring to establish a firm people's democracy in the country. To defend their gains, they are closing their ranks in the face of reaction and imperialism.

In Mexico a political reform was effected in a situation marked by the financial bourgeoisie's advance and monopoly domination. This springs from two basic factors: the struggle of the masses for political freedom and the state bureaucracy's awareness of the need to change the policy of continued repression. The envisaged political reform measures have already been realized, and now the masses of people are countering the general offensive on their living standards and fighting for new democratic changes in political life. A persistent struggle is being waged for trade union freedoms and for better opportunities for independent actions by the masses and revolutionary organizations to enhance their influence on the country's destiny and improve the prospects for revolution and socialism.

In Haiti the people are fighting resolutely for the overthrow of the protracted and hated Duvalier tyranny.

In Jamaica, the progressive democratic Manley government is waging a persistent struggle against the imperialist-instigated perfidious attacks by reaction.* The peoples of Puerto Rico and Belize are battling for independence and territorial integrity. Simultaneously, the process of disintegration of the colonial system in the Caribbean is continuing.

We communists are fighting for socialism and communism; we are aware, however, that at present these supreme goals can be reached only through an upsurge of the peoples' and democratic struggle, by strengthening and uniting the revolutionary forces, and achieving the objectives of a democratic and anti-imperialist revolution. An important component of the struggle for socialism and communism is the struggle for democracy, independence and progress. That is why we firmly support this struggle, and our positions coincide with the views of those who are working for its victorious conclusion and are defending their gains.

We communists of Central America, Mexico and Panama alert our people to the serious threat to their struggle stemming from the U.S. government's revival of its aggressive cold war policy, the existence of imperialist military bases and the holding of aggressive military maneuvers in the region.

We call for unity of the revolutionary and democratic forces of our countries in their struggle for the liberation of their peoples. Stronger unity, joint struggle of the working-class and peasant movements, close alliance between them, and revolutionary education are the assurance of firmness, scope and strength in any people's struggle.

Our parties salute the growing tendency of the Catholic church to side with the people. The su-

*The document was issued before the elections as a result of which the rightist Labour Party came to power in Jamaica—Ed.

preme expression of this tendency was the selflessness of Bishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero of El Salvador. Our parties reaffirm their striving to promote joint actions with the Christian movement and the masses of believers in the struggle for democracy, respect for human rights and social emancipation.

We call on the patriotic military, on all sincere people in uniform to reject the role of hatchetmen of their own peoples, which imperialism and reaction have assigned them. They also should occupy a firm place in the people's struggle and achievements.

This is the crucial hour for the definitive liberation of the peoples of Central America and the Caribbean. We call on all popular, revolutionary and democratic forces of the region to firmly rally their

ranks and direct their militant efforts toward the realization of the Salvadoran and Guatemalan revolutions, and in defense of the Sandinista revolution.

We call on the peoples and progressive forces, the democratic and revolutionary governments of Latin America and the whole world not to permit the U.S. imperialists to unleash a military aggression against the Central American peoples, not to permit the U.S. government's cold-war policy to result in the setting up of U.S. military bases and deployment of its nuclear weapons on all continents, or to subvert world peace and the peoples' gains, and their hopes for the future to be drowned in blood.

Granma, October 29, 1980

Assert the Line for Détente

Statement by the Presidium of the GCP Board

The Madrid meeting of the states that took part in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe is of great importance for ensuring peace and peaceful coexistence between states and peoples in Europe. It is taking place at a time when the international situation has worsened and has been markedly aggravated owing to the switch on the part of the U.S. ruling circles from the policy of détente to a policy of confrontation, which endangers peace. This is evident from the long-term program adopted by NATO in 1978, which affirms the arms drive up to the end of the century, from NATO's missile decision of December 1979, aimed to tilt the existing military equilibrium in NATO's favor, and also from the U.S. presidential Directive No. 59, which makes it possible for the United States to deliver a first nuclear strike, and which turns us and other West European nations into hostages of the USA threatened with destruction in the event of a nuclear war.

All this jeopardizes the security of our people. The peace forces in our country counter this with diverse actions and movements against the missile race, for a continued policy of détente, European security and cooperation. Thus, mass rallies and demonstrations have recently been held in Kaiserslautern, Nordhorn, Lingen, in Bonn, Munich, and many other cities as expressions of the people's will to have the Madrid conference help use the opportunities for negotiation and prevent a further spiralling of the arms race.

The peace forces in our country note with great hope that the Soviet Union and other socialist states have consistently pursued their vigorous and constructive foreign policy, which was decisive in raising security and cooperation after the Helsinki Conference to a qualitatively new level. This is confirmed by the Declaration of the Warsaw Treaty's Political Consultative Committee of May 15, 1980, which contains proposals for concrete steps to relax

international tensions, to continue and deepen the policy of détente, strengthen security and cooperation in Europe and the world, curb the arms race, reduce arms spending, and achieve disarmament.

At a foreign ministers' conference in Warsaw on October 19-20, 1980, on the preparations for the Madrid conference, the Warsaw Treaty states called for contacts and a dialogue with all the European states. They declared that the Helsinki Final Act was a solid basis for joint efforts by states and peoples to overcome the difficulties that had arisen in international relations, and for further progress toward stronger security and broader cooperation in Europe.

This maps the way for the Madrid conference to assert the line for détente as the main direction in the development of relations in Europe, and to frame an agreement on further practical steps on all the major issues relating to European security and cooperation.

But if the Madrid conference is to achieve results meeting the interests of peace and helping to guarantee the future of the European peoples, all its participants will have to display the political will to create a constructive atmosphere of cooperation.

During the run-up to the Madrid conference, the federal government and the Bonn parties did nothing to create such a constructive atmosphere. They backed the U.S. policy of confrontation, aimed to turn the Madrid conference into an arena for propaganda battles, slander against the socialist countries, and dwelling on questions on which there are opposite stand-points. The federal government's moves to aggravate relations with the German Democratic Republic are also directed against détente and are meant to torpedo the successful outcome of the Madrid conference. Bonn politicians have constantly violated the principle of non-interference in the affairs of other states, lashing out at the GDR in connection with measures which are exclusively the affair of the GDR as a sovereign

independent state. The fiction that "the German question remains open," once again artificially brought to the fore by the ruling parties together with the CDU/CSU, serves the same purpose.

All this is coupled with propaganda noises on human rights. When it comes to human rights, the democratic and peace forces in our country are faced with the question of how these rights are observed at home. In this context, one cannot overlook the growth of neo-nazism and revanchism, Berufssverbote, anti-constitutional practice of lockouts, discrimination against women, disregard of the individual's right to work, discrimination against foreign workers, and denial of the right to political asylum. Elementary human rights are being infringed in the Federal Republic. The democratic forces are working to resist this injustice, and we communists are

contributing to this effort.

In this situation, the GCP Presidium calls on the democratic and peace forces of our country, whose actions in recent years helped to promote détente and who are now vigorously fighting against NATO's missile decision, for arms limitation and for disarmament: let us join together to demand that the federal government make a constructive contribution to the Madrid conference and the implementation of its real tasks. Let us come out together to have the Madrid conference adopt a decision on the convocation of a conference on military détente and disarmament in Europe, which would inaugurate measures to eliminate the war threat in Europe and to supplement political détente with détente in the military field.

Unsere Zeit, November 11, 1980

Results of Talks

Joint Communiqué of the National Liberation Front of Algeria and the French Communist Party

A delegation of the National Liberation Front of Algeria (FLN) visited France from October 29 to 31 at the invitation of the French Communist Party. During the ensuing talks the representatives of the two parties exchanged views on questions of mutual interest, including those related to the peoples' struggle for political and economic liberation and for stronger national independence.

Below is the joint communiqué issued after the talks:

A delegation of the National Liberation Front of Algeria visited France from October 29 to 31, 1980, at the invitation of the French Communist Party. The visit, which took place in the framework of regular consultations between the two parties, gave the two delegations, led by Cheriet Lazhari, member of the FLN Central Committee, and Maxime Gremetz, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the FCP Central Committee, an opportunity to exchange views on questions of mutual interest.

The talks were held in an atmosphere of friendship and solidarity characteristic of relations between the FLN and the FCP. The constantly developing relations confirm the broad concurrence of views and convergence of actions of the two parties in the struggle against imperialism, for peace, and the establishment of a new international economic order.

The FLN delegation informed its French counterpart of the scope and gravity of the natural calamity that hit El Asnam and of the Algerian government's measures for the reconstruction of the region.

The FCP salutes the staunchness of the Algerian people in the face of their difficulties and assures them of its effective solidarity. It informed the Algerian delegation of the French working people's sympathies and of the concrete measures that have been taken and will be taken in future to assist in the reconstruction work.

The FLN expressed gratitude to the FCP for these

measures and its satisfaction with the solidarity of the French people.

Both parties exchanged views on the development of the peoples' struggle for their political and economic liberation, for stronger national independence and realization of their legitimate aspirations for freedom, justice and progress. They noted with gratification the growing struggle of the peoples and the gains won by them.

The imperialist states are out to counter the growing struggle of the peoples by stepping up the arms race, setting up new military bases, interfering in the internal affairs of others and resorting to maneuvers that are designed to destabilize the situation, thereby considerably aggravating international tension and threatening world peace and international security.

Confronted by the crisis of its system, imperialism is shifting its consequences on the developing countries and the people in the capitalist countries. It stubbornly rejects the non-aligned states' proposals to create a new economic order and to democratize international institutions.

Both parties emphasized the significance of united struggle of the peoples of the developed and developing countries against domination and exploitation by the multinationals and imperialism, and for the establishment of a new international economic and political order.

Both delegations expressed deep concern over the events in the Persian Gulf and the Middle East and

noted that this situation benefited only imperialism, giving it an opportunity to concentrate armed forces in the region.

Assuring the Palestine Liberation Organization, the sole internationally recognized representative of the Palestine people of their effective solidarity, the delegations declared that recognition of the inalienable national rights of the Palestine people, including the right to set up their own state, is a condition for a just and durable peace.

Both delegations salute the victories of the people of Western Sahara in the international arena and at home, and hold that the successes of the Democratic Arab Republic of Sahara in achieving independence will become an important factor for peace based on mutual respect and cooperation between the peoples of the region.

On the eve of the Madrid meeting in the framework of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe both parties confirm the need to do everything possible to make the Mediterranean a zone of peace and cooperation in the interests of all the peoples living there. In this context they recall the inseparable character of security in Europe and in the Mediterranean in accordance with the Final

Act of the Helsinki Conference, all provisions of which must be observed.

The two parties discussed the development of French-Algerian relations. They consider that the result of the talks between France and Algeria held on September 17-18, 1980, confirm the recurrently expressed intentions of the Algerian government and are the result of the struggle of the French and Algerian working people to promote equal cooperation between the two countries on the basis of mutual respect and in the vital interests of the peoples of both countries.

They hold that translation into life of all the provisions of the concluded agreements will demonstrate a genuine striving for mutually beneficial cooperation.

The FCP reaffirms its resolve to continue the struggle for respect of the rights and security of the Algerian working people in France and for new successes in French-Algerian cooperation.

At the conclusion of the talks both delegations noted with satisfaction that the FCP and the FLN are linked by strong bonds of friendship and solidarity. They decided to do everything possible to expand and consolidate them. To this end, the two parties signed a new protocol on cooperation.

L'Humanité, November 3, 1980

Joint Communiqué of the CPG and AKEL

A CPG Central Committee delegation led by General Secretary Charilaos Florakis visited Cyprus on October 27-30, 1980 on the invitation of the AKEL Central Committee. In Cyprus the delegation had meetings with an AKEL Central Committee delegation led by the AKEL General Secretary Ezekias Papaioannou.

In the spirit of the traditional fraternal relations between their parties, the delegations considered the situation in Greece and in Cyprus and the contribution their parties were making to the solution of international issues and problems of the world communist movement.

The AKEL delegation declared that Greece's return to the NATO military organization was causing deep anxiety in Cyprus and that aside from negatively affecting the independence and sovereignty of Greece itself this step would unquestionably have dangerous consequences for Cyprus as well. Note was taken of the latest developments around the Cypriot question — the continuation of the intra-Cypriot talks conducted on the basis of the UN resolutions and the agreement at the summit level — and expressed gratitude to the CPG for its staunch solidarity with Cyprus' struggle.

On behalf of the party the CPG delegation reiterated total and unconditional solidarity with the support for the struggle of the fraternal Cypriot people for a just and lasting settlement of the Cyprus question on the basis of the relevant UN resolutions for an independent, sovereign, territorially integral, democratic, non-aligned, and demilitarized Cyprus. It assured the Cypriot comrades that the CPG would

stand firmly with AKEL, with the Cypriot people until their just struggle ended in complete victory.

Touching upon the situation in Greece, the CPG delegation underscored that the Greek people were currently in total opposition and waging a struggle against the right-wing government's policy of sacrificing national interests, against Greece's return to the NATO military organization, which was imperiling the nation's sovereign rights and involving it in the imperialist plans of adventurist intervention in the Middle East, where the situation was extremely volatile. The threat of a NATO settlement of the Cypriot question was looming large. Together with all the anti-imperialist, patriotic forces in Greece, the delegation said, the CPG would continue and step up its struggle in defense of national independence and democracy, for withdrawal from the aggressive NATO bloc and the dismantling of the U.S.-NATO bases, for an independent foreign policy of peace and friendship with all nations, for the vital interests of the working people, and for a genuine turn toward democracy in Greece and the nation's deliverance from the anti-people and anti-national policies of the right.

Both delegations noted that Cyprus was facing serious danger from imperialism's pressure for a

NATO settlement of the Cyprus question, for converting the island into a NATO base against the nations of the region. This danger had increased with the installation of a military junta in Turkey and the heightened tension in the Middle East, an extreme expression of which was the Iraqi-Iranian war which the U.S. and NATO imperialists were using as a cover to reinforce their position and carry out their strategic plans. Both delegations exhorted all the patriotic, anti-imperialist elements in Greece and Cyprus to be more vigilant, coordinate their actions against imperialism's criminal designs, which were fundamentally in conflict with the interests of the peoples of Greece and Cyprus, and demand the withdrawal of Turkish and all other foreign troops, the dismantling of all foreign bases, and Cyprus' complete demilitarization. The delegations stressed that a sure way to achieve these goals was to conduct inter-communal talks under the aegis of the United Nations and on the basis of its resolutions as the means of resolving the internal aspect of the Cyprus question and thereby ensuring a peaceful life for Greek and Turkish Cypriots and cooperation between them. They reaffirmed the view that there had to be a UN-sponsored international conference to settle the international aspects of the Cypriot question.

The CPG and AKEL delegations emphatically condemned the coup accomplished by the Turkish military with the encouragement and backing of the U.S. and NATO imperialists, who are out to crush the popular anti-imperialist movement in Turkey and strengthen their strategic positions in that country and region as a whole. They declared their militant solidarity with and support for the fraternal Communist Party of Turkey and all other progressive and democratic forces, and demanded the release of all political prisoners and the restoration of the Turkish people's democratic freedoms and rights.

The two parties emphasized that the purpose of the U.S. imperialists and NATO base, in the Eastern Mediterranean was to turn Cyprus into a NATO base, return Greece to the NATO military organization, instal a military dictatorship in Turkey and thereby reinforce NATO's southeastern flank and, particularly in view of their setback in Iran, strengthen their strategic position in the Eastern Mediterranean with the aim of implementing their adventurist plans in the Middle East, the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean. This stepped-up activity by imperialism, which was prejudicing the national interests of the peoples of Greece, Cyprus and all the other countries in the region, sprang from its aggressive policy of whipping up the cold war, aggravating the international situation by flouting the principles of peaceful coexistence and escalating the arms race, and thereby trying to achieve military and strategic superiority, push the world toward a global nuclear catastrophe, retrieve the positions it had lost, and halt humankind's advance toward détente, peace and social progress.

In this policy, which is a mortal threat to the destinies of humanity, imperialism has an ally in

Peking's chauvinistic leaders. Within this framework the U.S. imperialists and NATO are set on deploying new U.S. nuclear missiles in Western Europe, plan to place the Persian Gulf under the control of the aggressive North Atlantic bloc, have formed the interventionist rapid deployment force, are increasing the strength of the U.S. Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean, and enlarging their military bases in Greece, Cyprus and Turkey. They are restructuring their system of aggressive alliances in the Middle East and the Indian Ocean, setting up new military facilities in Israel, Egypt, Oman, Somalia and Kenya, and have concentrated large naval, air force and marine units that are poised for intervention in the internal affairs of the region's nations in order to bring under control and pillage their natural resources.

In this situation the CPG and AKEL call upon the Greek and Cypriot peoples to redouble their efforts to ensure détente, peace and disarmament, prevent the deployment of the new U.S. medium-range missiles and Pershing II rockets in Western Europe, hold talks as soon as possible, achieve the earliest ratification and implementation of SALT II, get the foreign bases in Greece and Cyprus dismantled, make Greece withdraw from NATO, and counter the attempts to use Greece and Cyprus as springboards for imperialism's criminal interference in the internal affairs of Middle East and Persian Gulf states.

The peoples of Greece and Cyprus want the Madrid conference to help strengthen and consolidate political détente in conjunction with military détente.

Both parties exhort all progressive, anti-imperialist forces of the Eastern Mediterranean, the Middle East and the Persian Gulf to invigorate their solidarity and coordinate their cooperation and joint actions and, with assistance from socialist countries and all other anti-imperialist forces, to repel the offensive of imperialism and local reaction, extinguish the flashpoints in the region, uphold peace and their own national independence and democratic and revolutionary gains, and help to step up the struggle for a peaceful and equitable settlement of the Cyprus question on the basis of the relevant UN resolutions, for a peaceful settlement of the differences between Greece and Turkey on the basis of the principles enunciated in the Helsinki Final Act and of respect for the independence and territorial integrity of the two nations, the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab lands seized by them in 1967 and recognition that the Palestinian people have an inalienable right to self-determination and the formation of an independent state of their own, the dismantling of all foreign military bases and the withdrawal of foreign troops; and the conversion of the Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean into zones of peace and cooperation.

The two parties express their deep anxiety over the war between Iraq and Iran, which is only hurting the two nations and playing into the hands of imperialism, which is using this conflict to intensify its interference in the affairs of the region's states. For

that reason they urge the two sides to settle their differences peacefully.

Both parties declare their solidarity with the just struggle of the Afghan people, who, with internationalist assistance from the Soviet Union, are fighting imperialist interference and defending their revolutionary gains. They support the just struggle of the peoples of Chile, El Salvador, Bolivia and other Latin American states oppressed by U.S.-backed bloodthirsty dictatorships, and pledge their solidarity with all peoples fighting imperialism, Zionism, racism and fascism, for national independence, democracy, peace and social progress.

Both delegations stressed that their parties would

continue doing their utmost to help strengthen the unity of the world communist and working-class movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, to help foster the cohesion of all the forces of progress and peace in the struggle for lasting peace, cooperation and advancement of all nations.

Both delegations expressed their profound satisfaction with the relations of fraternal friendship and solidarity between their parties and declared that these relations would be further developed in the interests of the peoples of Greece and Cyprus, in the interests of peace and social progress.

Haravghi, October 31, 1980

Relations of Revolutionary Solidarity and Fraternal Cooperation

Resolution of the PDPA Central Committee Plenary Meeting

The fourth plenary meeting of the PDPA Central Committee, held on November 11, adopted a resolution "On the Results of the Official Friendly Visit to the Soviet Union by Babrak Karmal, General Secretary of the PDPA CC, Chairman of the Revolutionary Council and Prime Minister of the DRA." The resolution highly assesses the results of the visit, which is seen as an historic stage in the development and deepening of firm fraternal friendship between the parties, states and peoples of the two countries. With the victory of the April revolution in Afghanistan and particularly at its second stage, it notes, the traditional friendly relations between the two countries acquired a fraternal character, evolving into relations of revolutionary solidarity and diversified cooperation.

The PDPA Central Committee fully approves the results of Babrak Karmal's visit to the Soviet Union and expresses satisfaction with the Moscow talks and meetings, which were held in an atmosphere of cordiality, comradely frankness and complete mutual understanding. Discussed during the talks were questions of the development of Afghan-Soviet relations based on the December 5, 1978 Treaty of Friendship, Good-neighborliness and Cooperation, and also international issues.

The PDPA Central Committee supports the USSR-DRA statement, which shows a complete concurrence of views of the sides on all discussed questions, and determines ways of reaching a political settlement to the situation around Afghanistan.

The PDPA Central Committee considers, the document points out, that Babrak Karmal's and Leonid Brezhnev's speeches define the main directions of the further development of the April revolution and fully approves the provisions and conclusions expressed in them.

The plenary meeting attaches fundamental importance to the statement by Leonid Brezhnev,

General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, President of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, to the effect that the Soviet Union will honor its internationalist duty to the Afghan people, to its government, led by Babrak Karmal. It serves as an inspiration to all party members and all genuine patriots of Afghanistan in routing the counter-revolutionary intervention, achieving the organic unity of the PDPA, and in stepping up the struggle for the realization of the ideals of the April revolution.

The plenary meeting notes with satisfaction that Babrak Karmal's visit to the Soviet Union, its results and the warm welcome accorded the leaders of our party and state by the government of the USSR and the Soviet people, were enthusiastically approved by diverse sections of Afghan society.

The PDPA Central Committee expresses its deep gratitude to the CPSU Central Committee, the Soviet government and personally to Leonid Brezhnev for displaying an understanding of the problems involved in developing the April revolution, for the genuinely internationalist support extended to our country, the selfless and all-round assistance to the DRA, in raising the material well-being of our people. The PDPA Central Committee expresses its profound gratitude to the Soviet soldiers for courageously fulfilling their internationalist duty.

The plenary meeting notes that following the victory of the April revolution, and particularly at its second stage, the party and the DRA government achieved definite successes in the struggle against the enemies of the revolution, in strengthening the party, in implementing fundamental socio-economic changes. At the same time the PDPA Central Committee considers that the party committees, bodies of state power, ministries, departments and public organizations of the DRA are still slow in solving the country's vital problems.

The resolution points out that the measures taken by the bodies of state power, ministries and departments to restore and raise Afghanistan's economy, improve the work of the state, mixed and private sectors of industry, increase agricultural output, develop foreign and domestic trade, and to effectively use the country's natural resources are as yet inadequate. Many enterprises are not working at full capacity. The tasks set for the extraction of coal, oil and other fuels, for buying agricultural products from the peasants are not being carried out fully, there are numerous shortcomings in construction, in the work of transport and communications.

A major cause of the present situation, the resolution notes, lies in the inadequate activity of many party committees, the armed forces, security bodies and the people's militia in the struggle against the counter-revolutionary elements and bandits, the persisting distrust of each other among some members and candidate members of the PDPA, leniency of executives toward their subordinates, weak politico-educational work in many party organizations and among broad masses of working people.

To rally all the patriotic national forces of the country for the construction of a new and prosperous Afghanistan, the plenary meeting considers it essential to support the Political Bureau proposals on setting up a National Fatherland Front in the near future.

The PDPA Central Committee instructs the party committees, the Chief Political Administration of the army, political administrations of other departments to organize a broad study by all full and candidate members of the party, of the results of Babrak Karmal's visit to the Soviet Union, and especially the statement of the Soviet Union and the DRA, and the speeches by Leonid Brezhnev and Babrak Karmal.

The party committees, together with the organs of the Ministry of Information and Culture, should make full use of the mass media, all forms and methods of propaganda and mass-political work for broad explanatory work among the entire population on the results of Babrak Karmal's visit to the USSR, and of its enormous nationwide and international importance. Moreover, it is essential to

vigorously expose the lies and slander of the enemies who are attempting to smear the fraternal friendship between our countries.

The plenary meeting, the resolution states, reaffirms that the crucial objectives of the party and state at the present stage of the revolution remain the achievement of genuine organic unity of the PDPA, the cohesion and strengthening of its ranks, eschewing any manifestations of factional activity, relentless struggle against the enemies of the April revolution, total defeat of the counter-revolutionary intervention and bandit groups, and clearing the entire territory of the DRA of enemies in the next few months.

The Central Committee considers it vitally important to step up the activity of all party organizations, raise their militancy and enhance their influence on every sphere in the life of society. Hence it is essential to step up the work to increase the PDPA membership by recruiting members first of all from among the workers and peasants loyal to the cause of the revolution.

The party committees, the resolution continues, are duty bound to strictly implement the party line in cadre policy, to rule out any unwarranted shifting of executives or their victimization, and to actively enlist the services of all sincere patriots whose experience and knowledge can be used for the benefit of the revolution and the people. The resolution also points to the need to strengthen party discipline in every echelon, and adopt complementary measures by the ministries of national defense and internal affairs, the security services and party committees that will ensure fulfillment of the task of recruiting men into the army, the security service, the people's militia, and the detachments of defenders of the revolution.

The plenary meeting holds that at the present development stage of the revolution great importance is attached to the country's economic development. In this context the Political Bureau, the DRA government, ministries and departments, party committees and organizations are instructed to concentrate attention on raising the DRA economy, implementing fundamental social changes and to substantially raise the people's living standards.

The resolution also emphasizes that party committees and organizations should constantly focus attention on improving their ideological activity, raising the political level of full and candidate members, improvement of agitation and propaganda work among diverse population strata.

The truthful mobilizing word of the party is called upon to rally and lead the Afghan people to the solution of the tasks of the second stage of the April revolution, the resolution emphasizes.

The PDPA Central Committee, the document notes in conclusion, considers it essential to discuss the results of the plenary meeting at meetings of the party activists of provincial and city party committees, primary organizations, and at expanded meetings of public organizations.

TASS, November 16, 1980

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Forward through Revolutionary Unity

On the occasion of the 31st anniversary of the Guatemalan Party of Labor, the Political Commission of the GPL Central Committee published a statement under the heading "Forward Through Unity of All Revolutionary and Democratic Forces," in which it analyzes the international situation from the angle of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and considers some problems of the political struggle in Guatemala.

CONTINUE THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY, INDEPENDENCE AND THE PEOPLE'S WELFARE

Most of our people are opposed to the dictatorial regime and imperialist oppression and are taking part in the struggle for democracy and public welfare.

Fascism cannot stop this process. On the contrary, the understanding that it is vital to join in the struggle for democratic changes is striking ever deeper root in the political consciousness of the people. . . .

In this situation it is imperative to intensify the active resistance of the people, denounce crimes, and defend and promote trade union, peasants' and other organizations. We must develop new forms and methods of work and enhance the role of semi-legal and underground activity, without losing contact with the masses; on the contrary, we must make their anti-fascist actions more militant. We should prepare our most resolute fighters for a further reinforcement and enhancement of the organized character of revolutionary violence, and give every encouragement to the development of the guerrilla movement, of the irregular peasant combat units and the armed resistance in the towns. In other words, we must, to the best of our ability, combine organizational work with military training, for this will enable us to give a further impetus to the people's revolutionary struggle. Moreover, to avoid sinking into empiricism or voluntarism, our work must not be one-sided. To this end the struggle must be correctly organized and every effort made to extend it, to prevent its isolation . . .

Today our people are living through a period when reaction is hardening anti-communist terror and spreading fascism more forcefully. However, despite the thousands of murders and the deliberately created atmosphere of social uncertainty, it will not suppress dissatisfaction and crush the popular and revolutionary movement.

In recent years our country has witnessed massive popular actions, and the spirit of struggle has grown and become strong among all sections of the population. The working class has come forward as the decisive social force of the protesting masses. It has mobilized and rallied the entire nation. This is opening up broad prospects in the struggle against the oppressors, who are out to compel the exploited masses to bear the entire burden of the regime's crisis. Progressive young people, the middle segment of white-collar workers, farmers, students and intellectuals are acting side by side with the working class. Special emphasis must be laid on the fact that

the struggle of the peasants, who are augmenting our movement by their militancy and numerical strength, has grown more organized and purposeful . . .

In our country fascism is sowing anti-communist terror by murders, which it commits with impunity, by a campaign of total intimidation and unbridled anti-communist propaganda, by justifying the crimes of reaction and churning out torrents of lies about the socialist community. It is hypocritically exhorting "patriots" to "defend the democratic system" and making every effort to bolster the shaken predominance of the most reactionary oligarchic and imperialist circles and cripple the revolutionary process. But it is suffering defeat . . .

THE REGIME'S CRISIS IS THE REALISTIC BASIS FOR STEPPING UP THE STRUGGLE

Central America is at the stage of revolution. In each country the crisis and the forms of surmounting it are different. It was quite obvious that this region is the weakest link in the chain of imperialist dominance on our continent. The overthrow of the reactionary regime in Nicaragua and the revolutionary process headed by the Sandinista National Liberation Front are a crucial victory of the fraternal Nicaraguan people themselves and of all the other Central American peoples. Present developments in El Salvador likewise mirror the depth of the crisis that has hit the reactionary governments in Central America. In our country the revolutionary movement is demonstrating its invincibility in the struggle against the atrocities of fascism . . .

Many variants of counter-revolution emerged in Guatemala following the imperialist intervention of 1954, but none of them helped reaction to find a way out of the crisis. The military camarilla, which represents and champions the interests of the most reactionary capitalist circles, is unable to stabilize the dictatorial government and is, therefore, resorting to deceit and repressions in an effort to suppress and enslave the people. The regime's crisis is growing deeper in all areas.

Nor is the model of dependent monopoly capitalism helping to find a way out of the situation . . .

The nation's economic development, on which the bourgeoisie is oriented, continues to depend upon the fluctuating prices of exports, on tourist revenues, and also on foreign loans and investments. Plans are being made to reanimate the economy with the export of oil . . .

Even official statistics give the lie to the govern-

ment's "optimism." This year the nation's foreign currency reserves diminished by almost 40 per cent, the growth rate of agriculture, industry, commerce and tourism has slowed down, capital continues to flow out of the country unchecked, and so on.

Little wonder that the model of dependent capitalism has entered an impasse: it is part and parcel of the crisis of the capitalist world system . . .

This policy is bringing the people little benefit. Instead of meeting their needs and problems, it is exacerbating them. This is making the possibilities for struggle more favorable . . .

Fearing the impact of the smashing victory of the Sandinistas in Nicaragua and the heroic struggle of the people of El Salvador, the most reactionary circles in Guatemala have unleashed a "thousand-day" campaign to combat the actions of the people. The purpose of this campaign is to halt the revolutionary upsurge, break our people, and establish a military-fascist dictatorship, in other words, a right-wing authoritarian regime that would pursue a policy of dependent monopoly capitalism in the interests of the landowning oligarchy and imperialism . . .

In keeping with its criminal policy the government has embarked upon savage repressions in El Quiche, Huehuetenango, Solola, San Marcos, Quezaltenango, Alta Verapaz, Escuintla and other departments. They persecute trade union organizations and have assassinated some of their activists. Very recently they seized 40 peasants in the village of Tiquisate and shot 37 members of the agricultural cooperative in the village of Uspantan. Twenty-seven trade unionists were arrested in the building of the National Trade Union Center. A few weeks later, another 17 militants were seized in the village of Emaus. The army continues to occupy villages, intimidate the inhabitants, rape women, and kill children, old folks and men. More than 50 courageous university students have been brutally killed.

The government's criminal policies are clearly aimed at fragmenting the popular movement and smashing its most representative organizations. This is an attempt to isolate the revolutionary movement preparatory to striking a crushing blow at it. However, the resistance of our people will not be broken by the mass murders perpetrated by the army.

□ FOR UNITY OF ALL REVOLUTIONARY AND DEMOCRATIC FORCES

Unity of action is an *indispensable* condition for reinforcing and spreading the revolutionary struggle. It stems from mutual understanding, a coincidence of the aims of revolutionary organizations, and the possibility of forming them into alliances or even merging them.

This unity can be achieved on the basis of a common approach to the principal ways and means of developing the revolutionary process and must be reinforced with the determination to fight the common enemy. A platform defining the ways of achieving the aims of all organizations must be worked out. *These aims are the overthrow of the dictatorship of*

the military camarilla and the reactionary circles supported by imperialism, the formation of a revolutionary, patriotic, people's government committed to democratic reforms, the attainment of national independence, and an enhancement of the people's living standard.

These aims can be achieved by a people's revolutionary war. *Our party calls for the formation of an integral revolutionary front as the basis for a broad revolutionary patriotic front that would plan the further development of the revolution.*

Fulfillment of these tasks requires revolutionary consciousness and consistency. Efforts must be made to combat signs of distrust, petty-bourgeois hegemonism and adventurism, and extirpate every manifestation of opportunism.

The revolution is a process whose social base consists of all the oppressed classes and segments of the population without exception. The attempts to push some social forces and revolutionary contingents into sectarianism and any claims to voluntaristic leadership of the revolutionary process will be negated by the people, who comprise the main force of the revolutionary struggle . . .

The conditions have now been created for strengthening mutual understanding and interaction between all the participants in our movement. The coincidence of views must supersede disagreement . . . Our joint actions must be conscious and objective; there should be no element of spontaneity or accident in them. They cannot be founded on subjectivism, voluntarism or excessive self-assurance, because in practice, this hardly helps to unite the masses for struggle.

History has shown that struggle for unity or the revolutionary forces creates the conditions for organizing a single political leadership and for strengthening and uniting the revolutionary vanguard.

Our party is working to translate these ideas into practice. The possibility for attaining unity is linked closely to how far views coincide. All favorable factors, both objective and subjective, must be used to achieve unity . . .

The revolutionary organizations in Guatemala are at different levels of development in terms of organization, political possibilities and attitude to various ways and means of struggle. Although this is evidence of the heterogeneity of our political reality, it is the condition prompting and justifying the militant unity of the people.

We call upon the Revolutionary Organization of the Armed People and the Guerrilla Army of the Poor to continue deepening the process of achieving mutual understanding and carrying out joint actions. We repeat that the possibilities exist for paving the way to agreement on joint actions with the Insurgent Armed Forces.

The atrocities being committed by the dictatorship cannot hinder the strengthening and unity of the revolutionary movement, which will ultimately bring down the regime oppressing our people.

Verdad, organ of the GPL Central Committee,
No. 245, September 1980

Plenary Meeting of the PUWP Central Committee

Plenary Meeting of the PUWP Central Committee

The seventh plenary meeting of the PUWP Central Committee was held in Warsaw from December 1 to 3. Stanislaw Kania, First Secretary of the PUWP Central Committee, gave a report "On the Party's Tasks in the Struggle for the Socialist Nature of the Renewal of Social Life."

The present meeting, he said, is primarily devoted to the problems facing the party, its main tasks in the difficult political situation that has taken shape in the country. The political crisis persists, with continued destabilization in the economy and the life of the state. Today, the people's future hangs in balance. The course of the ongoing social processes, and also the future of socialism will largely depend on the party's stand, its cohesion and ability to act.

The sixth plenary meeting of the PUWP Central Committee charted the ways to overcome the deep crisis through which we are now going, and also to normalize life in the country and lay down the groundwork for our further development. The party and society welcomed the decisions of the sixth plenary meeting pinning their hopes and expectations on their fulfillment.

Have the events of the past two months justified these hopes? There is no simple answer. The government has settled the question of wage increases for all the working people; it has been decided to increase family allowances; and efforts are being made to improve the situation on the domestic market.

Of special importance for us, the speaker went on, is the Soviet Union's economic assistance, which provides us with additional raw and other materials, fuel, foodstuffs, and also financial credits. We highly appreciate the assistance given to us by other fraternal socialist countries, the GDR above all. Economic negotiations have also been held with some capitalist states, and a number of agreements have been signed.

An economic reform is being elaborated. A so-called minor reform has already been drawn up and requires urgent implementation.

Stanislaw Kania listed various other measures being taken in the economic and social fields.

He emphasized that the Leninist norms of party life are being further re-established. Sincerity and frankness prevail in the discussions being held. Many front-rank workers and peasants have been additionally elected to the party organs. The party is also carrying on a successful drive to re-establish the principles of social justice and high moral standards.

Over the past two months, personnel changes have been carried out. New legislation is being worked on, notably, new laws on the trade unions, workers' self-management, the higher school, and press control.

The party leadership has taken effective steps to ensure favorable international conditions conducive to the solution of the difficult internal problems, using our constant ties with our friends and allies,

with the CPSU leadership above all. We paid a visit to Moscow and in the course of it held talks with comrades Leonid Brezhnev, Nikolai Tikhonov and other Soviet leaders.

We understand the internationalist concern and anxiety caused by the situation in Poland among the fraternal parties. We are a major factor of the socialist community. We are grateful, especially to the Soviet comrades, for the confidence shown in our party, for understanding the nature of our difficulties, and the conviction that we shall find a way out of the crisis favorable for socialism in Poland and for the whole socialist community. We have also successfully developed our relations with the capitalist countries, especially with those with which we have traditionally engaged in broad cooperation.

Even this short list of the problems that have been solved or raised over the past two months, Kania went on, shows the party's firm intention to implement the decisions of the sixth plenary meeting of the PUWP Central Committee, to put into effect the process of socialist renewal. We know, however, that the party and society expect much more.

At the same time, I frankly emphasize that many obstacles lie in the way of socialist renewal. The political situation in the country, Kania said, remains extremely complicated and is fraught with numerous dangers. There are still considerable tensions, and the nervousness and agitation are still very marked. The heated debates are continuing, and the public mood is far from stable.

We are going through a year of exceptionally unfavorable weather anomalies and a crop failure. Acute difficulties have arisen in the power supply. The investments sector has been disrupted. Housing construction has fallen far short of the plan, and export targets have not been met by a wide margin. Supplies are erratic and largely insufficient.

In this situation, nothing should be done to compound the difficulties or prevent their easing. Unfortunately, many enterprises and even whole industries that are of vast importance for the national economy have yet to return to their normal production rhythm. This state of affairs is due to many factors, like the difficulties in the sphere of supply, energy, etc.

Broad circles of the public hoped that the registration of the new trade unions would help to reduce tensions. In some regions and localities, and at many enterprises this has begun to take effect. Concerning the relations with Solidarity, Kania said that the leaders of the PUWP and the government continue to hope that the atmosphere of negotiation and agreement would make it possible to work out rational methods of cooperation and interaction. Unfortunately, the platform of the accord is being constantly darkened by new unfavorable phenomena. Thus, some regional and sectoral units of Solidarity sustain the atmosphere of strikes and are

much too hasty in resorting to the threat of strike. We have warned and are warning again, he said, that the wages fund has long since been exceeded beyond all rational limits, and any further widening of the gap between wages and the supply of goods for the domestic market is bound to backlash against the working people's interests. The task now is to defend the right to untroubled work. We must explain this truth with perseverance and in a business-like way.

Strikes staged for the sake of prestige or openly political strikes cannot be justified in any way. The attempts to bring about the removal of some *voivodship* state and political authorities and the heads of some enterprises under threat of strike or even by occupying the premises and administrative buildings also cause deep concern. Such moves are sometimes made in an atmosphere of ultimatum-type demands, inadmissible pressure, and rudeness with respect to the authorities and fellow-workers.

The urge to impose one's own viewpoint or even to cause unrest is sometimes carried over to the city streets and public places in the form of leaflets, inscriptions, slogans and all manner of violations and arbitrary action. All this shows that some members and organizations of Solidarity go beyond the sphere of their activity as a trade union as specified in its charter. This amounts to a breach of the law, an attempt to usurp the attributes belonging solely to state power, and it is common knowledge that there is no dual power in any state, including our own, and that there can be none.

We know, we are convinced that most of Solidarity's leaders, members and sympathizers have nothing to do with this dangerous tendency, and we hope that they will not move in this direction.

The point is that some units of this essentially working class movement, a movement of the working people, have been infiltrated and are being adversely affected by groups and persons connected with foreign centers of imperialist subversion, whose purposes are hostile to socialism and the people's power.

They represent different trends and nuances. The intensive class struggle is continuing. On every occasion, the adversaries of socialism tactically adjust to the aspirations of the working class, finding this an advantageous springboard leading on to further stages. The working class cannot go their way. These forces want to dismantle and, as a result, to undermine and overthrow Poland's socialist statehood. This is an essentially anti-worker, counter-revolutionary intention.

We have good reason to say so. Numerous statements and publications by our adversaries show this to be so. But that is not the main argument. The main thing is what they are doing today, how they are trying to use the mood and the spontaneous reaction of some social groups, thereby protracting the crisis that is exhausting our country. At present, the attitude to the question of ending the crisis and achieving stabilization is the main criterion of the sense of responsibility for Poland's tranquility and security.

We have reached a critical point, Kania went on,

which requires sobering up and recognizing the fact that the main condition and opportunity for the successful development of our national future is an immediate cessation of all activities which undermine and weaken the functioning of the people's state and which, moreover, threaten ultimately to destabilize the peaceful order in Europe. We have acted with great patience and reasonableness, but no one can expect our party and people's power to vacillate or show lenience in defending the socialist cause. Defense of socialism is defense of the highest national values, defense of Poland's interests.

In spite of the exceptionally difficult situation, it is still possible to overcome the present crisis. This is vitally important, in the first place, for the vast majority of the people, who strive for democratic change, but want to avoid unruliness, anarchy and upheavals — everything that threatens to cause a national disaster. The key to the solution of these problems is to revive the party's militancy and ideological cohesion in the course of socialist renewal, in the struggle against the threat to socialism.

Unfortunately, the situation here is also unfavorable.

The party organizations have markedly invigorated their activity, but in spite of this, the party as a whole has yet to find its identity in the new situation. In the behavior of many comrades or even whole party organizations, emotions prevail over reason, and a bitter assessment of the past over recognition of the need to draw constructive conclusions and set tasks for the future.

The party can neither be a debating society nor an amorphous mass of sympathizers. Its strength lies both in genuine inner democracy and discipline, both in discussion and united action, both in the use of rights and fulfillment of duties by all the members. Democratic centralism has been and will remain the basic principle of inner-party life, and also a major source of the party's strength, cohesion and unity.

Without unity derived from conviction, without conscious discipline and clear-cut executive power, a Marxist-Leninist party cannot fulfil its functions well. It is also a necessary condition for the development of genuine democracy within the party.

Kania went on to deal with the specific proposals put forward by the party organizations in this area.

Having emphasized the vigorous activity of the party organizations and their urge to contribute to the elaboration of the party's program and policy, the speaker said that city and *voivodship* party organs should meet these initiatives half way, take an active part in them, and try to lose nothing of the valuable capital of the discussion.

At the same time, we must take a resolute stand against the formation of organizational structures not envisaged in the rules. Anyone who has taken this road should abandon it. The party cannot support factionalism and splitting activities. The only way to make progress in working out and implementing the party's new policy is for the Central Committee, the territorial organs and the primary organizations to pool their efforts.

Basic principles that make it binding on all its members to abide by the party's program, political line and decisions on fundamental matters should be adhered to in the party. If the party is to exercise this leading role, it needs ideological unity on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. In taking the line for a democratic renewal of inner-party life, we shall resolutely combat any ideological capitulationism and attempts to disrupt the party's ideological unity and capacity to act. We should also wage an equally resolute struggle against the conservative mentality in our ranks and the failure to understand the new conditions and requirements. We should display firm resolve in coming out against slogans that have nothing in common with socialism and that undermine the party's unity and ideological strength.

We must demand more insistently than ever before that all party organizations and every party member should take an active stand with respect to views and activities meeting the working people's interests. The Central Committee and the *voivodship* party organs are duty bound to help the local party organizations in their ideological work and in strengthening their ideological grounding.

Our party was the architect of the program that determined the course of development of People's Poland. Everything that we have today, all the country's assets have been created in the course of the people's struggle and work under the guidance of our party.

The part played by the Polish Army in the Berlin Operation, which brought about the victory, was a source of historical satisfaction and ensured the political effectiveness of the military efforts of all Polish soldiers and Resistance fighters. We got back our old Western lands and integrated them with our homeland. We developed the economy and industrialized the country. We have made revolutionary progress in education and culture, improved material living standards, and created jobs for the rising generations. These are our people's indisputable, majestic achievements. Our party and its program provided the political guidelines for these efforts. The country developed in accordance with the policy elaborated by the PUP, with its activists and all its other members making a tremendous contribution to the endeavor. No party member has any cause to renounce or to be ashamed of the successes we have achieved.

One cannot agree with having correct criticism of mistakes turned into a negation or dismissal of the genuine achievements of the past, the achievements of the party and the whole people. This would mean crossing out socialism and opening up the way to the attempts to change the foundations of the Polish state and Poland's place in the world. This would be a disastrous, suicidal course.

The party's leading role is the fundamental principle of our system, of the country's independence, security and peaceful development.

Speaking of the responsibility for the mistakes and abuses, Kania said: in matters of this kind we cannot allow any lenience. Honesty should be the main demand on party, state and economic functionaries

at every level. In voicing its views on this issue, the Central Committee should simultaneously adopt an explicit and resolute stand on the fairly widespread tendencies to take the anarchic approach to the problem of responsibility, on the attempts to spread this responsibility to all the leading cadres, to broad circles of party and state functionaries, to the party apparatus.

The speaker went on to emphasize: quality and an exacting attitude should be our party's motto in forming its ranks now and in the future. It is an optimistic note that in the present difficult political conditions, many workers, peasants and intellectuals have been joining our party on the basis of a conscious, ideological decision, and not by recruitment.

In ever wider circles of our society, Kania continued, there is a growing desire for tranquility and normalization, a growing awareness of the importance of the situation in the country. There is ever broader realization that the socialist renewal of social life, which holds out hope and opportunity to our people, can be implemented only in conditions of economic stabilization, and also normalization of political and social life.

We pin great hopes on the growing role of the trade union movement. Our attitude to this movement is well defined. We support the restructuring of the sectoral trade unions, and recognize their responsible role in the country's socio-economic life: Many members of our party are now members of the Solidarity National Council of Trade Unions. We expect these comrades to take vigorous action on the basis of the trade union charter, and to determine their stand on all questions relating to the preservation of the socialist make-up of that organization.

Today, the speaker said, we must say that our system of work with the young was less than effective. From this we draw far-reaching conclusions.

As soon as the way out of the most acute phase of the strike conflict was found, at the first sitting of the sixth plenum of the CC on September 5, we came out with a proposal to hold the ninth extraordinary congress of the party. The proposal was elaborated at the second sitting of the sixth plenum, and met with broad support within the party, which shows it to be correct. We share the opinion, written into the decisions and resolutions of party organizations, that the congress should be convened without delay. The congress should give a profound assessment of the situation, specify the tasks facing our party, and determine its attitude to the experience and nature of the ongoing renewal.

Bearing in mind all these conditions and the requirements of the rules, the Political Bureau proposes that the ninth congress should be convened within a relatively short period, which would help to muster the party while ensuring good preparations of the congress. We propose that the ninth congress should be held at the end of the first or the beginning of the second quarter of 1981. At our plenum today, we propose the formation of a commission for preparing the congress.

There are many expectations and questions con-

cerning the action program, Kania said. We are elaborating a number of programs. This takes time. We have been taking and implementing various decisions, which are part of a big program for Poland's development.

In order to fulfil and implement all these intentions, we must carry out, as their necessary condition, our program right away. This program includes effecting the process of socialist renewal in conditions of normal work and order, an alliance of

reasonable and responsible forces in the interests of democracy, and against anarchy, the elaboration of correct methods of cooperation and interaction between the authorities and the working people's self-management organizations, especially the trade unions.

Such is socialist Poland's supreme requirement. We must and shall satisfy it, Stanislaw Kania declared.

Pravda, December 3, 1980

On Strengthening Revolutionary Legality

Attainment of the major tasks arising at the new stage of the people's democratic April revolution is closely tied in with the drive to ensure firm revolutionary order, general security and tranquillity, and strict observance of the citizens' rights and freedoms. This is written into a resolution "On Strengthening Revolutionary Legality" adopted by the PDPA Central Committee's Political Bureau and the Presidium of the DRA's Revolutionary Council at their joint meeting on November 25, and published in the newspaper *Hivad* on November 27.

The PDPA's Central Committee and the DRA's Revolutionary Council, the document says, have consistently implemented fundamental measures to strengthen revolutionary legality and law and order. One important achievement at the new stage of the April Revolution was the adoption of the historic basic principles of the DRA, which guarantee broad democratic rights and freedoms for the citizens, immunity of the person and domicile, protection of life, secrecy of correspondence, etc.

To ensure revolutionary legality and wage a successful struggle against any encroachments on the people's system and against other crimes violating the citizens' rights and legitimate interests, a new system of law and order agencies has been set up in the country, consisting of a state security administration (HAD), special revolutionary and military tribunals, the Procurator's Office, and the people's militia. The democratic principles of their activity have been enacted in legislation. The party committees, the state apparatus and law and order agencies are playing an ever more active role in the work to strengthen revolutionary legality.

At the same time, the document notes, serious harm is being done to the cause of strengthening revolutionary law and order by some functionaries of provincial party committees and local organs of power, and officers of the people's militia, of the courts, of the procurator's office and various government organizations who violate the basic principles of the DRA, abuse their power and resort to arbitrary measures.

Thus, some party members and responsible officials listed on the nomenclature of the PDPA Central Committee and provincial party committees have been arrested or detained without due notification of these party organs or their permission.

Considering that the unlawful actions of some functionaries of party committees, state and local organs reduce the effectiveness of the struggle against counter-revolutionary and other crimes, undermine the prestige of the party and the state in the eyes of the people, and engender uncertainty among citizens concerning the reality of their democratic rights and freedoms, the PDPA Central Committee's Political Bureau and the Presidium of the DRA's Revolutionary Council resolve:

1. To note that strict observance of revolutionary legality is a fundamental task of the new stage of the April Revolution, a major condition for the attainment of its goals and ideals.

2. The DRA government is to establish strict control over the fulfillment of the DRA's basic principles, the laws and decrees of the DRA's Revolutionary Council, and the government's own decisions by all officials of the state apparatus and local organs of power in the center and in the localities.

The resolution emphasizes the need to . . . consistently combine vigorous struggle against counter-revolution, banditry, and other crimes with scrupulous observance of the DRA's basic principles and other laws. The leadership of the Ministry of the Interior and HAD should take steps to strengthen intra-departmental control over the law-enforcement work of investigators and other functionaries, whose activity affects the citizens' rights.

The document points out the need to adopt measures to invigorate the work of the Procurator's Office, the Supreme Court, and the DRA's Ministry of Justice, to enhance their role and responsibility in supervising the fulfillment of provisions written into the DRA's basic principles.

The DRA's mass media, the resolution says, must consistently explain to the population the party and state's position on the undeviating observance of revolutionary legality, of the citizens' rights. . . .

The PDPA Central Committee's Political Bureau and the Presidium of the PRA's Revolutionary Council express confidence that the leaders and all the functionaries of the ministries and departments, all party members will display a high sense of state and party responsibility in fulfilling the responsible tasks in strengthening legality and revolutionary order in the country.

TASS, November 27, 1980

Our Contribution to Peace

Speech by Erich Honecker in Gera

Dear Comrades,

In the course of preparations for the 10th congress of the party,* we naturally attach due importance to questions arising from the development of the international situation, because these are closely tied in with the tasks of further building a developed socialist society. We should always bear this in mind, for the further all-round strengthening of our German Democratic Republic is of decisive importance for the development and strengthening of the community of fraternal socialist countries, just as the might of our community is of decisive importance for the further flourishing of our republic.

THE GDR AND EUROPEAN DEVELOPMENTS

The stable development of the first socialist state on German soil has had no small impact on the course of events in Europe. Our central domestic strategy, which regards economic and social policies as one, has proved to be very effective in consolidating and strengthening the GDR. We have consistently continued this policy in order to secure and gradually raise the living and cultural standards attained so far. By doing so we serve the interests of the working class and all the working people while, at the same time, contributing to a more stable peace.

At the ninth party congress, we decided to make every active and constructive effort together with the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Treaty states to eliminate the danger of a new world war and assure international peace and security. Our goal is to create the most favorable external conditions for socialist and communist construction in the countries of our community. International developments corroborate the correctness of this strategy.

The socialist-community countries have followed the road of socialism and peace in solid unity and cohesion, meeting their peoples' multifaceted and often far from simple social requirements. The 26th congress of the CPSU, the Leninist vanguard of the Soviet people, is to open a new chapter in communist construction in the country of the Great October Revolution. It will be a powerful source of inspiration for the fraternal countries and all other fighters for mankind's peaceful and progressive development. In our fraternal unity with the Soviet

Speech by Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the SUPG Central Committee and Chairman of the GDR Council of State, at a meeting of activists held in Gera on October 13, 1980 to inaugurate the 1980/81 Party School Year. — Ed.

*The 10th congress of the SUPG is to be held on April 11-16, 1981. — Ed.

working people, we have taken a close and sympathetic interest in their heroic labor during the preparations for this major event.

THE SOVIET PEOPLE'S ACHIEVEMENTS

In their communist construction, the Soviet people have been tackling tasks of historic importance. The imperialist circles, which cannot provide their peoples with bread and work, which deny their peoples the right to equal education for all, and whose colonial policy is to blame for the hunger, poverty and illiteracy in many "Third World" countries, may say about the Soviet Union what they like. They can never erase from mankind's memory the fact that the Soviet Union's contribution was crucial to the victory over Hitlerite fascism, that its might and influence ensured the emergence of the world socialist system as a result of the Second World War and postwar development, and enabled the liberation movements to break up the imperialist colonial system. They cannot obliterate the fact that the policy, might and influence of the Soviet Union and its socialist allies have made it possible to prevent a new world war and to ensure peace, especially in Europe.

HIGHER LEVEL OF GDR-SOVIET COOPERATION

Five years have gone by since the GDR and the USSR concluded a new treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance. It can justly be said that our mutual cooperation has since reached a higher level in every respect. This alone illustrates the broad vistas which the solid alliance between our two countries has opened up.

Indeed, the novel nature of the relations between the socialist-community countries has created better prerequisites for progressive development. Our nations have been drawing ever closer together and jointly meeting numerous challenges along the road, both in everyday life and the fight against our enemies. This is also true of our fraternal relations with neighboring Poland and the Polish United Workers' Party, with which we are bound by a tried and tested alliance of many years.

SOLIDARITY WITH PEOPLE'S POLAND

The commitment to this alliance has in recent days and weeks been reaffirmed. Both sides have stressed the need to stand shoulder to shoulder, particularly at a time when difficult problems have to be solved. It is common knowledge that such complicated problems have arisen in the Polish People's

Republic. The Polish Communists and, indeed, all other truly patriotic forces in People's Poland, are making concentrated efforts to overcome these problems and to strengthen the socialist system.

Poland is our neighbor. It is, as I said in my speech in Berlin on the eve of our National Day, our socialist sister nation, with which we concluded the treaty on the Oder-Neisse Peace Frontier in the very first year of the GDR's existence. Our two countries have ever since been linked with each other by a whole system of treaties corresponding to the socialist and internationalist character of our relationship.

As Poland's friend and ally, the socialist German Democratic Republic stands forever on the side of the Polish people, who, led by the Polish United Workers' Party, are strengthening people's power. Let me take this opportunity to repeat that the socialist GDR cannot be indifferent to the fate of People's Poland. We continue to side in solidarity with the fraternal Polish people, to whom the workers' and peasants' power has brought great gains, regardless of the problems still to be solved, which have been discussed at the sixth plenary session of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party.

Alive as we are to the needs of peace and socialism and considering our political, economic and cultural links, as well as the manifold personal contacts resulting mainly from the introduction of passport and visa-free travel between the two countries, we are interested in a stable situation in the Polish People's Republic.

We shall therefore oppose all attempts at interference whereby foreign reactionaries seek to exploit Poland's current difficult situation for their own sinister purposes. The counter-revolutionaries must know that their sphere of influence ends on the Elbe and Werra rivers.

FRG-LED CAMPAIGN AGAINST SOCIALIST POLAND

Comrades,

It is not by chance that at the very moment when our Polish sister party was faced with the task of solving complicated and pressing problems and was getting down to making certain corrections in its policy, imperialist mass media and their backers, particularly in the FRG, set in motion an inflammatory campaign without parallel against socialist Poland.

What they had in mind was not — contrary to assertions by some Western politicians — the Polish people's right to solve by themselves the problems facing their country. Rather, they were spurring on anti-socialist and counter-revolutionary forces which had surfaced in the Polish People's Republic. As has been established, they not only supplied these elements with plenty of "advice" on how best to change Poland's social system and to replace what they called the "Soviet model" of socialism by a Polish one, but also infiltrated large sums of money into People's Poland for this purpose through various channels. Their aim was definitely not to make

socialism "more humane" but to do away with the socialist system, to which the Polish people owe the enjoyment of such inalienable human rights as the right to work, the right to freedom and the right to shape their own lives.

A MISCALCULATION BY THE REVANCHISTS

In the last few weeks we have once more seen dyed-in-the-wool capitalists and profiteers together with their stooges discovering that "at heart they are for socialism." Like the Pharisees and scribes of biblical days, they are trying to fish in troubled waters. But they have miscalculated.

For People's Poland, as for the GDR and the other fraternal socialist countries, the guarantee of a peaceful, happy and prosperous future lies in friendship with the USSR. The Polish people will never forget that only the common struggle against Hitlerite fascism and the latter's defeat enabled them to lead a new life.

They will never forget that it was only within the framework of the fraternal socialist community that their country received permanently secure borders and that only socialism guarantees their future against the revanchist ambitions of the German militarists, which cost the Polish people so much in the past.

Recent developments have given renewed proof that revanchist organizations in the FRG are intensifying their efforts and setting up new centers which are designed to help enhance their ideological activities. Near Bonn, a "Silesia House" is to be built, whose proclaimed purpose is to provide "young Silesians with spiritual nourishment on their road to Silesia;" in Lübeck, a so-called "Danziger's House" is under construction to help "uphold" what is called "the historical right to the homeland;" and in Travemünde, a "Pomeranian Center" is planned for the same purpose. All these facts are very revealing.

But one thing is certain: the Polish People's Republic was, is and will remain a socialist country. It forms an inseparable part of the socialist world. No one can reverse the course of history.

OUR APPROACH TO THE KEY ISSUE OF OUR TIME

Dear comrades,

The guarantee for achieving a secure and lasting peace lies in the strength, unity and cohesion of the socialist community and in concerted action by its members in the international arena. To fulfil this key task facing mankind, we are committed to cooperating with all those who are sincerely interested in saving the peoples from the horrors of new wars, regardless of differences in social station, political convictions, world view or religious persuasion. The overriding concern of the peoples and of every sensible, realistically-minded politician or statesman can only be the preservation of peace, mankind's most precious possession.

As you are aware, the battle for peace has entered a more acute stage. The international situation has

considerably worsened as compared with the early 1970s, when the process of détente was set in motion and also in relation to the following years, when many positive changes came about, especially on the European continent. When I met comrade Leonid Brezhnev in the Crimea, we agreed that this situation remained tense and complicated. Yet, in spite of their policy of fuelling international tensions, the most reactionary imperialist circles and the Peking hegemonists have not attained their goals.

The causes behind the worsening of the international situation are perfectly clear. Certain imperialist forces, particularly in the USA, have opted for a policy of confrontation rather than détente, seeking by every possible means to draw their NATO allies into the vortex of this policy. They are pressing on with the arms drive and trying to gain military superiority over the socialist community. They also keep interfering in the internal affairs of other countries, whether in the Middle East or in Europe, with the imperialist FRG well out in front. As the closest ally of the USA and its most aggressive circles, the FRG is being entrusted with ever new tasks so as to enable the USA to pursue its policy of boycott and threats against the peoples in other regions of the world. The facts speak for themselves, and no amount of nicely-worded statements on peace and détente can change them.

WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DETERIORATION?

So, the conclusion that imperialism has never changed its aggressive nature has proved correct. The process of détente, which, despite fierce resistance, powerful sections of big business were forced to accept at a certain stage, has obviously resulted in something quite different from what they had hoped for in view of their hostility to socialism and the interests of the peoples. They dislike the very concept of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems because it cuts across their greed for profit and urge for violent expansion. By following this confrontation course, they ultimately jeopardize in the most reckless manner everything that has brought the peoples so many advantages in the course of détente and improved prospects for peace.

Western radio and TV stations as well as visitors from the FRG have been spreading the fictitious story that the Soviet operation in support of friendly revolutionary Afghanistan is responsible for the heightened international tension. But such stories, though, cannot obscure the truth. It is becoming increasingly obvious that the guilt for the aggravated international situation lies exclusively with those NATO states which, under the slogan of "closing the arms gap," have launched the biggest arms build-up in the history of the capitalist world.

Nor is it a secret that the Western clamor about the alleged "threat from the East" and the so-called "Soviet menace" swelled in volume at a time when the imperialist plans for the abandonment of détente, for NATO's accelerated arms build-up and

for new aggressive steps by the U.S. and its allies in the way of "euro" and nuclear strategy had long since been drawn up. This is clear from the long-term arms program adopted by the NATO Council in Washington in May 1978, from the Brussels missile decision of last December, which the FRG did much to force through, from the recently-proclaimed U.S. nuclear strategy, and also from the continued refusal to ratify SALT II which would be of great significance for limiting the growth of strategic arms and achieving further measures aimed at worldwide disarmament.

IMPERIALISTS BENT ON TORPEDOING DETENTE

In the recent past, imperialism has been making one attempt after another to torpedo the hard-won results of détente. It is driven by the crisis of its system. It cannot tolerate the fact that socialism is growing in strength and that its international influence is increasing. Moreover, the rise of the peoples toward national liberation and social emancipation is causing it a great deal of trouble.

In their drive for spheres of domination and natural resources, the imperialists have even revived the "gunboat diplomacy" of bygone times. They are trying to bring pressure to bear on the peoples through boycott, blackmail and threat of force, trampling upon the latter's sovereignty, independence and self-determination, and cynically disregarding their rights. Although, by signing the Helsinki Final Act, the leaders of the USA, FRG and other NATO states have specifically endorsed the principle of non-intervention, they keep on trying to meddle in other countries' internal affairs.

Thus, while waging an undeclared war against revolutionary Afghanistan, imperialism is indignant at that country's defense. From the very start, it regarded the overthrow of the shah's hated regime and the victory of the people's revolution in Iran as a thorn in its side, and that is why, as we know, it responded with political discrimination, massing of armed forces and adventurist maneuvers. The imperialists, who have no business at all to be there but refuse to reconcile themselves to their loss of influence in that important oil region, brazenly declare the Persian Gulf their "sphere of interest." They have stepped up their efforts to create a special intervention force, which they also mean to use in other parts of the world in order to recover or maintain their positions. They hope to capitalize on the armed conflict between Iraq and Iran, a conflict which, in the view of all states and forces interested in world peace and respecting the rights of nations, should be settled by negotiation between the two parties concerned.

THE FIRST ESSENTIAL: AN END TO THE ARMS RACE

Recent developments corroborate the appraisal contained in our party's program as regards the aggressive nature of imperialism. They highlight the need to assess the overall international situation without any illusions in order to draw the necessary

conclusions for a successful continuation of our policy aimed at peace and security. It goes without saying that we have not relaxed our revolutionary vigilance and always seek to maintain at the requisite level our republic's defenses within the socialist military coalition of the Warsaw Treaty. The "Brotherhood-in-Arms 80" exercises convincingly demonstrated that socialism and peace have a reliable shield. Aggressors have no chance of success.

Dear comrades,

To make peace more secure, the first essential in world affairs today is to put an end to the arms race and to supplement political détente with disarmament. This task is more pressing today than ever before. To restore a healthy international atmosphere, a turning point has to be reached in this area right now in the 1980s. A loss of time now can only please those whose imperialist policy of confrontation is aimed to maintain and heighten tensions, threatening to plunge mankind into a nuclear holocaust.

Together with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries, the GDR is seeking to develop further our alliance's peace offensive. This is reflected in the declaration adopted in May of this year by the Warsaw Treaty's Political Consultative Committee. The sensible, realistic and constructive proposals contained in this document provide a reliable basis for further international understandings on new steps toward peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems.

SUPPORT FOR SOVIET INITIATIVES

The GDR regards it as its special responsibility to help ensure that war will never again originate on German soil. Its stand on the basic issues of our time leaves no room for doubt as to the sincerity of its various activities under the Warsaw Treaty's coordinated policy. The imperialist concept of confrontation must be thwarted and further steps must be taken in the direction of détente. Efforts must be made to strengthen the edifice of European peace through effective disarmament measures based on equal security for all. We therefore deem it important that at the forthcoming CSCE follow-up meeting in Madrid, agreement be reached on the convocation of an all-European conference on détente and disarmament.

Of course, the preservation of world peace is a problem whose solution requires even more important steps. We wholeheartedly subscribe to the new proposals which the USSR submitted to the United Nations in its memorandum entitled "For peace and disarmament, for guarantees of international security." In order to remove the obstacles to talks erected by NATO's Brussels decision, the Soviet Union has suggested entering without delay into discussions on medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe and the forward-based American nuclear systems.

Both aspects should be dealt with simultaneously and organically linked. Possible agreements resulting from such discussions should be implemented after the entry into force of SALT II.

This and other Soviet proposals aimed at a reduction of armaments are renewed expressions of the USSR's consistent policy of peace. Their implementation would do an immense service to the interests of mankind. It is to be hoped that the Soviet proposals will meet with a constructive response from all those to whom they are addressed.

STILL NO RESPONSE FROM NATO

It is more than a year since comrade Leonid Brezhnev launched his Berlin peace initiative, which drew worldwide attention. Since then, the Soviet Union has undertaken a whole set of measures to break the deadlock in the disarmament field brought about by NATO's conduct. As comrade Brezhnev had promised, the USSR withdrew 20,000 troops and 1,000 tanks plus other military equipment from the territory of the GDR. NATO has not made any similar move to this day. So, when we look at either side's performance in living up to their verbal protestations of peace, the facts once again speak for themselves.

In another attempt to achieve, at long last, progress in the Vienna mutual balanced force reduction talks, the USSR has, on behalf of the participating socialist countries, put forward fresh proposals which call for the withdrawal of 20,000 Soviet troops and 13,000 American troops in the first reduction phase, taking into account the respective numerical strengths of Soviet and U.S. forces now stationed in Central Europe and notwithstanding the fact that 20,000 Soviet troops have already been pulled out from the GDR. Considering the vast positive significance which the measures proposed by the Soviet Union in Vienna would have for disarmament, we naturally expect the other participating states, including the FRG, to support the proposal.

ON GDR-FRG RELATIONS

Dear comrades,

A lot has been said recently about the development of relations between the GDR and the FRG. For us, it goes without saying that our policy of developing treaty relations with the FRG is an element of the Warsaw Treaty countries' coordinated peace strategy. It should be emphasized once again that this meets the requirements of our time. No one should seriously expect that while conducting the policy of the Western alliance, boycotting the Moscow Olympics out of solidarity with the USA, initiating and working to implement the Brussels missile decision, one could behave as though all there was to be discussed with the GDR were measures to "facilitate travel." Whoever does that ignores the vital questions facing mankind and overlooks the fact that the problems of peace, security and cooperation can only be solved with due regard to their inter-related nature in keeping with the Helsinki Final Act.

A week ago, parliamentary elections were held in the FRG. As we expected, the incumbent coalition government of Social Democrats and Free Democrats is to stay in office for another four-year term. This is a positive fact. Federal Chancellor Helmut Schmidt has indicated the Bonn coalition's intention

to continue its eastern policy, while relying on the Western alliance. This includes, among other things, improving FRG-GDR relations as a crucial factor in the quest for peace and détente in Europe. A policy which would further promote détente in Europe is definitely to be welcomed. However, the contradictions in FRG politics cannot be overlooked.

THE GDR HAS DONE A LOT TO DEVELOP RELATIONS

The German Democratic Republic strives for good-neighborly relations with the Federal Republic of Germany. Its policy toward the latter, as toward other Western nations, is one of peaceful co-existence. On this basis, we have undertaken great efforts in recent years to pave the way for progress in relations with the FRG. Numerous agreements were concluded, and, basically, they work. Important premises have thus been created for equal and mutually advantageous cooperation.

Of course, one cannot fail to see that many problems still exist between the GDR and the FRG and that we have still a fairly long way to go to full normalization. The main reason for this lies in the FRG's repeated attempts to disregard, in violation of the Basic Relations Treaty, vital principles of our state's sovereignty. Progress in these relations, however, is only possible if the existence of two sovereign and mutually independent German states with differing social systems is recognized without any reservations. Any striving to review the postwar European order is bound to hamper and even jeopardize the process of normalizing relations between the two German states.

FRG HINDERS SETTLEMENTS

Absolutely essential in this respect is unqualified acceptance and observance of the principle of non-interference by the two sides, both in their own mutual relations and in their ties with third countries. This, incidentally, is required by the provisions of the Basic Principles Treaty. Disregard of the non-interference principle, which the FRG also endorsed in Helsinki, is in no way compatible with the concept of normalizing relations.

As to further arrangements of various kinds, which would benefit citizens in the FRG and the GDR, these continue to be blocked by serious obstacles erected by the FRG. We have frequently called for their removal but have found no indication of willingness to compromise. This primarily applies to recognition of GDR citizenship. By clinging to concepts which run counter to international law and by refusing to respect GDR citizenship, the FRG denies our republic's sovereignty. But the fact is that there are two sovereign, mutually independent German states. It is also a fact that there are citizens of the socialist GDR and citizens of the capitalist FRG.

We consider it necessary that in the question of GDR citizenship the FRG should finally come to face the realities, something it will eventually have to do anyway. This would also facilitate the solution of the most urgent practical problems in the fields of

travel, legal assistance and various other areas. Abolition of the "Central Monitoring Office" in Salzgitter is long overdue, and an end must be put to practices like the issuing of provisional FRG travel documents to GDR citizens on temporary visits to the FRG and the issuing by FRG embassies in third states of FRG passports to GDR citizens.

We also believe that in the diplomatic field the time has come for an exchange of ambassadors as is the established practice in relations between two sovereign states which are independent of each other, that is, for changing the Permanent Missions of the GDR and the FRG, in accordance with international law, into embassies. This would be a visible step toward normal relations between the two German states.

Of great significance is the situation on the state border between the GDR and the FRG, which at the same time constitutes the dividing line between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO. The Joint Border Commission of the two German states has attained positive results, and important agreements have been reached. If a settlement of the questions connected with the demarcation of the border along the river Elbe in accordance with international law, which has so far been blocked by the FRG's clinging to unacceptable positions, could be brought about with the least possible delay, this would greatly benefit the cause of peace and good-neighborly relations.

As far as the Agreement on Transit Traffic between the FRG and West Berlin is concerned, the GDR has been doing much to make this traffic as simple, expeditious and convenient as possible. The figures bear this out.

In 1979 alone, over 19,688,300 persons in more than 6,243,500 motor vehicles used the existing transit routes to travel back and forth between the FRG and West Berlin. But the Western side still attempts to misuse the Transit Agreement, although the latter has, in this respect, imposed clearcut obligations on the FRG government and the Senate of West Berlin. The GDR continues to take all the necessary steps to curb such misuse of the Transit Agreement and its constant violations. We expect the other side to act accordingly.

WE REMAIN COMMITTED TO PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE

We remain committed to peaceful coexistence, to which there is no acceptable alternative. Normal relations between the GDR and the FRG are important not only in bilateral matters; they are of crucial significance for peace and détente in Europe. Despite all the problems and difficulties, we believe further positive results can be achieved along the road to normal relations between the GDR and the FRG, provided there is full respect for the generally recognized principles of relations between sovereign states.

We also want progress in economic relations. But it must be added with all due clarity that the safeguarding of peace, is, first and foremost, a political

issue which calls for steps leading directly to the solution of the central problems of our time: ending the arms race and achieving disarmament. This is the most solid basis for relations between states with different social systems. Both German states bear

no small measure of responsibility for safeguarding peace. The GDR, for its part, will continue making its active and constructive contribution to peace and security in Europe.

Neues Deutschland, October 14, 1980

Economic Prospects for the Eighties

The 1970s were another bad decade for world capitalism. Economic growth was about half that expected by government and business leaders at the beginning of the decade, as the worst cyclical crisis since World War II occupied the middle 1970s and a doubled rate of inflation impeded growth. The post-World War II rise in real wages in the developed capitalist countries came to an end, and a declining trend set in in the United States and some other countries. Capitalism lost more ground in economic competition with socialism.

The capitalist world shrank geographically as several more countries moved into the socialist camp, or into building toward socialism — united Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea, Mozambique, South Yemen, Afghanistan, Ethiopia and Angola, Nicaragua and Grenada.

The position of imperialism in the "third world" was drastically weakened. Additional countries in Africa and the Caribbean won freedom from colonial bondage, and a number of these as well as others under semicolonial rule turned toward a socialist orientation and cooperation with socialist countries.

The striving for economic independence from imperialism took many forms. The struggle went on, on the diplomatic front in the United Nations with the adoption of the resolution for a New International Economic Order and a series of actions by developing countries in the direction of enforcing that.

The most momentous, of course, was the action of the OPEC countries nationalizing in large part the oil holdings of the transnationals in their countries, setting the price and directing the supply of most of the world's international oil trade.

The revolution in Iran is still in a transitional stage. But clearly the old position of imperialism has been shattered and is unlikely to be fully restored.

However, one must be objective. As against these losses, capitalism had one major gain. The rapid, decisive movement of China into the camp of imperialism provides world capitalism with a huge new economic reserve. How well this can be exploited in view of the serious contradictions within China and the conflicts between the objectives of the Chinese ruling clique and those of their new-found allies remains to be seen.

Also, imperialism won unquestioned economic domination over Egypt — a domination which may prove not so profitable for very long because of the extreme poverty of the country and the opposition of the masses to Sadat's policy of betrayal of Egypt to

the very imperialist countries which for so long colonized, oppressed and humiliated it. Finally, mention must be made of the successful CIA-sponsored fascist coup in Chile, which is now again a happy hunting ground for the great U.S. banks and mining companies.

These offsets prove that a bitter struggle continues. Imperialism is far from finished. But the balance is definitely against it.

What about the 1980s? All indications are that the decline of world capitalism will accelerate.

The 25th annual economic forum of high capitalist officials and bankers was recently held at Alpbach, Austria. It considered the question: "Will there be a world economic crisis in the 1980s?" The responses of the speakers, reported the *New York Journal of Commerce*, were "mostly gloomy and cheerless."

Among the causes for pessimism cited by speakers were the shift from growth to uncertainty and tension which occurred in the mid-1970s; the chronic oil shortage; unstable monetary conditions; the vast overhanging debt of developing countries; increasing protectionism.

The gloom may have been accentuated by the fact that world capitalism is now in the throes of another cyclical crisis of overproduction, but this does not account for the overall negative outlook. The fact is that in all major capitalist countries there is now a rising unemployment trend — going beyond the cyclical increase — and in most of them there is a declining trend in real wages. In all of them the pace of economic growth has slowed appreciably.

But there is a particular feature of the gloom that must be mentioned. At the Austrian conference, the officials and experts were more pessimistic, the bankers and capitalists more confident.

The capitalists, in one sense, are crying all the way to the bank. The profits of monopoly capital, in the U.S. and most other imperialist countries, are soaring more rapidly than ever.

It is a period in which monopoly capital in the industrialized countries has been very successful in the class struggle, in increasing the rate of exploitation of labor, in putting the full cost and more of the global losses of capitalism on the shoulders of the working class and peoples of developing countries.

But these "successes" of capital occupy a key place among the factors that are undermining world capitalism, that make its future so gloomy.

Capitalism is sitting on a financial and political Mt. St. Helens.

The underlying economic problems facing world capitalism have three major components:

1. The increasing instability of the internal economies of the imperialist states.

2. The increasing economic weight of the socialist countries.

3. The increasing economic independence of the developing countries.

There are two trends within world imperialism for dealing with their international problems.

One is to attempt to accommodate to the changes, deriving certain advantages from the process and minimizing losses. This is the course of détente. By and large, the leading groups of capitalists of most Western European countries favor this approach. They have little short-term fear of internal revolution. They are doing well with increasing trade with the expanding socialist countries.

Accommodation to the increasing economic independence of the developing countries is a more complicated process. It includes, for example, getting huge orders for industrialization projects from OPEC countries; using the IMF and other international banking mechanisms for "recycling" the OPEC surplus, and containing the indebtedness of the non-oil developing countries. It includes constructive relationships with developing countries that take a socialist course.

The other response of monopoly capital to its international problems is to attempt to reverse the course of world development by force. That is the course of militarization of the economy; of preparing for a first strike nuclear war against the USSR; of preparing for armed intervention against the oil-producing countries of the Middle East; of all-out support for puppet dictatorships in Latin America and for the apartheid regime of South Africa.

This is the course currently being followed by the currently dominant circles in the United States, and which they attempt to impose, and to some extent succeed in imposing, on their NATO allies.

If this course is not defeated, it will give a very specific character to the economic pattern of the 1980s. Military spending will become the fulcrum around which the U.S. economy will turn. U.S. military spending will total \$3,000 billion dollars in the decade, compared with \$950 billion in the previous decade and \$2,400 billion in the entire prior history of the United States through 1980.

This will not be a stimulating factor for the general economy, as the U.S. no longer enjoys the special advantages it had during World War II. It will mean a continuation of the rapid decline in mass living standards, a rapid worsening of the U.S. position in world markets.

It could hardly last 10 years without involving the U.S. in some kind of military action, which could then completely change the whole outlook in ways that can not now be predicted.

The leaders of world capitalism have no real program to improve the gloomy economic outlook. They merely have new arguments for their old class demands: more tax breaks and subsidies; less government regulation of monopoly; more state as-

sistance to monopolies in international competition; subordination of labor to capital in a "social contract." This largely old package has a new label: "reindustrialization."

U.S. monopoly capital is engaged in a very determined, brazen offensive against the working class. The U.S. Commerce Department publication, *1980 U.S. Industrial Outlook*, gives this projection for annual growth rates for the period 1980-1984: personal consumption expenditures, 2.3 per cent; fixed capital investment, 7.1 per cent; federal purchases of goods and services, 1.9 per cent; state and local purchases, 1.6 per cent.

This means a tremendous priority of profits over wages to finance the three-fold priority of investment over consumption. With military spending scheduled to rise at a rate of 5 per cent per year or more, the low rate for overall federal expenditures signifies a sharp cut in public service and welfare expenditures.

These projections were made before the onset and therefore did not take into account the cyclical crisis which erupted in 1980. Moreover, the unbalanced growth that is contemplated and desired by monopoly capital will intensify inner economic contradictions, slow overall growth, increase unemployment and lead to more serious crises of overproduction.

This corresponds to so-called "supply-side economics" which — discarding economists' jargon — is a program of increasing profits at the expense of wages, holding down social expenditures and increasing unemployment to limit jobs to the most productive workers and increase competition among workers.

This is the coordinated policy of the monopoly capitalists and their governments. A similar outlook, on a global scale, is set forth in the July 1980 *Economic Outlook* published by the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development, the organization of all of the capitalist countries of North America, Europe, Oceania and Japan.

It is not believable that 10 years will go by without the eruption of major mass struggles, organized or not, against the mounting tide of racism, attacks on labor, political repression, the drafting of youth, etc., which will be the inevitable consequence of such a course.

Among the developing countries, there is no doubt that additional ones will succeed in making the break from imperialist domination, in turning toward the building of socialism, of gradually shifting the emphasis of their international ties from the capitalist to the socialist world. In every such case, as in the past, there will be overt or covert attempts of U.S. imperialism and other imperialist countries to prevent this and to attempt to reverse the revolutionary changes which take place.

Unless there is a shift from the extreme aggressiveness of U.S. foreign policy, the danger of war arising out of U.S. interventionism against the revolutionary processes will be very great.

One trend of the past decade that will continue and

take on added importance is the faster growth of the economies of the developing countries as a group than the developed capitalist countries. Countries such as Mexico and Brazil, at the "medium level of development," will come closer to the status of developed capitalist countries, but with special contradictions arising from the lateness of their development and neo-colonial dependence on imperialism. They combine a rising level of industrial development with superexploitation of labor characteristic of underdevelopment, presenting the perspective of very intense class struggles.

These trends have important implications for the development of the U.S. economy. They signify intensified competition in world markets for steel, electronic components, certain types of machine tools and many other types of manufactured goods in which the developing countries will specialize. Moreover, the pressures of these countries for the opening of markets in the U.S., Western Europe, etc., under the principles of the New International Economic Order, will mount. In the mix of production by developing states, the share which is owned by private or state companies of those countries will increase in comparison with the share owned by the transnational corporations.

A special place in world economy relates to China. World imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism, is interested in the very rapid development of China's economic-military potential as a source of pressure against the USSR, Vietnam and other socialist countries and as a source of profits through trade and investment.

With massive investment capital available from the imperialist centers, the pace of Chinese development tends to be determined by the absorptive capacity of the still generally backward economy, with its lack of skilled managerial and technical cadres, its huge and poverty-stricken rural population, etc. The present Chinese leadership appears to be cautious about avoiding the extravagant leaps of the Mao period. The perspective, then, is for rapid growth of the Chinese economy, with an increasing and more intimate role for U.S. and other imperialist capital, with increasing reversion to capitalist internal institutions.

Sharpened contradictions between the Chinese working class and peasantry and the Chinese ruling circles and between China and the U.S. and other capitalists over the division of markets will develop.

The socialist community of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) will continue to develop at a considerably faster pace than the capitalist countries. Within that generality, an increasing part will be played by the economic, scientific and technical integration of the CMEA countries, which becomes more profound, extensive and effective each year. It is likely that additional countries will join CMEA, as occurred during the 1970s.

The pace of improvement in living standards will depend in considerable degree on the extent to which imperialism is able to force the socialist countries to devote additional resources to defense.

However, nothing short of war itself can prevent overall progress, and hence a growing contrast with the deteriorating conditions of the working people in capitalist countries.

The scale of East-West trade, to the mutual advantage of socialist countries and the participating capitalist countries, will continue to increase, regardless of economic warfare attempts of U.S. imperialism. While the plan of U.S. imperialism to introduce first strike weapons into Western Europe has led to strains within the NATO alliance, there is no sign yet of a decisive break on the part of another major country, such as the partial break of France from NATO.

A serious break in the NATO alliance would open up possibilities for a major qualitative advance in the economic relationship between East and West in Europe. In any event, U.S. monopoly capital may become increasingly restive at being largely excluded from this development owing to the cold war policies of the government.

Within the United States, the question of energy may take a new turn. Hitherto the oil companies have been sitting on their hands with respect to many aspects of domestic energy development, to take advantage for as long as possible of their favored access to Middle Eastern oil. Now that favored access is rapidly dwindling. There is a perspective of serious efforts to achieve an increase in domestic oil and gas production, of inauguration of shale oil and liquified coal production during the 1980s, of a determined effort on the part of the energy monopolies to overcome resistance to the rapid development of nuclear energy.

On the one hand, this course of development will lead to a reduction in the import of oil and a certain improvement in the U.S. balance of payments. On the other hand, it is being done in a way which involves unrestrained monopoly plundering of the country's resources, of price gouging of the public on a tremendous scale. The process will increase further the already tremendously powerful role of the oil companies, especially, and other energy monopolies, in the country's economic and political life.

It is a way of solving the energy crisis of the monopolies while intensifying the energy crisis of the working people.

One must anticipate the continuation of the increased economic weight of the technologically most advanced industries such as data processing, electronics, communications, instrumentation, avionics. These industries all have a military orientation, and their growth tends to increase the power of the military-industrial complex within the country.

With the development of automation and computerization of production, the improvement of communications and methods of centralized control and the increased cost of transportation, we may anticipate a rapid growth of the tendency within giant corporations to reduce the number of plants employing many thousands of workers, to disperse production in smaller plants with fewer than 500

workers, geographically less concentrated in old industrial areas.

This tendency, plus specific characteristics of the newer industries, with their relative steadiness of employment and high percentage of engineering and technical employees, handicap trade union organization.

On the other hand, the industrialization of processes in distribution, in many trade and service industries, reduces the objective gap between industrial and non-industrial workers, increases the potential for trade union and working-class political organization among the latter groups.

The role of Black, Chicano and Puerto Rican people in the working class will also continue to increase, despite racist barriers.

A crucial task for the working-class movement is to work out the strategy and tactics of organization and mobilization for struggle under these changing directions in economic development.

The role of the military budget as a crucial element in the worsening of conditions of the working people, as the barrier to social gains, as the strong-point of reactionary anti-labor forces, is becoming ever more clear. The dual nature of the peace struggle, as necessary for the survival of humanity, and necessary for the vital everyday interests of the working people, can and must be made clear to the millions as the political key to turning our country onto a positive course.

Victor Perlo

Political Affairs, October 1980

Founding a Revolutionary Party is the Order of the Day in Nicaragua

The Sandinista National Liberation Front (SNLF) held its Third National Conference of Leading Workers and Activists in Managua on September 13 and 14, 1980. It will be recalled that the victory of the Sandinista revolution was made possible by broad popular unity and massive participation of the whole population. The revolutionaries of that Central American country now want to transform the movement, which involves diverse forces, into a revolutionary party that can lead the masses in solving the difficult problems of bringing about national renaissance and building a new society. These problems were central to the deliberations of the conference.

The more important results of the conference found reflection in an official communiqué of the National Leadership (NL) of the SNLF and in the opening speech of Tomas Borge Martinez, one of the leaders of the revolution, Minister of the Interior. Both the communiqué and the speech were published in *Barricada*, official newspaper of the SNLF, on September 16. Following is a summary of both.

The Task of leading the Masses Necessitates A Strong and Well-Organized Vanguard

Communiqué of the NL SNLF

The National Leadership of the Sandinista National Liberation Front held the Third National Conference of Leading Workers and Activists of the SNLF on September 13 and 14, 1980. The conference was attended by members of Provincial Leading Committees, national executives of the United Sandinista Trade Union Center, Association of Rural Workers, Sandinista Defense Committees, Luisa Amanda Espinoza Association of Nicaraguan Women and July 19 United Sandinista Youth League, representatives of party organizations in the state apparatus and the armed forces, and spokesmen of Indian communities and other sectors of the nation.

In view of the great importance of the items on the conference agenda and the resolutions passed by it, the conference decided to inform the membership of our Front and the Nicaraguan people as a whole of the following measures intended to promote organizing and party work:

— The National Conference confirms the fact that the NL remains the highest guiding and leading body of the SNLF and our Sandinista People's Revolution. This is a reflection of the confidence and prestige which our organization has won among the people in the course of its struggles.

— A Sandinista Assembly is to be constituted; it will comprise the most authoritative SNLF leaders and activists. The assembly will be a consultative body under the NL. It will help the NL in decision-making on particularly important matters, such as approval of the SNLF program and rules, its revolutionary strategy, international and economic policy, policy of alliance, work among the masses, and the training of SNLF cadres. The assembly will participate in the preparation of the annual report of the NL. The following commissions are to be set up to this end within the framework of the assembly: international policy, organizing, economy and production, propaganda and the education of cadres.

The assembly will be composed of 67 outstanding SNLF leaders; it will meet, as a rule, once a year and will function under the direction of the NL.

— As the commissions now functioning under the NL have accomplished their tasks and as organizational development and the solution of the numerous difficult problems of our movement necessitate new and more competent bodies, it was decided to form a

NL Political Commission that will replace the Executive Commission. There will also be commissions for affairs of state and for defense and security; they will replace the state and military commissions, respectively. Besides, the membership of the National Secretariat is to be increased and the composition of the Sandinista delegation on the State Council changed.

The Time has Come to Found a Revolutionary Party

Extracts from Speech by Tomas Borge Martinez, Minister of the Interior

Since July 1961, when the Sandinista National Liberation Front was formed, many of our comrades, including some of the finest, have fallen in struggle against tyranny, for our people's independence. They gave their lives so that our people could become masters of their country's natural resources, masters of their own destiny.

Since the victory of the revolution and the establishment of people's rule in Nicaragua, we have registered major achievements of which I would like to single out the following:

We have freed ourselves from foreign domination. The chains which kept our country tied to imperialism have been smashed into a thousand bits. Certain quarters in the United States have been trying in various ways to interfere in our internal affairs, raise obstacles to the revolution, destabilize our economy and foment reactionary sentiments among professional politicians. But the Sandinista Revolution, with its characteristic sense of national dignity and patriotism, has calmly yet firmly curbed imperialism's agents and confirmed the independence of our country once again.

The 19th of July* in Nicaragua saw the establishment of revolutionary power brought into being by the people's will in the struggle against oppressors and traitors to the country.

We have entered a period of economic changes that are and will be of particular importance in carrying out the agrarian reform, ending unemployment in a historically short time, in eliminating the crying inequality between town and countryside and doing away with backwardness and other consequences of dependent development.

A process of renaissance and progress in national culture — painting, dance and literature, now the patrimony of the masses — is going on all over the country. The nationwide literacy campaign was launched to mark the birth of a new culture: 650,000 children and teenagers began to study. We have never had so many schoolchildren.

A free people have acquired a new democratic system. The revolution has given it to them in the form of Defense Committees of the Sandinista Revolution, a people's militia of armed workers, peasants and students, the thousands-strong Sandinista

Youth, labor unions, the Luisa Amanda Espinoza Association of Nicaraguan Women, and the Association of Rural Workers.

An important gain of our revolution that is also a major contribution to the struggle of the peoples of Latin America is the unity of Nicaraguan revolutionaries, the exemplary unity of Sandinistas and the growing cohesion of the people in mass organizations.

Speaking of unity, it is necessary to point out the collective character of the leadership of our revolution. Nicaragua has an undisputed guiding force — the SNLF National Leadership. We have protected and will continue to protect this body, which expresses the will of the masses. We consider it not only an achievement but also an example to be followed.

ON THE FORMATION OF A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

At the first stage of its existence, during the war against tyranny, the Sandinista Front gained ample experience in guerrilla and insurgent struggle but was not in a position to form an organization meeting all the demands made of a revolutionary party. After victory our vanguard engaged chiefly in building up the state.

Now that the stage of establishing a revolutionary state is essentially over, the time has come to devote much of our effort to the formation of a revolutionary party. Our ultimate task is to found a party on a scientific basis, a party aware of its leading role, inspired by lofty moral principles and equipped with a precise political strategy. This party will not work for partial reforms but will direct its energies toward abolishing all exploitation and economic dependence and paving a revolutionary way for a new society.

This conference is a momentous event in the process of founding a party but we have much work ahead. The changes that will come about in the structure of our party as it develops will mark an intermediate stage, a stage of trial. We do not lay claim to creating an impeccable organization overnight. We shall have enough time to perfect party work. We consider that the important thing is not merely to organize the party but to organize it well.

Needless to say, this is a difficult task. We all lack

*July 19, 1979, the day the Sandinista People's Revolution triumphed. — Ed.

party education and experience of organizing work, and we often act much too spontaneously.

We are facing problems that other revolutions have not faced and this is why our organizational development has its peculiarities. Existing contradictions prompt us to deepen rather than expand organizing work. However, the extent of our

influence is very important too, for our positions in favor of political pluralism demands winning over to our side population groups that reaction may lure away into its own camp unless we succeed in bringing them into the revolutionary process in one form or another.

Barricada, September 16, 1980

We are a Country with A Thousand Nuclear Warheads

**“L’Unita” Interviews Arrigo Boldrini, Member of the ICP Leadership
and Member of the Senate Defense Committee**

Q. Just when Soviet-American talks on the control and reduction in the number of Euromissiles have started in Geneva, with the inevitable delays and reservations, but also with an unquestionable will for success, we are the first in Europe to take yet another step in fulfilling the plan for the deployment of these missiles. Couldn't we have waited, at least, by following the example of the other NATO countries?

A. Indeed, considering that talks are under way in Geneva, we should have said: let us wait for the results, as Belgium, a country as Atlantic as we are, did, and Holland, even before that.

Q. So, once again we are trying to be champions of Atlanticism.

A. Yes, and not for the first time either. A demarcation line has emerged in NATO on the Euromissile issue. It runs between the countries which gave their consent immediately and unconditionally, and the countries which have decided not to make haste, or to refuse to have these new weapons altogether. Among them is Norway, which has demanded a moratorium, Denmark, which has not agreed to the deployment of nuclear weapons on its territory, and Portugal, which has committed itself never to acquire tactical weapons. There is even wider knowledge of the stand taken by Belgium, which has declared that it would await the results of the Geneva talks, and of Holland, which is to review its refusal to deploy Cruise missiles only after one year.

Consequently, within the NATO ranks there has been a split on the weapons issue between the countries of the first and second category.

Q. To which category do we belong?

A. Undoubtedly to the category of “super-Atlanticists.” And this not only over Euromissiles. Italy has already undertaken very serious military commitments. Let me quote some data recently published in the journal *SIPRE*. Something like 600 nuclear warheads for Italian delivery vehicles are located on our territory. In addition, together with the FRG, Greece and Turkey, we have made our territory available for the deployment of a number of nuclear landmines. There is a score of aircraft of the

40th tactical group of the U.S. Air Force at the Aviano military base (which, incidentally, is also to be used for Cruise missiles).

Besides, it is still unknown how many nuclear warheads there are on the warships of the U.S. Sixth Fleet, which is based in Naples. It is not hard to count them, but let us have the above-mentioned authoritative journal do the counting for us. It says: “Even before the decision on the deployment of 112 Cruise missiles was taken, the number of nuclear warheads located on the territory of Italy and on board the warships of the Sixth Fleet in its territorial waters apparently came to about 1,000.”

Q. What are the problems posed by this nuclear super-arming of our country?

A. First of all, complicated and unresolved problems arising from the defense and protection of the civilian population, the very notion of defense of the civilian population is still very vague. Who and from what is to be defended? The bases or the population from atomic bombings? And in what way, considering that the stockpiles of nuclear warheads for Cruise missiles are to be dispersed over an area of 350 sq. km. (judging by press reports which no one has refuted)? All of these are alarming questions, to which no NATO country, let alone ours, has yet come up with an answer.

Q. Do Cruise missiles create special problems with respect to civil defense?

A. Any new weapons system requires highly specialized personnel, supply systems, technical servicing, etc. In this case the following question also arises: who is to provide all these services for the Cruise missiles? We? The Americans? NATO? Depending on the answer, new political, legal, security and other questions naturally arise. But there are other problems as well.

Q. Namely?

A. The most serious problem is the secret agreements which will inevitably be concluded as the new bases are set up. In the military sphere, they have to be concluded willy-nilly. And with the growth of their number (as has been the case in Italy) there is the start of a slide toward the dangerous

"philosophy" of secret agreements, which begins to pose a threat to the country's democratic life.

Q. Can you give us an example?

A. Of course. Secret agreements have been concluded with the Americans over the nuclear-powered submarine base on the island of Maddalena (Sardinia). The agreements signed over the bases set up in Apulia in the 1950s for medium-range nuclear ballistic missiles were so secret that, according to rumor, they were not made known even to the then President of the Republic Giovanni Gronchi. There you have a specimen of truly democratic control! That is, after all, a downright curb on democracy, and in a responsible sphere like the problem of peace or atomic war!

Q. It was rumored that on the Cruise missiles, Italy had demanded a two-key arrangement, that is, a direct say for the Italian government on any decision concerning the possible use of the new missiles. Does the Italian government insist on this, and what do you yourself think about it?

A. For the time being, this question remains unanswered as well. One can merely assert (and here I quote former Defense Minister Ruffini) that "the Cruise missiles belong to the United States" and that the Italian government accepted the NATO decision with respect to possible control over these bases with its eyes closed.

Someone wrote a few days ago that control over the launching pads will be in the hands of the Italians, and that Italy will be given the right to veto the use of the new missiles.

But in what way? What kind of government agency will be responsible for this control? The Supreme Defense Council? The Government? The Prime Minister? And how will the Parliament be able to exercise its own right to control? I have already put these questions to the Defense Minister, but they have remained unanswered. Nor was there any answer to the questions concerning the dangers threatening the country as a result of the new stage of the arms race.

L'Unita, November 16, 1980

The Caravan Marches On

The biased attitude of Western critics who are hostile to socialist countries has always been contradictory. On the one hand, they all but discount us. They deny or play down our achievements and exaggerate our difficulties and mistakes out of all proportion, alleging that our system is nearing its end, that its collapse is inevitable, that it has no inner mainstay and is incapable of democracy, self-criticism and renewal, that it is a militarized bureaucracy run by office-seekers, and that its days are numbered.

If these reports are taken at face value, one is bound to wonder: why the hell do they bother so much about us, why do they devote so much attention to a cause which, they say, is doomed anyway? For it is characteristic, on the other hand, that their interest in our affairs is a real obsession with them.

The number of publications, programs, analyses and theories relating to the socialist world, far from diminishing, has been growing, especially whenever some socialist country — like Poland today — is confronted with grave internal problems and tensions in this or that area.

Naturally, I do not mean those who (thanks to the years of détente and peaceful coexistence) are following the course of events with sympathy and concern, for there are many such people in the Western bourgeois camp as well. I am speaking about those whose statements are patently hostile. As if spell-bound, they seize upon every report, every event which seems to justify their hopes. Whatever happens on our side, they are looking for and, naturally, finding consequences, influences and repercussions of the Polish events. Even such a conflict as the Iraq-Iran war, which effects the Western world in a most vulnerable region, attracts less attention.

In late August, a report was circulated in the Western press that in Hungary, the projected 30 to 50 per cent increase in the prices of alcoholic drinks, coffee, tea and cocoa, among other things, was cancelled "at the last minute" for fear of the "Polish infection." But that the price of coffee was reduced with a view to the price movements on the world market, and not because of the situation in Poland, was not even mentioned by these newspapers. The powerful urge to discover signs of a crisis everywhere is also evident from the way some periodicals "re-carved" a phrase from Sandor Gaspar's interview with *Nepszabadsag*, where he said that "in some of our shops, too, there were work stoppages which lasted for several hours." This was doctored into a report according to which a wave of strikes — "the Polish disease," as the London *Daily Telegraph* put it, had spread over to Hungary. True, the newspaper later published a letter of refutation by Hungary's press attaché.

The prize in this "contest" could perhaps be awarded to *The Guardian*, in which one Hungarian dissident declared that under the influence of the intoxicating "Polish spirit," the policy followed in Hungary with respect to the internal opposition has become more tolerant. The author referred to Janos Kadar's speech at the latest session of the State Assembly, where the First Secretary of the HSWP Central Committee said that we would not seek a confrontation with those who respect the basic gains of our system. Of course, these words had nothing to do with the Polish events, just as another statement by Janos Kadar: "But I would also like to say that our answer to those who come out against the basic gains of socialism will be an old Hungarian saying: 'The echo responds to the call.' We are not seeking a

collision but, if necessary, shall not try to avoid it, for we cannot allow anyone to encroach on the achievements created by the people in long-suffering effort."

In other words, there is no question either of any new "tractability," or a new "toughening up" of the line, of "indecision," or "perplexity." There is no change in the place and role of the trade unions in Hungarian society, and no steps are being taken to switch our state and social system to a new basis, or to suspend our economic and cultural policy. Wherever necessary, we shall modify and develop our concepts, keeping, however, to the methods that have been tested over the past quarter-century.

There is another — and imperative — need: our policy, our efforts to carry out our plans should be more consistent, well-reasoned, methodical and dynamic; we should take more accurate account of the state of affairs in the world economy and domestic conditions, so as better and more efficiently to organize and perform our work, which is an integral part of the socialist community's common cause.

A look at the directives of our sixth five-year plan will show that our tasks are highly specific. Anyone who tries to deduce the goals and targets reflected in this plan from the present situation in Poland, especially as interpreted in the West, would be very much mistaken.

There can be no question of any indecision, confusion, or fear of more difficult and delicate tasks, which, according to the Western press, are characteristic of Hungary's social life. On the contrary, the dominant view is that various concrete questions should now be tackled more resolutely, swiftly and with more unanimity than before. The difficulties that are felt as much in Hungary as in other countries pledge us, wherever necessary, to take bolder and more resolute action, to prevent negative processes, to better pool our forces, and use all available opportunities.

To do this, it is necessary to ensure the rights stemming from socialist democracy, to help people make more active use of these and, at the same time,

to urge more scrupulous fulfillment of duties. There is no need to change the basic principles of our creative socialist work; the point is to ensure their more insistent observance. This is what the present situation requires. To use an apt simile, socialist gains, like machines, must be *kept in good repair*.

We also lived through a critical period, through hard times, from which we drew our lessons. These lessons should be constantly borne in mind, with a critical and self-critical analysis of our work from this angle, for this is also a part of the efforts to keep our gains in order. The demands that should be recalled again and again would make a long list, ranging from strict observance of the norms of party life to the principle that the exercise of power is a service which cannot entail any privileges, that party and state functionaries should sooner demand less than they are entitled to under the law than lay claim even to a little more.

A point to note is that in socialist society, too, the interests of different social sections and groups partially diverge, so that in every new situation we have to pay due regard to the formation of interests and look for the best ways to harmonize them. "Maintaining the equilibrium" naturally includes everything in our policy that we call style of work, whose main goal is an accord based on patient and persevering persuasion, close ties with the masses; one of the conditions here is due regard for public opinion, frankness and analyzing problems, straightforward discussion, and a struggle against unprincipled views. In conditions which will apparently take shape and which, for various reasons, are unlikely to be favorable, special note should be taken of these demands.

Evidently, such is the most correct response to the croaking of crows and barking of dogs raving at the sight of the caravan. We shall march on without slowing down our pace or relaxing our resolve, with confidence in our strength, even if our road has to run across difficult terrain.

P. Reni

Nepszabadsag, November 16, 1980. Abridged

Nationalization in the Strategy of the Multinationals

In all the capitalist countries and in some countries of the Third World, a broad attack is now being mounted on the public and nationalized sector. This attack is part of the imperialist counter-offensive, whose purpose is to make the forces and ideas of progress retreat.

Indeed, in many countries, nationalization and the public sector are an instrument of the people's struggle for social progress and independence. Did not most countries of the Third World choose this way upon winning political independence in order to cement it economically?

Let us note that French capital is moving into the forefront of the attack on nationalization both in France and abroad. The Worms Bank, for instance, has merged with an Argentinian company (Astra), specializing in the privatization of oil output in Argentina.

In Portugal, the attack on this sector, mounted by the Democratic Alliance coalition, is closely tied in with the broad offensive against the gains of the April Revolution. The Portuguese government has begun "improving" the self-governing sector, formed in May 1974, declaring that 60 per cent of its

enterprises are inviable. It wants to return to the private sector the banks, insurance companies, the production of artificial fertilizers and cement, petrochemistry, ferrous metallurgy, and the arms industry. The quasi-official goal is to attract foreign capital to these sectors. It has also undertaken a sweeping review of the agrarian reform enacted in July 1975. The denationalization is, in effect, a weapon in the class struggle, and its goal is to make the Portuguese working people retreat, while the attempts to attract foreign capital amount to a quest for foreign aid in achieving this goal.

In France, too, the attack on the public sector is an encroachment on our people's major gains and achievements.

Indeed, this sector emerged after the country's liberation, when the communists were in the government, and when private capital was deprived of an important part of the key sectors of the economy. The purpose of the public sector was to provide public services (transport, supplies, electric power, etc.). Our country is in a peculiar position in this respect, for the public sector has its own history: it is the product, the result of an anti-capitalist struggle. Where is the proof of that? The working people of this sector have won, together with the nationalization, an advantageous social status, notably in employment, pensions, promotion and even democracy. The status of these workers and employees is a source of resistance, which makes these public enterprises fulfil their purpose. The stability of employment, for instance, guarantees normal public services, while private capital seeks to subordinate these to an ever greater extent. It is, therefore, a matter of an achievement, a guarantee with which capital finds it ever more difficult to reconcile itself, all the more so since in its opinion this status sets a very "bad example" for the other working people. All this should be emphasized to show France's specific feature.

In many other countries, this is not the case. The working people in the public sector often have fewer rights than those in the private sector. In the FRG, for instance, the right to strike in the public sector is strictly regimented. In the USA, the working people of the public sector are workers and employees on the payroll of private enterprises, while temporarily employed by the public sector. They are forbidden to strike. Nevertheless, strikes do take place, for the working people are carrying on a struggle. But during the 11-day strike of public transit workers in New York last April, the public transit workers' unions were fined \$1 million for refusing to order their members to resume work.

France's peculiar situation makes it more difficult for private capital to attack the public sector, the sector our people value.

In Britain, numerous laws have been enacted since the war first on nationalization and then on denationalization, notably, in ferrous metallurgy. Today, Mrs. Thatcher is beginning to denationalize the enterprises that were nationalized by the Labourites in 1974.

There has been no public-private see-saw of this kind in France, where private capital has had to proceed differently, resorting to more subtle maneuvers.

Mrs. Thatcher does not face the problem that confronts Giscard d'Estaing. In Britain, the Labour Party carried out a series of "nationalizations" in 1974, whose ultimate purpose was to put things in order in the private sector. "Nationalization" was coupled with generous compensation (which enabled the British capitalists to switch to the field of finance). Whole industries were broken up and dismembered, profitable enterprises were separated from the less profitable. All these operations were entrusted to representatives of big capital (directors-general of Shell, Courtaulds, etc.). The only thing the Conservatives had to do was to return the major branches of the public sector to private capital, while the rest are slowly decaying amidst public confusion, buffeted by circumstances, and cannot develop because they have been amputated from the essential parts. All this is possible because the working people employed at these enterprises can be dismissed without much difficulty.

Clearly, nationalization in France has little in common with British nationalizations of this type. And it is only natural that the estimated productivity of French public enterprises is twice as high as that of British public enterprises.

In spite of all this, the recent acquisition by ELF-Aquitaine of a large interest in Rhône-Poulenc is roughly similar to the policy followed by the Labourites in 1974. ELF is buying up the least profitable enterprises of Rhône-Poulenc to enable the latter to redeploy and restructure the plastics sector.

Since nationalization in France has the specific features we have pointed out, monopoly capital has never been really happy with it.

Finding it impossible to denationalize openly, just by putting the public capital back into private hands, the government and private business have opted for a strategy of dismantlement and pillage. They aim to divert this sector from its original purpose, at the same time seeking to privatize it.

All this is done for ideological and political reasons, but also in order that the public sector would contribute to private profits.

Ever since the emergence of the public sector, capital has been plundering it to replenish its profits, and on a grand scale: benefits from favorable rates, purchase at high and sale at low prices, the attempts to get the public sector to carry a large share of the costs of the infrastructure and research, from which the giant private enterprises largely benefit without paying any compensation; exploration of foreign markets in the interests of the monopolies; merging of public and monopoly capital in joint subsidiaries; and development of subcontracting. The latter is now developing particularly rapidly.

In the aircraft industry, for instance, Marcel Dassault himself* has become the chief client of the public aerospace enterprises. The share of the national company SNIAS in the production of the

*Owner of a giant company — Ed.

Mirage-II and Mirage-V aircraft is 29 per cent, 28 per cent of the Mirage-FI, 19 per cent of the Mirage-2000, 56 per cent of the Falcon-20, 57 per cent of the Falcon-50, etc.

And vice versa: all the national enterprises have "traditionally" farmed out to the private sector a sizable part of their operations. This applies, in particular, to Electricité de France (EDF), which often entrusts the maintenance of its installations to private firms.

As for the development of joint subsidiaries, this ultimately leads to a dissolution of public enterprises in the private system oriented exclusively upon profit, where public enterprises end up by losing their identity and their original purpose. It sometimes happens that even without denationalization in the strict sense of the word, private capital is injected into public enterprises as, for instance, into national banks. One obvious consequence of this is that these enterprises are deflected from their purpose. But the whole process is not one-sided: private capital now runs into certain contradictions engendered by its policy, which backlash against its profits.

To be able to privatize, one must have something to privatize. Evidently, since the public enterprises are being bled, they are threatened with anemia.

How much longer can EDF finance the superprofits of Alsthom, baron Empain and others? There is well-grounded anxiety over the EDF's ability to continue supplying France with electric power, especially starting from 1984-1985.

Undoubtedly, these problems will affect not only the consumers using low-voltage current. For this reason, the working people employed at public enterprises will have to be subjected to even more intensive exploitation so as to ensure ever greater rechanneling of resources into private profits. Wages also lag well behind average wages. At the same time, temporary employment and development of subcontracting harms the status of these working people.

But other problems also arise. Public enterprises, which lack the resources for their development owing to the systematic plunder and in spite of the intensifying exploitation of the working people, are running into ever greater debt.

While the owners of private capital take advantage of the situation by deriving profit from loans to public enterprises (the French bourgeoisie is known to have an old tradition of investing capital in public loans), some believe that the indebtedness of the state sector rivals their own indebtedness and raises the interest rate. This is one of the reasons why public enterprises have increasingly borrowed on the international monetary market (which provides more than one-third of all the financial resources), so as to avoid competition with private enterprise loans. The consequences are well known: a national debt, poor state of the franc, dependence.

But since the public enterprises nevertheless cannot borrow all their resources on the international money market, they have increasingly resorted to price rises as an important instrument of financing. This is somewhat in contradiction with the interests

of private capital. The repeated increases in public charges entail numerous consequences. First of all, since the consumers' real resources are not growing and their electricity and transport expenses cannot be reduced, the increase in public charges narrows down the markets of private enterprises as they seek to market their products under an austerity program. This cannot be overlooked, because the French spend 12 per cent of their incomes to buy the products of public enterprises.

On the other hand, growing public charges (water, gas, electricity and transport) exasperate the consumers and increase the cost of labor power. The increase in transport fares gives an impulse to the struggle to get the employers to cover the cost of transport.

All this means that the plunder of the public enterprises by organized private capital puts complicated problems before it which it is trying to solve. It cannot do this by easing up or slackening its attacks, but, rather, it will have to make these more sweeping and systematic in order to offset the negative effect of the plunder on the profits themselves.

Other contradictions stem from privatization itself. Indeed, in the course of this process, additional private capital is invested in the economy (in that part of it where public capital alone was present) requiring additional profits (wherever there was a transfer of profits in favor of private capital). In the final count, the plunder not only serves to limit the possibilities of this transfer but the privatization of public enterprises enters into a contradiction with the transfer itself. The owners of private capital joining in the process undoubtedly mean to pocket the profits. On the other hand, the plunder in these conditions ultimately makes it impossible to turn public enterprises into a sort of "indivisible property" of private capital enabling it to sustain the profits of all the investors.

This is demonstrated by ELF and its recent acquisitions. The owners of private capital invested in ELF have nothing at all to gain from taking charge of the less profitable parts of Rhône-Poulenc, while the latter, like the other monopolies, is most interested in having public enterprises at its disposal so as to get rid of its less profitable plants and resolve the profit crisis. On the other hand, it is equally interested in a merger with ELF capital so as to invest a share of its huge profits in that firm.

In other words, this whole policy, whose aim is to make public enterprises profitable and thus to turn them into a source of profits for private firms taking part in them, ultimately runs into contradiction with the profits themselves. This problem must be solved. ELF presents a typical "solution."

Indeed, a veritable restructuring of plastics production is getting under way, which, if nothing is done to prevent this, will amount to the liquidation of enterprises in order to make the operation profitable both for Rhône-Poulenc and for the private capital which are a part of the common capital of ELF.

Similarly, the penetration of private capital (which seeks profit and increases the mass of capital that lays claim to it) into the sphere where public

capital alone was present (like the postal and telephone service) can merely lead to a break-up in order to make room for it. But the urge for adaptation does not stop at that. The monopolies also seek to adapt themselves to the closure of enterprises, notably, by redeploying in other countries.

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French big capital is used to having public capital as the source of a sizable share of its profits. It is used to being supported. And, of course, it cannot be expected to change its parasitic methods at the height of the crisis. It will sooner try to adapt its methods to the situation by reinforcing them. It applies pressure, draws as much as it can from this source and, at the same time, is preparing to see this abundant source run dry. How? Simply by withdrawing and redeploying in other countries.

The most striking example is that of PUK which is not even paying for the fuel for the electric power it produces and is vigorously investing abroad, as if wishing, among other reasons, to avoid the losses it may suffer in the future because of the difficulties and dilapidation it is itself causing in France. This has not prevented it from signing contracts with the Commissariat for Atomic Energy for the development of new types of energy resources.

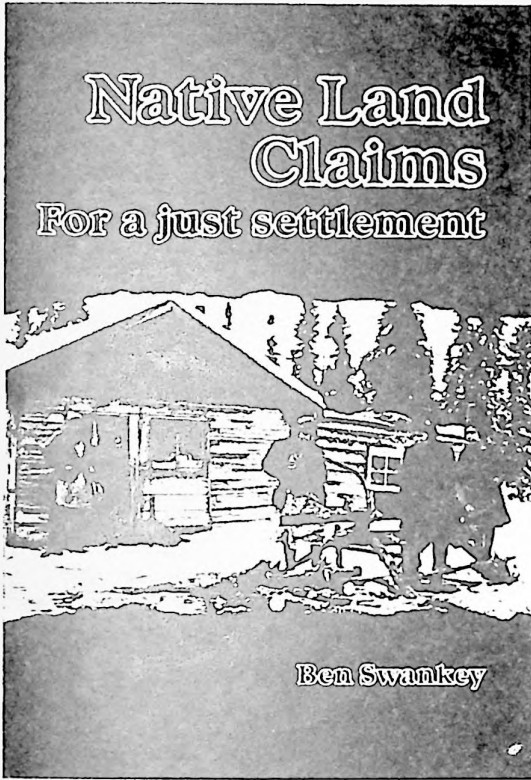
Another mode of adaptation is to demand that public enterprises should encourage redeployment in other countries. The coal industry is undoubtedly the most indicative example. At present, there is a reappraisal of energy sources: coal is staging a comeback. One had the impression that the extraction of competitive French coal would be increased, that the French monopolies would want the coal industry to provide them with French coal. Far from it. The monopolies want the coal industry to help mine coal abroad, to redeploy in other countries. This is precisely what is happening in view of the purchase of mines abroad.

Staking heavily on redeployment abroad, French capital does not want to begin empty-handed, but intends to move there relying on the most advanced technology and achievements. It turns out, however, that much of this sophisticated technology is in the public sector. That is why French capital has recently stepped up its plunder of the public sector, focusing its attention on telematics, power engineering and other modern industries. To do this, it sets up joint enterprises together with public capital, at the same time making large investments in these areas in the USA. A typical example is presented by Rhône-Poulenc, which, while signing contracts with the Commissariat for Atomic Energy in the field of telematics, is at the same time investing in this field in the USA, but not in France.

The renewed offensive of private monopolies against the public sector dovetails nicely with their redeployment strategy. They are cutting up the public sector in order to leave and carry away the best slices. But the specifics of the French public sector raise serious obstacles in their way.

While its nature makes private capital particularly aggressive by putting so many obstacles before it, it also gives the working people, the French citizens, additional trump cards. The communists call on the working people to use these advantages to develop the struggle, to expand and democratize the public sector, helping to fulfil its purpose.

Jean-Louis Gombeaud
Cahiers du Communisme, October 1980



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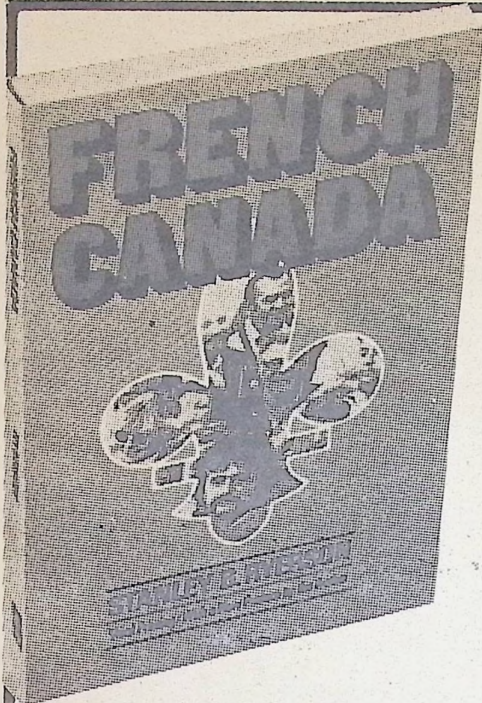
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