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Joint Statement

Adopted by a Meeting of Party and State Leaders of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and the USSR, June 28, Moscow

A meeting of party and state leaders from Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and the Soviet Union took place in Moscow on June 28, 1983. The meeting was attended by:

from the People's Republic of Bulgaria — Todor Zhivkov, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Chairman of the State Council of Bulgaria, head of the delegation; Grisha Filipov, Member of the Politbureau of the BCP Central Committee, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of Bulgaria; Dobri Dzhurov, Member of the Politbureau of the BCP Central Committee, Minister of National Defense of Bulgaria; Pyotr Mladenov, Member of the Politbureau of the BCP Central Committee, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria;

from the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic — Gustav Husak, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, head of the delegation; Lubomir Strougal, Member of the Presidium of the CPCz Central Committee, Chairman of the Government of Czechoslovakia; Vasil Bilak, Member of the Presidium of the CPCz Central Committee, Secretary of the CPCz Central Committee; Bohuslav Chnoupek, Member of the CPCz Central Committee, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Czechoslovakia; Martin Dzur, Member of the CPCz Central Committee, Minister of National Defense of Czechoslovakia;

from the German Democratic Republic — Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Chairman of the State Council of the GDR, head of the delegation; Willi Stoph, Member of the Politbureau of the SUPG Central Committee, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the GDR; Heinz Hoffmann, Member of the Politbureau of the SUPG Central Committee, Minister of National Defense of the GDR; Oskar Fischer, Member of the SUPG Central Committee, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the GDR;

from the Hungarian People's Republic — Janos Kadar, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, head of the delegation; Gyorgy Lazar, Member of the Politbureau of the HSWP Central Committee, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of Hungary; Frigyes Puja, Member of the HSWP Central Committee, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Hungary; Karoly Cserni, Member of the HSWP Central Committee, State Secretary of the Ministry of Defense of Hungary;

from the Polish People's Republic — Wojciech Jaruzelski, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of Poland, head of the delegation; Jozef Czyrek, Member of the Politbureau, Secretary of the PUWP Central Committee; Stefan Olszowski, Member of the Politbureau of the PUWP Central Committee, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Poland; Florian Siwicki, Alternate Member of the Politbureau of the PUWP Central Committee, Deputy Minister of National Defense, Chief of the General Staff of the Polish Armed Forces;

from the Socialist Republic of Romania — Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, President of the Socialist Republic of Romania, head of the delegation; Constantin Dascalescu, Member of the Executive Political Committee of the RCP Central Committee, Prime Minister of the Government of Romania; Constantin Olteanu, Member of the Executive Political Committee of the RCP Central Committee, Minister of National Defense of Romania; Miu Dobrescu, Alternate Member of the Executive Political Committee, Secretary of the BCP Central Committee; Stefan Andrei, Alternate Member of the Executive Political Committee of the RCP Central Committee, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Romania;

from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics — Yuri Andropov, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, head of the delegation; Nikolai Tikhonov, Member of the Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR; Andrei Gromyko, Member of the Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee, First Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR; Dmitry Ustinov, Member of the Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee, Minister of Defense of the USSR.

The participants in the meeting exchanged views on the development of international events lately and adopted the following Joint Statement:

Having jointly analyzed the situation taking shape in Europe and the world as a whole, on behalf of their socialist states, the participants in the meeting express concern about the continuing growth of tension, the further destabilization of inter-state relations and the growth of the threat of nuclear war with its catastrophic consequences. They believe it

necessary to draw the attention of all countries and peoples to these dangers.

The meeting confirmed the evaluations and conclusions concerning the development of the international situation contained in the Political Declaration of the January 5, 1983 Prague meeting of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee.

This applies to the conclusion on the growing resolve of the peoples and of all progressive and peace-loving forces to put an end to the arms race, move over to disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament, and ensure the development of all states in conditions of equality, respect for sovereignty and national independence, and in an atmosphere of cooperation, security and peace.

This also applies to the conclusion of the Prague Political Declaration on the negative factors influencing the state of international relations and aggravating the situation. Of late, these factors have been manifesting themselves with still greater force.

The arms race is becoming unprecedented in scope. The United States and some of its allies make no secret of the fact that their actions are aimed at attaining military superiority. Work is going on to set up bases for the deployment of new U.S. medium-range nuclear missiles in some West European NATO countries. Programs for the manufacture and deployment of new land, sea and air-based strategic nuclear weapon systems are being carried out. Space-based systems for striking at targets in outer space and on the earth are being developed. Fundamentally new conventional arms systems are being created with combat characteristics closely resembling those of mass destruction weapons. Military spending, which bears heavily on the shoulders of the peoples, has been increasing drastically.

In these conditions the participants in the meeting express alarm over the lack of progress at the arms limitation and reduction talks. This concerns the Geneva talks on the limitation of nuclear arms in Europe, on strategic arms limitation and reduction, and also the work of the Geneva Disarmament Committee and the Vienna talks on the mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe.

The participants in the meeting also draw attention to the fact that the whipping up of the arms race is accompanied by statements about a striving for flexibility at the arms limitation and reduction talks and the assertion of the false thesis that the build-up of military might could serve the interests of peace and the security of the peoples. The states represented at the meeting resolutely reject such a policy.

The toughening of the imperialist policy of force and diktat, confrontation between states, consolidation and recarving of "spheres of influence," and the further growth of imperialism's aggressive actions are aggravating the international situation still further. There are more frequent attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of socialist and also many other states, mutually advantageous economic ties are being disrupted, hostile campaigns are being launched against socialist countries, and other methods of pressure are being used. The existing seats of military tension and crisis situations are being further complicated and new ones created in various regions of the world, and there is increasing danger of them spreading. Undeclared wars are being waged against a number of independent states, and foreign military presence, alien to national interests, is being imposed. The just demands for the

establishment of a new world economic order are being rejected and the gap between the levels of economic development of countries continues to deepen.

This entire policy deeply contradicts the vital interests and aspirations of the peoples of Europe and the whole world, which are so vividly manifest in the numerous mass anti-war demonstrations calling for the right of individuals and nations to a free, worthy and peaceful existence, and in the statements by parliaments, scientists, doctors, and representatives of public circles at various international forums such as the World Assembly for Peace and Life, Against Nuclear War recently held in Prague.

The participants in the meeting hold that the situation taking shape places before all states and peoples the question of how to prevent its further dangerous development, to prevent the world from sliding to catastrophe. In the January 5, 1983, Prague Political Declaration the socialist states, represented at this meeting in Moscow, set forth a broad action program directed at lessening international tension and removing the war danger.

The states confirm the meaningfulness and effectiveness of this program and reiterate their opposition to competition in the field of nuclear arms and military rivalry in general. They are firmly convinced that no world problems, including the historical dispute between socialism and capitalism, can be solved by military means.

In the present situation there is a need for urgent measures capable of pushing back the threat of war and turning the course of world events in the direction of détente and improvement of inter-state relations.

The participants in the meeting see a speedy end to the arms race and transition to disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament, as the key question of our time and consider it necessary to do everything for the attainment of these urgent objectives, and for the preservation of peace, civilization and life on Earth. They confirm their readiness to exert every effort to resolve these questions by way of talks.

Elimination of the danger of nuclear confrontation on the European continent is of key significance in this respect. Striving to rid Europe completely of both medium-range and tactical nuclear weapons, the participants in the meeting consider it necessary to work for an accord which would at least rule out the deployment of new U.S. nuclear missiles in West European countries and provide for a corresponding reduction of the existing medium-range weapon systems in Europe in order to ensure parity at the lowest level. Such an accord is possible if both sides display mutual understanding and political will and are guided by the broad considerations of peace and security. It is from these positions that the states represented at the meeting approach the Geneva talks on the limitation of nuclear arms in Europe.

The meeting expressed full support for the Soviet proposals directed at a just reduction of the presently existing medium-range nuclear arms. The participants in the meeting call for every effort to be made to reach an agreement at the talks this year on

the non-deployment in Europe of new medium-range nuclear missiles and on the reduction of existing medium-range weapons, an agreement that would be based on proposals acceptable to both parties.

They are convinced that if both sides strictly observe the principle of equality and equal security, the talks on the limitation and reduction of strategic arms can be put on constructive lines and reach a mutually acceptable accord meeting the interests of the strengthening of universal peace.

The participants believe it necessary to start early talks on prohibiting the placement of all types of weapons in outer space and to rule out the possibility of the arms race spreading to outer space.

The participants in the meeting express the conviction that, in the interests of peace and the security of peoples, it is necessary:

- promptly to freeze the nuclear arms of nuclear powers, the USSR and the USA primarily;
- for the nuclear powers which have not yet done so to assume the commitment not to be the first to use nuclear arms.

The states represented at the meeting once again call on the NATO member-states immediately to open direct talks to reach agreement on the non-increase of military spending starting on January 1, 1984, and on concrete measures for the practical mutual reduction of this spending in the subsequent period so that the means thus released would be used for the needs of economic and social development, including that of developing countries. They express the hope that the NATO states will respond to this appeal.

They also expect consent from the NATO states to start practical consideration of the proposal to conclude a treaty, open to all states in the world, on mutual non-use of military force and on maintenance of relations of peace between the Warsaw Treaty member-states and the member-states of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

The states represented at the meeting come out once again in favor of implementation of the proposals to establish nuclear-free zones in Northern Europe, the Balkans and other regions of the European continent, and in favor of talks on these issues.

Emphasis was laid on the significance of and need for the earliest possible completion of the Madrid forum with positive results meeting the expectations of the European peoples and ensuring the convocation of a conference on confidence-building measures and security and disarmament in Europe, and ensuring continuity of the many-sided process started in Helsinki. This would be an important contribution to affirming the policy of peace, détente and cooperation.

In order to achieve concrete agreements on the burning questions in the area of stopping the arms race and improving the international situation, it is necessary to apply maximum effort, conduct talks in a business-like manner and in a positive spirit, to take steps facilitating the establishment of a favorable atmosphere for the progress of those talks, and not to undertake actions which might complicate them.

The states represented at the meeting strongly reaffirm that they are opposed to any steps leading to the expansion of NATO's sphere of operation or to the establishment of any new military-political groupings. For their part, they declare that they do not seek to expand the sphere of operation of their alliance, nor do they intend to undertake any steps in this direction.

Proceeding from the interests of peace and their security, the states participating in the meeting declare that under no circumstances will they allow the achievement of military superiority over them. They resolutely favor a balance of forces at the lowest level. In this connection they draw attention to the position announced by their supreme state bodies on this issue.

They also reaffirm their principled position that the territorial-political realities in today's Europe are inviolable.

The states represented at the meeting are firmly convinced that peace cannot be consolidated along the lines of the arms race. They are consistent opponents of a spiral of the arms race. Only through the limitation, reduction and destruction of armaments, and measures leading toward general and complete disarmament under strict international control can humankind gain a lasting and secure peace.

Thirty-five states participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe solemnly pledged in the Helsinki Final Act to make détente a continuous, ever more viable and all-round and universal process. They unanimously expressed their striving for better and closer relations among themselves in every area and thereby for overcoming the confrontation stemming from the character of their relations in the past, and for better mutual understanding.

Guided by the letter and spirit of these solemn commitments, the participating states in the meeting will continue to develop their relations with other states on the basis of peaceful coexistence. They call on European countries to do everything necessary to divert the nuclear menace from Europe, and turn Europe into a continent of peace free from both medium-range and tactical nuclear weapons, into a continent where all states would cooperate on the basis of full equality and mutual respect, in the interests of progress and the well-being of their peoples, tranquility, mutual understanding and security in Europe and throughout the world.

They urge the member-countries of the North Atlantic alliance, all countries in the world to make a sober and objective examination of the threatening tendencies in the present development of international relations and reach reasonable conclusions meeting humankind's most profound interests.

They express readiness to pool their efforts with those of all countries, irrespective of their social and political systems, with all who favor consolidation of peace and international security, with a view to taking practical steps capable of averting the worst. No time should be lost in achieving this.

Pravda, June 29, 1983

Joint Statement by the Delegations of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the French Communist Party

Talks took place in Moscow on July 12, 1983, between a delegation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, led by Yuri Andropov, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and a delegation of the French Communist Party, headed by George Marchais, General Secretary of the French Communist Party.

The delegation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was made up of B.N. Ponomarev, alternate member of the CPSU CC Political Bureau and Secretary of the CPSU CC, A.M. Alexandrov, CPSU CC member, assistant to the General Secretary of the CPSU CC, V.V. Zagladin, CPSU CC member, first deputy head of the International Department of the CPSU CC, and Yu.I. Zuyev, section head of the International Department of the CPSU CC.

The French Communist Party delegation was made up of Maxime Gremetz, member of the Political Bureau, Secretary of the FCP Central Committee, Guy Hermier, member of the FCP Political Bureau, and Jean-Francois Gau and Jean-Francois Meyer, members of the FCP Central Committee.

The meeting was held within the framework of the relations of solidarity between the two parties, which have been developing on the basis jointly worked out in 1980, and reaffirmed the appraisals of the trends in the development of the international situation made at that time.

The two parties focused their attention on the primary concern of all nations of the world: peace and disarmament.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and French Communist Party delegations adopted the following statement as a result of the talks:

The international situation is of profound concern. Humankind is confronted with the threat of nuclear war with all its catastrophic consequences for modern civilization and for life itself on our planet.

The present stockpiling of a vast amount of armaments, and especially nuclear weapons, constitutes a terrible menace. It creates the danger of the annihilation of the whole of humankind. It arouses indignation because it devours colossal funds at a time when hundreds of millions of people, including children, are suffering from hunger, poverty, epidemics and economic backwardness.

This monstrous escalation must be stopped! The funds squandered to prepare death must be placed at

the service of life, progress and development! This is the demand voiced by increasing numbers of men, women and young people despite all the differences in their convictions and beliefs.

The threat to peace is generated by the drive of the more aggressive circles of world imperialism to halt at all costs the process of the peoples' social and national liberation. It is this very drive that leads to the dangerous acceleration of the arms race and gives rise to the desire on their part to change the alignment of forces in the international arena in their favor.

It is common knowledge that other political forces make a different analysis of the present situation. However, it is the view of both parties that this can and must never be an obstacle to joint efforts by the broadest social, political and public forces in the struggle for universal peace.

The emergence on each continent of innumerable forces defending the right to live in peace is a new historical factor and a great chance for humankind. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the French Communist Party express their profound satisfaction with the unprecedented scope of the struggle of the peoples of the world. Being of the belief that peace is the most precious asset, they affirm their common intention to act without any preconditions together with all men and women of good will and with all forces wishing to do so, for peace, disarmament, security and friendship among all nations.

The year 1983 is of special importance in this respect. If the NATO deployment of new U.S. missiles in Europe eventually goes ahead as planned, this will precipitate a new dangerous escalation of the arms race.

The CPSU and FCP delegations are of the belief that the main thing in the existing situation is to avert the threat of war, turn world developments toward détente and resolve the urgent key problems of ending the arms race as soon as possible and affecting disarmament. One of today's vital demands is to stop the nuclear arms build-up, and to embark on the road of a balanced reduction of armaments, taking into account all armaments existing both in the East and in the West.

In Europe, where the most devastating and lethal wars broke out in the past and which already has enough means to wipe out all living things many times over, far from adding new weapons, it is necessary to start reducing those armaments which already exist.

The peoples of the USSR and France suffered during the two world wars and sustained heavy losses. The CPSU and FCP delegations state that Europe should not be turned into a battlefield again, less so into one where nuclear weapons are used. Such a possibility must be resolutely excluded.

Both delegations stress the importance of the numerous proposals made by the socialist countries, the non-aligned movement, neutral states, the North European countries and various political organizations supporting peace and disarmament, proposals which, if taken into consideration, could facilitate progress in this direction.

The CPSU delegation reaffirmed all the proposals made at the recent Moscow meeting of the party and state leaders of seven socialist countries and aimed to reduce both nuclear arms in Europe and strategic arms, and to exclude the possibility of the arms race extending to outer space. A simultaneous quantitative and qualitative freeze by the nuclear powers of all their nuclear armaments would be a big step in this direction. The CPSU delegation drew attention to the socialist countries' new proposal to the NATO states immediately to start direct talks to reach agreement on a non-increase in military spending beginning January 1984 and on concrete measures for its practical mutual reduction in the following period.

Both parties confirmed their striving to work for simultaneous disbandment of the blocs, and for universal and controlled disarmament.

Each of the two parties is ready to act jointly with all who wish to do so, with all governments, trade union, public, political and religious forces, and with all peoples in the interests of reaching agreement in Geneva.

Such is the goal of the French Communist Party's proposal to deblock the Geneva talks and facilitate their positive conclusion: to open those talks to all interested governments, i.e., to all European governments. In this regard, the FCP is of the opinion that steps acceptable to all could be taken in an attempt to reduce armaments to the lowest possible level while maintaining the balance of forces and guaranteeing the security of each people and each state.

On this last point the French Communist Party delegation recalled that France has enough of a nuclear force to safeguard its security and independence. This force cannot be the subject of negotiations aimed at reducing it. Of course, this problem could be raised if concrete steps toward gradual disarmament were taken, steps guaranteeing the parity of forces in Europe and the world, and each country's security.

At the same time the French Communist Party believes that since France is a member of the North Atlantic Treaty and as such has the commitments which that implies, its nuclear force must be taken into consideration within that framework when the sum total of the forces existing in Europe is estimated.

The CPSU delegation expressed interest in the considerations voiced by the FCP. It reiterated the known Soviet stand in line with which France's nu-

clear arsenal should be taken into account when an appropriate balance is made of the nuclear armaments in Europe, which is not tantamount to a demand to reduce that arsenal.

Both parties are of the belief that the conclusion of the Madrid meeting, and above all the agreement to convene a conference on confidence-building measures, security and disarmament in Europe, will be an important positive result.

They reiterated their resolve to promote political settlement of all conflicts on the basis of respect for sovereignty, independence and equality of each state, and also non-interference and each country's right to security.

It is necessary to do everything possible to ease international tension and promote peaceful co-existence and progress along the road of détente and disarmament.

The two delegations also touched on the dramatic situation of the peoples of many developing countries. At the end of the 20th century 40 million people, half of them children, starve to death every year, and some 500 million people suffer from malnutrition. The world's military expenditure is 20 times greater than government aid to the developing countries.

This insult to human dignity must be ended.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the French Communist Party decided to increase efforts to respond to the appeal of these nations, an appeal which strongly resounded at the recent non-aligned summit. They declare with utmost clarity that at the present time progress and development, national liberation and social and human emancipation are inseparable from resolute struggle for peace and disarmament. In the same spirit, they are working for extensive international cooperation, making it possible to advance toward the new international order advocated by the peoples.

The delegations of the two parties stress that every people is free to build the society of its choice and that some peoples are building a socialist society, proceeding from the different realities and great diversity of conditions in their countries, and tackling the concrete problems they face. The conservative forces do not want to accept this. Opposing every progressive idea, they strive to present in distorted form the realities of these societies, which are in the process of formation.

The delegations of the two parties state that anti-communism in any form runs against the interests of universal peace.

The current ideological warfare which the aggressive quarters of imperialism are waging to justify their policies is nevertheless unable to conceal the fact that at present every people and every state, irrespective of its social system, needs peace. Without peace, security, disarmament and friendship among peoples it is impossible to ensure progress, justice, democracy and freedom, and guarantee and broaden human rights.

That is why the French Communist Party and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union stand for new relations of international cooperation, and for the

development of mutually advantageous exchange between states.

The two parties are convinced that concord, friendship and cooperation between the French and Soviet peoples, between France and the USSR, serve peace and security in Europe and the world at large.

These relations have deep historical roots. Steeled in the grim years of the Second World War, the relations between our peoples and countries can develop further on the basis of the important results already achieved.

The CPSU and the FCP expressed the opinion that at the current stage of bilateral relations the emphasis should be laid on the approach dictated by the interests of peace and security in Europe. This presupposes necessary efforts on both sides to make

the most effective use of the existing diverse possibilities for cooperation on the basis of mutual advantage and in the interests of the peoples of the two countries.

Experience has already proved the advantages of such cooperation in the economic, political, cultural, scientific and technical fields. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the French Communist Party believe that new possibilities exist for the development of this cooperation on a bigger scale.

The two parties expressed satisfaction with the ties of friendship and internationalist solidarity that bind them and agreed to promote their fruitful cooperation in the struggle for their great common aims.

L'Humanité, July 13, 1983

Novoye Vremya, July 22, 1983

congresses & plenary meetings

Lesotho: Socialism — the Bright Future of Humankind

From the Program of the Communist Party of Lesotho

The program of the CP Lesotho was adopted on May 1, 1982, by the sixth congress of the party.

Lesotho is a country entirely surrounded by the racist Republic of South Africa. Its present area is 30,344 square kilometers and it has a population of about 1.5 million. After years of a protracted national liberation struggle against imperialism and its ally, South African racist colonialism, Lesotho achieved political independence in 1966, thus ending 98 years of British colonial rule.

In its first program adopted in 1962, the Communist Party of Lesotho called for the building of a united front of all classes and social groups of the Basotho people in the interest of the national liberation struggle against colonial rule and for the achievement of national independence. In this, its second program, the Communist Party of Lesotho sets out the tasks of all patriotic, democratic and progressive forces of Lesotho in the struggle against imperialism and neocolonialism in general and, more particularly, against South African neocolonialism, for the consolidation of national independence, the achievement of democracy, economic development and social progress.

I. SOCIALISM

THE BRIGHT FUTURE OF HUMANKIND

The Great October Socialist Revolution ushered in a new era in the history of humankind and opened a new epoch of the transition from capitalism to socialism on a worldwide scale.

The Russian revolution having brought about a

colossal breach in the world capitalist system created favorable conditions for the development of the revolutionary process throughout the world. As a result of the victory of people's revolutions in a number of European, Asian and Latin American countries, the world socialist system emerged.

The general crisis of world capitalism which began with the victory of the Russian revolution was also manifested in the collapse of the colonial system of imperialism.

The national liberation movement began as the struggle of the colonially oppressed peoples for the abolition of colonial regimes and the establishment in their place of sovereign national states. However, the achievement of political power alone does not signify the end of colonial exploitation. Through the system of neocolonialism and the international capitalist division of labor, imperialism continues to retain the newly independent countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America in a dependent situation in the world capitalist economy as objects of economic exploitation by the multinational corporations as well as spheres of political and ideological influence and domination. This situation is mostly prevalent in the countries where the liberation movement was led by the bourgeoisie or petty-bourgeois classes and the national states established after independence have developed along the line of a dependent neocolonial capitalism.

However in those African, Asian and Latin

American countries where the national liberation movement was led by the working class, the revolutionary process has continued and the liberation movement has acquired a new social content. The states of people's democracy that have emerged after the acquisition of independence have opted for socialism as a path of political development. Genuine political and economic liberation in Africa, Asia and Latin America is impossible without the dismantling of the imperialist system of neocolonialism, hence, anti-capitalism has become an essential feature of the modern national liberation movement.

The world socialist system headed by the Soviet Union, the national liberation movement and the working-class movement are the three main revolutionary forces of our times, natural allies in the struggle against the common enemy — international imperialism.

All countries will in different ways and times reach socialism and communism — the bright future of humankind. This is the objective law of the development of human society. Communism is a classless society of self-governing people with public ownership of the means of production and full social equality of all its members. Under communism labor becomes the primary necessity and duty of everyone. As a result of the all-round development of the productive forces, public wealth will gush forth abundantly and the great principle, "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs," will be implemented.

II. LESOTHO'S LIBERATION STRUGGLE

Prior to the ending of classical colonial rule and the proclamation of Lesotho as an independent state, the country had experienced a long period of class formation, emergence of political parties and an intense political struggle against British colonialism for national independence. Although the Progressive Association (KTL) had existed as early as 1907 as the political organization of the embryonic commercial class and intelligentsia, the real beginning of the liberation movement must be traced to the founding of Lekhotla la Bafo in 1913 as a peasant-based organization with a general democratic program.

The Progressive Association and Lekhotla la Bafo could not cope with the complex tasks of the liberation movement in the period following the Second World War and thus their decline and the emergence of the Basotholand African Congress (later named the Basotholand Congress Party) in 1952 as a mass liberation movement encompassing all classes of the Basotho nation — workers, peasants, traders, intellectuals and chiefs, under the leadership of intellectuals and the middle class. However, the very mass character of the BCP as an alliance of different classes each with its own class interests led to the crisis of the national movement and subsequent split into different class parties.

The end of the 1950s and the beginning of the 1960s ushered in a new phase of the crisis, disintegration and collapse of the colonial system of imperialism. In 1960 alone, the "year of Africa," 19

African states achieved political independence, a source of stimulus for other countries still under the colonial yoke. In colonial Basotholand, the 1960s were marked by the entry of the working class into the political arena with strikes by workers for higher wages and student strikes for a democratic educational system, both actions coupled with demands for political independence.

The founding of the Communist Party of Lesotho (CPL) in 1962 as the Marxist-Leninist vanguard of Lesotho's working class was an important milestone in the history of the liberation and working-class movements of the country. The CPL became the first political organization of colonial Basotholand to characterize the main enemy of the Basotho people as British imperialism and its ally, South African racist colonialism. It demanded, unequivocally, the return of Basotho territory illegally occupied by South Africa and demanded the immediate granting of independence for Lesotho by the British. The CPL called for the formation of a united front of all political forces of the Basotho people regardless of class affiliation or ideological differences. The CPL further advocated close relationship and solidarity with the South African liberation and revolutionary movement headed by the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party as well as with the international working-class and communist movement.

III. LESOTHO'S SOCIETY AND THE DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION

Lesotho is essentially a neocolonial society in which, under the conditions of political independence and state sovereignty, the country's natural and human resources continue to be exploited by foreign capital interests in a typically colonial fashion. Imperialism does not only retain a grip on the national economy but also exercises a dominant influence on the political and ideological life of the country.

A special feature of the capitalist-oriented development since independence is the accelerated growth of bureaucratic capital. Unlike the national bourgeoisie, the bureaucratic bourgeoisie is inherently parasitic and anachronistic in its source of capital accumulation in that it resorts to institutionalized corruption and the looting of the public treasury. Because of its close alliance with imperialism, it constitutes the chief internal enemy of Basotho workers and peasants and is an obstacle to social progress.

The capitalist-oriented path of development that has been followed in Lesotho since independence has failed to overcome the socio-economic underdevelopment inherited from colonialism and has led neither to the development of the internal economic base nor to the economic independence of the country.

Lesotho remains a classic case of *socio-economic underdevelopment*. *Agriculture* is the main and yet stagnant sector of the economy. About 90 per cent of the people reside in the rural areas. Most of the peasants are so poor that they cannot cultivate their own land. The development of agrarian capitalism in

Lesotho is encouraged by government land policy and has accelerated the growth of a landless peasantry. The Communist Party recognizes the extensively low level of productivity of small-scale peasant farming. However, the party rejects the view that the capitalist path of development in agriculture is a means of raising productivity of agriculture since such a path would entail disastrous social consequences of mass expropriation of peasant land. Instead, the party proposes that large-scale farming be developed on a cooperative basis with state support and assistance.

Industry accounts for about five per cent of the gross domestic product and consists mainly of handicrafts and small-scale packaging units relying on imported raw or semi-processed materials. The small-scale diamond mining operations are controlled by foreign capital. Trade is dominated by a few South African and British firms. South Africa is the main supplier of Lesotho's manufactured goods and the largest importer of the country's agricultural and raw material exports.

The financial system of the country is dominated by two British banks and other foreign insurance companies which, on the whole, act as vehicles for the drain of Basotho deposits for investment in South Africa. The *tourist* industry is likewise largely in the hands of foreign capital.

Because of the slow rate of industrial growth, job opportunities inside the country grow at a slower rate than the growth of the labor force as a result of which the bulk of the male labor force seeks employment in South African mines, farms and industry. By the beginning of the 1980s about 200,000 Basotho were estimated to be employed in South Africa, the cash remittances of the migrant workers accounted for the greater portion of the Gross National Product.

Social services are inadequately developed and inequitably distributed among the various classes. Wages are exceedingly low and pensions are nonexistent for the bulk of the workers. Both education and medical services are expensive. The tax system remains as punitive as it was first imposed by the former colonial administration.

Lesotho is ripe for a *national democratic revolution* directed at the replacing of neocolonialism with a state of revolutionary democracy led by workers and peasants which will follow a path of development toward socialism. International imperialism in general, and South African racist imperialism in particular, is the main enemy of the Basotho people, hence the national character of the revolution being directed first at the ending of all forms of imperialist domination and the building of a state of national democracy with an independent national economy. Because imperialism depends on the local reactionary forces for the implementation of its policy of neocolonialism Lesotho's revolution is also democratic in character as it aims to eliminate all forms of control of the economy and political power by pro-imperialist, comprador and bureaucratic forces and seeks to transfer all power to the people. Underdevelopment cannot be overcome and socio-economic development cannot be achieved so long as a

country follows a capitalist-oriented path of development and occupies a position of an appendage of the world capitalist system.

The strategic objectives of the national democratic revolution can only be achieved on the basis of a *National Democratic Front* of all the anti-imperialist and patriotic forces of the Basotho people.

The peasantry, the largest single class in the country is the object of brutal exploitation by both foreign and internal capital through the price mechanism of unequal exchange between peasant produce and manufactured goods. Being the most exploited class it is the natural ally of the working class in the national democratic revolution.

The working class constitutes a small section of the population and it is concentrated in the spheres of exchange, the services, the public service, mining and construction activities. The working class receives extremely low wages. The bulk of them have no paid sick leave, pension or old age benefits.

The petty-bourgeoisie occupies a position between the bourgeoisie and the working class. Its activities are confined, on the whole, to the spheres of exchange, real estate and services and its growth is held back by the domination of foreign capital, hence its anti-imperialist sentiments. Since independence, the position of the petty-bourgeoisie has not improved to the extent of its expectations, hence it finds itself locked in conflict with foreign capital and becomes, objectively, a potential ally of the workers and peasants in the national democratic revolution.

The Communist Party of Lesotho regards as its central task in the national democratic revolution the creation of a broad and durable National Democratic Front of all anti-imperialist and patriotic forces of the Basotho people, namely, workers, peasants, revolutionary intelligentsia, youth, students, women, trade unionists, teachers, civil servants as well as patriotically minded sections of the petty bourgeoisie, chiefs, clergy, officers and individuals ready and willing to join the struggle for the creation of an independent, constitutional, democratic, peaceful, prosperous and non-aligned Lesotho taking an independent path of development toward social justice and progress.

South African imperialism is playing an increasingly growing and important role in the global strategy of international imperialism headed by the United States of America. An alliance has emerged between the major imperialist powers on the one hand and the racist regime in South Africa on the other to use and to channel the economic and military potential of the Republic of South Africa, built with the support of the imperialist powers, to suppress the onward advance of the liberation movement, to destabilize the independent states of Southern Africa and to impose a neocolonial solution on all unresolved colonial questions of the area.

Lesotho is already experiencing and feeling the crudest aspects of South Africa's hegemony and interventionism in the sub-continent. The Republic of South Africa is not only applying political, economic and military pressure on Lesotho in an attempt to force the country to abandon its attempts at

pursuing an independent foreign policy, but it is also blatantly interfering in the country's internal political struggle by supporting collaborationist groups in an attempt ultimately to impose a bantustan-type solution on Lesotho's internal political crisis.

The Communist Party of Lesotho believes that South African intervention and aggression in Lesotho can and will be defeated only by a *broad front of National Resistance* including all patriotic forces of the Basotho people and relying on the international solidarity of progressive and peace-loving forces of the world, the socialist community states, the working-class movement, the national liberation movement, progressive states of Africa, the oppressed people of South Africa, the United Nations and international public opinion.

IV. IMMEDIATE AIMS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF LESOTHO

The ultimate aim of the Communist Party is the establishment of the power of the working class and the building of a socialist society. Since, however, the present phase of Lesotho's revolution is a democratic and not a socialist one, the party sets itself the main task of replacing the state of neocolonialism with a state of revolutionary democracy.

The *state of revolutionary democracy* is a transitional form of state power with a wide social and political base of national democratic and anti-imperialist forces of the people including workers, peasants and patriotic sections of the bourgeoisie and intelligentsia. In this connection, the party advances the following immediate aims for the establishment of a state of national democracy in Lesotho.

1. POLITICAL DEMOCRACY

(a) In order to restore constitutional rule and political stability in the country, the party proposes the policy of general democratization of the political life of the country, that is, the reinstatement of all democratic liberties, including freedom of speech, thought, religion, movement, organization, publication and the right to elect and to be elected to the government of the country.

(b) The party proposes the formation of a government composed of freely elected representatives of all anti-imperialist and patriotic parties and organizations ready and willing to work for the consolidation of national independence, and the defense of state sovereignty against South Africa's racist intervention.

(c) The government should draft a constitution which shall be presented for approval by the people at a national referendum.

(d) The government formed by a democratically elected National Assembly shall hold office in accordance with the constitution and be responsible and accountable to the National Assembly.

(e) Democratic rule will be safeguarded by a popular state apparatus of armed forces, the judiciary and all other institutions and bodies created for service to the people, defense of the constitution, national independence, territorial integrity and the state sovereignty of Lesotho.

2. NATIONAL ECONOMY

(a) In order to overcome socio-economic underdevelopment, reduce economic dependence on South Africa and ultimately build an independent national economy in Lesotho, the party proposes the establishment of national control over all the natural resources of the country.

(b) There will be built and developed a *state sector* under democratic management and control in all the key branches of the national economy: mining, industry, financial and credit system, foreign trade, construction, transport and communications, and energy supply.

(c) The state will encourage the establishment of *mixed companies* with the participation of national capital under democratic management and control.

(d) Economic planning will be extensively used to speed up economic development, especially through industrialization and the development of agricultural cooperatives. Internal job opportunities will be speedily created.

(e) The people's state will strive for the reduction and ultimate elimination of the country's lop-sided dependence on the world capitalist economy in general and the South African economy in particular and for the *diversification of the external economic relations of Lesotho*, for economic cooperation with independent African states in Southern Africa and the active participation in the struggle for the restructuring of international economic relations.

3. SOCIAL WELL-BEING

The democratic government will ensure fair prices for produce for the peasants, living wages for the workers, free and universal education for youth and students, equitable terms of service for intellectuals, teachers and civil servants, paid maternity leave and child care for working mothers, and work for the unemployed.

(a) There shall be introduced a minimum living wage for all sectors, and pension schemes will be extended to include all categories of workers. Disabled and old-age benefits shall be introduced. Price control will be instituted and the standard of living of the people raised.

(b) Health services will be extended and made more accessible to the people.

(c) The regressive and punitive taxation system shall be abolished and a *progressive tax system* introduced. The state shall assume responsibility for the provision of housing.

4. FOREIGN POLICY

(a) The democratic state will pursue an independent foreign policy of *non-alignment*, peaceful coexistence and the establishment of diplomatic relations with all states regardless of their socio-political system in accordance with the principles of equality, independence, territorial integrity, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, non-aggression, and mutual aid.

(b) Democratic Lesotho will support the *liberation movements* of the peoples against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism and all vestiges of racism.

(c) The people's government will work for the defense of world peace, for détente, disarmament, and for the solution of all international disputes through negotiation.

V. THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF LESOTHO

The founding of the Communist Party of Lesotho on the 5th of May, 1962 as an independent political organization of Lesotho's workers and peasants was the result of the objective process of socio-economic development inside the country.

The Communist Party of Lesotho has since its foundation consistently marched in the vanguard of the struggle of the Basotho people against colonialism and neocolonialism, for national liberation, democracy and social progress.

The experience of developing countries shows that after the achievement of political independence, and as the national democratic revolution deepens and assumes an anti-capitalist orientation, the bourgeoisie and its political parties tend to compromise with imperialism and betray national interests, hence the growing need for a Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the working class, strong enough to lead the people's revolution against neocolonialism to final victory.

The building of a strong Communist Party, with branches throughout the country and with strong links with the masses, is the main organizational task of the Lesotho communists. This vanguard party must be built on the tested Leninist principles of a party of a new type. Membership in this revolutionary party should be drawn primarily from among the

ranks of *workers and peasants* to ensure the purity of the class basis of the working-class party.

Members of the party are required to master the basic and general principles of *scientific socialism*, the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin, and learn to apply them creatively to the specific conditions of Lesotho. In the ideological sphere, the Communist Party of Lesotho sets itself the task of struggle on two fronts, against both "right" and "left" opportunism, against revisionist and dogmatic deviations from creative Marxism-Leninism, against Trotskyism, Maoism and all other bourgeois ideological trends alien and hostile to Marxism-Leninism.

The main organizational principle of the Communist Party, democratic centralism, shall be strictly adhered to in inner-party life; ideological and organizational unity of the party will be defended against all forms of factionalism, and collective leadership will be cultivated at all levels of party organization.

Internationalism remains the fundamental principle of the communist outlook and is not and cannot be incompatible with revolutionary patriotism, that is, love for and readiness to defend one's country and the fundamental interests of its working people.

Members of the Communist Party will always be educated in the spirit of international solidarity of the three main revolutionary forces of our times — the socialist community of states, the national liberation movement and the working-class movement. Close ties and relations of friendship and solidarity have always been maintained and will continue to be maintained by the Communist Party of Lesotho with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and other fraternal communist, workers' and revolutionary-democratic parties and organizations throughout the world. The Communist Party of Lesotho will continue as before to fight for the unity of the international communist and working-class movement on the basis of the inviolable principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The Communist Party of Lesotho will continue to work for the cooperation and alliance with other political parties and democratic organizations in Lesotho within the framework of a National Democratic Front and on the basis of a general anti-imperialist and democratic common platform, which may include the restoration and defense of political democracy and constitutional rule, the building of an independent national economy, the improvement of the social well-being of the people, the pursuance of an independent foreign policy and the defense of national independence, state sovereignty and territorial integrity regardless of ideological differences.

Within such an alliance and common program of the democratic revolution, the Communist Party will retain its ideological and organizational independence as the representative of the working class. The party will also work for the establishment and strengthening of mass and democratic organizations, the trade unions, peasant associations, youth, student, women, professional, peace and solidarity organizations.

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Israel: On the Political Situation and the Upcoming Elections to Local Organs of Power

Communiqué on a CC Plenary Meeting, CP Israel

An enlarged plenary meeting of the Central Committee, CP Israel, was held in Haifa on June 17 and 18 to consider the party's preparations for the upcoming elections to the local organs of power on October 25, 1983.

The meeting was opened and chaired by Meir Vilner, CPI General Secretary. At the beginning, the participants stood in silence in memory of Yehuda Unger, member of the CPI Political Bureau. Meir Vilner then said: "It is more than a year now since the start of the Lebanese war. We find that our party's assessments have proved to be correct: the government has failed to achieve its political goals, and the popular resistance to the war has intensified." He emphasized the role of the CPI and the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality, which operate among the masses and in parliament, in stepping up the struggle for a total withdrawal from Lebanon and a solution of the Palestinian problem through the formation of an independent Palestinian state under PLO leadership. Vilner came out against the agreement with Lebanon, against its humiliating terms. "Israel's rulers," he said, "have demanded and obtained 'security zones' on Lebanese territory. In actual fact, it is not they but the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples who need such zones, which should be located in Israel rather than Lebanon, while Israel's security can be ensured only by setting up an independent Palestinian state under PLO leadership and solving the refugee problem in accordance with UN resolutions."

Vilner pointed out the importance of the elections to the local organs of power, their political nature as a part of the struggle against the war and occupation. He denounced the line followed by the leadership of the Israel Labor Party, which, instead of opposing the Likud party, has been fighting against the local organizations of the Front. He urged CPI members to join efforts with all of their friends and allies within the Front so as to strengthen the gains that have been attained and make further headway.

Tawfiq Toubi, Deputy General Secretary of the CPI, gave a detailed report on the political situation and the ongoing electoral campaign. He pointed out that the international situation is marked by the general crisis of capitalism and the USA's imperialist line aimed at frustrating international détente and intensifying the arms race, something which calls for special vigilance on the part of the world's peace forces led by the Soviet Union and the socialist community. Toubi then noted that Israel's rulers failed to achieve the goals of the aggressive war they unleashed against Lebanon, and spoke highly of the heroic resistance put up by the Lebanese and the

Palestinians and the mounting popular resistance in Israel itself. He saluted all the anti-war forces, led by the Committee Against the War in Lebanon, and the soldiers who have refused to serve in that country.

"Our party will support any initiative," Toubi said, "aimed to overthrow the government, disband the 10th Knesset, and hold new general elections."

Toubi analyzed the main lines of the party's electoral preparations, saying that the aim is to deepen the democratic foundations of the local authorities, unburden the local organs from the need to finance government services, and put an end to the discrimination against Arab administrative organs and the Arab population. He spoke highly of the considerable achievements scored by Front-led local authorities, and noted the importance of unity among the Arab administrative organs represented on the Front committee. He also stressed the exceptional importance of unity with the Front's Arab members on the basis of a common concern for progress and of equality in the struggle against discrimination and national oppression.

Toubi denounced the activities of the Israel Labor Party and called it the Front's chief adversary in the elections to the Arab administrative organs. He exposed the splinter character of some elements which support the government and are in open or secret collusion with it, like the "Progressive Movement" group in En Nasira. He urged the need to strengthen the local sections of the Front, to consolidate and expand them under a common program in the interests of the masses. He pointed out the close links between local and country-wide struggle, between local and national problems. Toubi called on all CPI and Youth Organization members to join forces with their Front allies in order to isolate the policy of the Likud party and the splinter elements and enable the people to maintain the positions won by the Front and further strengthen these for the benefit of the people and the struggle for equality, democracy and a just peace.

There was also a lively debate on the activities of Front members in different towns and villages, with representatives of diverse local organizations, exchanging experience in rallying the population and boycotting the policy of the authorities.

Meir Vilner and Tawfiq Toubi summed up the results of the debate and emphasized the importance of unity among CPI members and durable cooperation with their allies. The meeting called on all CPI members and supporters, on Front activists in all towns and villages to rally together for a victory in the elections to the local organs of power.

Al-Ittihad,
June 19, 1983

Toward the 23rd Convention of the Communist Party USA

CPUSA Central Committee Plenary Meeting

With appeals for "all people's unity" in the struggle for jobs and peace, leaders of the Communist Party USA last weekend opened debate on the main draft resolution to be presented to the party's 23rd national convention in Cleveland, November 10-13.

Members of the CPUSA's Central Committee, National Council and invited guests crowded the Unity Center at the party's national headquarters for three days of intense discussion of the draft resolution.

"The central challenge facing our people today," the resolution states, "is the reversal of the disastrous course of war and nuclear confrontation, the monopoly-corporate anti-people, anti-labor, racist offensive that is aggressively pursued by the Reagan administration." The resolution debunks the frenzied White House proclamations of "economic recovery," declaring that "the cuts in workers' wages, in social security programs, the crisis of the cities, plant closings, the decline in overall quality of life, has escalated the overall crisis to new qualitative levels and has escalated the mass upsurge . . . The economy continues to be ravaged by both short-range cyclical as well as the longer-range general crisis . . . Unemployment will continue at crisis levels."

GUS HALL OPENS UP DISCUSSION

CPUSA General Secretary Gus Hall, in his opening remarks, called on the party to "concretize" the discussion of the anti-Reaganite fightback, "to bring the pre-convention discussion down to earth, to the nitty gritty."

He warned that "the threat of nuclear war is a clear and present danger" and could be ignited by Reagan-instigated "local" wars against Nicaragua, Lebanon, or by collusion in South Africa's genocidal military aggressions.

Hall criticized Congress for refusing to stop Reagan's illegal wars and said preparations to bring hundreds of thousands of demonstrators to the August 27 March on Washington for Jobs, Peace and Freedom "become even more important" because of the war danger.

Discussing the party's work, Hall said that most of its weaknesses could be traced to the tendency to "evade, replace, downgrade, ignore, or minimize" the leading role of the working class in the struggle for progress. The party has succeeded, in recent years, in re-establishing "the class question in our party," he noted.

The draft resolution states clearly, he continued, the necessity to "struggle for unity of our multi-racial, multinational working class" in the face of Reagan's unprecedented racist offensive.

Hall discussed non-class concepts that have arisen within the people's movement that challenge the

principle of multiracial, multinational class unity. The party, he said, must defend the truth that Afro-Americans, other oppressed minorities, and white wage-earners, women and men, constitute one class. "Anything that is divisive must be rejected and fought," he said.

HENRY WINSTON ON UNITY

CPUSA National Chairman Henry Winston elaborated on this concept. He told the gathering that the concept promoted by monopoly capital of "two societies — one Black, one white" is "violative of the struggles of Black people for freedom and equality. These concepts distort and undermine the role of the working class," he said.

Winston noted that white trade unionists often fail to see that it is in the interest of the working class to defend affirmative action programs that bring oppressed minorities and women workers into all-white, all-male jobs. "Can there be unity without a struggle for the most exploited and oppressed section of that class?" he asked. "As long as inequality exists between Black and white at the point of production, that fact delimits the possibilities for achievements of the whole class in the fight against monopoly." The crowd greeted Winston's speech with a standing ovation.

During the three-day meeting, the draft resolution was discussed section by section with reports by leaders in each area of work: George Meyers on the labor movement; Charlene Mitchell on Afro-American liberation; James Jackson on the peace movement; Roque Ristorucci on Puerto Rican liberation; Lorenzo Torres on Chicano liberation; James Steele on building the Young Communist League; Judith LeBlanc on Native American Indian freedom; Alava Buxenbaum on women's equality; Helvi Savola on the struggle of farmers and agricultural workers; Lew Morozze on the Jewish question and Arnold Becchetti on party and press building.

FIGHT FOR JOBS

Leaders of the unemployed movement in different areas of the country discussed the fight for jobs, unemployment benefits and the termination of health and food benefits for the jobless. Detailed remarks on the jobs movement in Chicago and Southern California highlighted this discussion.

Charles Wilson, Chairman of the Communist Party of Illinois, and other leaders from the Chicago area discussed the party's role in the surge of political independence which resulted in the election of Harold Washington as the first Afro-American mayor of the nation's second largest city. Washington's victory as well as campaigns to elect Afro-American and Chicano mayors in such cities as Philadelphia, Boston, Baltimore and Denver were seen as signs of a strengthening of a coalition of

Afro-American, Chicano, Puerto Rican and white working people to defeat Reagan in 1984.

Warmly applauded were reports by organizers from the Texas, North Carolina, Maine, Iowa, and Colorado districts of the party. These districts have recruited many new members to the party since last summer, when a recruiting drive, spearheaded by a national tour by Hall, brought hundreds into the party. The meeting approved a resolution calling for a fight to establish party organizations in all 50 states.

During the meeting, delegations of party leaders from each district were taken on a tour of the *Daily World's* editorial offices to be shown the new high tech computer and video terminals which open the door to the production of regional editions of the paper.

DRIVE TO RAISE \$500,000

In a report on press and party building, Sid Taylor, CPUSA treasurer, told the meeting that "the entire focus of the party" must be on the drive to raise \$500,000 for the equipment and to increase circulation to 100,000 readers.

Daily World Editor Michael Zagarell said the new operation will require every district to send in news articles on local struggles on a regular basis so that the projected regional editions can fulfil their expected role.

A party member from Brooklyn Heights, N.Y., reported that his club has already accepted the task of raising \$3,500. He said the club has issued a challenge to the country to join in "socialist competition" to raise the funds.

Perhaps the most spirited debate at the meeting centered on an assessment of the role of the trade union movement, both rank and file and leadership, in the anti-Reagan upsurge. Some speakers argued against "over-optimistic" assessments of the role of trade union leadership. In his summary, Hall warned

that the greater danger is an underestimation of positive changes among leaders of the AFL-CIO and independent unions. Hall pointed out that the AFL-CIO Executive Council voted unanimously to endorse the August 27 March and has pledged staff and \$2 million to help bring trade unionists to the anti-Reagan rally.

LABOR AGAINST REAGANISM

"There is too much of a negative attitude toward what is new in the labor movement," Hall said. "There is a struggle against Reaganism from top to bottom in the labor movement, starting with Solidarity Day. Was it something new? History has proven that it was."

He cited the increasing political independence within the labor movement with the AFL-CIO demanding a role in selecting candidates and the growing numbers of marches, rallies and picket lines organized by State AFL-CIOs across the nation.

When Reagan travels to cities like Pittsburgh, he said, it is usually the labor movement that organizes militant picket lines and rallies to greet him. "We should hail every development as positive, take hold of every achievement and build on it. That's where we should come into the picture. That's working class partisanship."

The meeting approved unanimously resolutions to step up party and press building, including a special fund drive to raise \$500,000 by August 31 in order to introduce a new computer system at the *Daily World*; a circulation drive to increase the readership of the press to 100,000; and a special recruiting drive to bring 1,000 new recruits into the party before the convention.

Also approved was a resolution calling for a special panel at the 23rd convention to plan the party's electoral strategy in the 1984 elections, including the running of CPUSA political candidates.

Daily World, June 2, 1983

USSR: Topical Questions of the Party's Ideological, Mass and Political Work

Resolution of the Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee

Having heard and discussed the report of comrade K. U. Chernenko, Member of the Political Bureau, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, the plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee points out that the ideological and political situation in the country is characterized by the further cohesion of the Soviet people around the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, its Central Committee and the Political Bureau of the Central Committee headed by Yuri Andropov. The working people of our country unanimously support the home and foreign policy of the CPSU, its course toward the intensi-

fication of production, raising the living and cultural standards of the people, deepening socialist democracy, strengthening the mainstays of the Soviet way of life, preserving peace and averting a thermonuclear war. They respond with concrete actions to the party's call for strengthening discipline and order in every way, working more effectively and in a more organized manner, and carrying out successfully the decisions of the 26th congress of the CPSU and the May and November (1982) plenary meetings of the Central Committee.

Soviet society has entered a stage at which there

arises the need for deep-going qualitative changes in the productive forces and a corresponding improvement in the relations of production. In close interconnection with this, changes should also occur in the consciousness of the people and in the entire superstructure of society. The party and the people concentrate their efforts on the tasks of a plan-based and all-round improvement of developed socialism, the solutions to which directly depend on the level of political consciousness and activity of the working people. Ideological work is moving more and more to the forefront, and its role and significance are increasing. Lenin taught that in tackling new tasks the preparation of the masses is politically the most important thing.

It should also be borne in mind that a sharp exacerbation of the struggle between the two social systems, two diametrically opposite world outlooks, unprecedented in the postwar period, is taking place in the international arena. The historic achievements of existing socialism, the increased prestige and influence of the world communist and working-class movement, the progressive development of countries which have cast off the yoke of colonial oppression, the upsurge of the national liberation struggle and the tremendous scale of the anti-war movement exercise an increasingly deep influence on the minds of the peoples throughout the world. The imperialist reaction, above all the top rulers of the USA, hatching crazy plans for world domination, are pushing humankind to the brink of a nuclear catastrophe by their aggressive policy. A psychological war, unprecedented for its scale and intensity, is being waged against the Soviet Union and the socialist countries in general. Bourgeois propaganda, which readily uses lies and slander, is trying to cast aspersions on the socialist system, to undermine the socio-political and ideological unity of our society. Therefore, the class steeling of the working people and the uncompromised struggle against bourgeois ideology assume special importance today.

The plenary meeting has positively assessed the work done by party organizations to improve education and propaganda in accordance with the decisions of the 26th congress of the CPSU and the Central Committee's resolution of April 26, 1979. At the same time, the plenary meeting says that serious shortcomings in this sphere have not yet been fully removed and that not all party committees must give due attention to education and propaganda. Such intolerable things as divorcement from the requirements of practice, formalism and ostentation still make themselves felt. One of the most important tasks of the party is to further improve ideological work and to make it more efficient.

I

The Central Committee of the CPSU unanimously approves the program provisions and conclusions contained in the speech made by comrade Yuri Andropov, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at the plenary meeting, and believes that they should be made the basis of all activities of the party organizations.

It is necessary to raise ideological, educational and propaganda work to the level of the great and complicated tasks which are being tackled by the party in perfecting developed socialism. Mass and political work should promote the unity of the party and the people, enhance the communist conviction and the political activity of the working people, and foster their creative energies. The molding of the consciousness of the communists and of all members of our socialist society is not the task of ideological workers only. It is also a matter of concern to the entire party.

We have everything necessary for enhancing the efficacy of ideological work. These are the real gains of socialism, the gains of worldwide historical importance; our great revolutionary teaching; the existing system of communist education and the experience gained in this field; a powerful information and propaganda apparatus; and qualified ideological cadre loyal to the cause of the party. It is necessary to make a more effective use of the rich arsenal of means of education and upbringing, to employ them more actively and in a creative way, with due account taken, specifically, of the considerably increased educational level and requirements of the Soviet people. It is necessary to consistently build ideological and educational work on the firm foundation of the social and economic policy of the party. This work should be based on profound ideas, closely linked with present-day realities and indicating the way to further advance.

The strength of ideological and educational work, just as that of the party's policy as a whole, lies in the fact that it is grounded scientifically and rests on the most progressive and constantly developing Marxist-Leninist theory. The CPSU's collective thought has enriched scientific communism with a teaching on developed socialism. The party has postulated that Soviet society is at the beginning of this historically long stage and revealed the actual dynamics of its development. This calls for a more active scientific quest, for ensuring a resolute turn by scientific institutions and all social scientists to the key practical tasks facing our country.

The party and the state expect the economists, philosophers, historians, social scientists, psychologists and law scholars to work out dependable ways of raising the efficiency of production, to produce studies as on the laws governing the emergence of a classless society, internationalization of social life, the development of socialist rule by the whole people, social consciousness and the problems of communist education. Especially topical are such questions as stimulation of scientific and technological progress, improvement of the system of management and planning, ensuring the priority of the national, state interests, perfection of distribution relations, the principles of scientifically grounded price formation, etc. There is a need to study more extensively everything that is best in the experience gained by the fraternal socialist countries, and also to thoroughly analyze new phenomena in international relations, in the

development of world socialism, in the world revolutionary process, as well as new aspects of the general crisis of the capitalist system. Scientific studies should be translated into practical recommendations and produce well-founded social forecasts.

One of the most important tasks of propaganda and agitation is to facilitate in every way the solution of the cardinal national economic problems: those of the intensification of production, a rapid implementation of the achievements in science and technology, of the Food and Energy Programs, ensuring a rational use of the country's production potential, raising labor productivity and, on this basis, further increasing the economic strength and the defensive power of our homeland, and raising the people's well-being.

The civic qualities of the working people under socialism and their need for conscientious work for the common benefit shape up in the struggle for carrying out state plans, improving the quality of output, for a better use of production capacities, raw materials, energy, working time and capital investments, for enhancing organization and responsibility, in combating conservatism and bureaucratism, departmental and parochial tendencies. It is necessary to support by all means of propaganda the initiatives of innovators in production, to popularize such organizational, economic and moral measures which would encourage the executives and workers, scientists and designers to renew equipment and help reduce the share of manual work. It is necessary to entirely subordinate economic propaganda and economic education to the needs of intensification of the national economy, to the molding of modern economic thinking, of socialist enterprise and efficiency. Economic studies at enterprises should be conducted in close connection with production training and should be regarded as one of the ways to enhance the efficiency of production.

The molding of a Marxist-Leninist world outlook is the unshakeable foundation of communist education. It is important to see to it that all communists and working people deeply assimilate the revolutionary teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin, a teaching which gives the key to an understanding and solution of most complicated problems of social development. The Central Committee considers it necessary to improve the propaganda of Marxism-Leninism, the history and the policy of the party, and the experience of its work at different stages of the struggle for socialism. It is necessary to change the work style in the network of party education and mass political training, to develop in every way active forms of studies, to link them more with practical work, to eradicate dogmatism and formalism. The meaning of political studies lies in that everyone should have a deep understanding of the party's policy, be able to apply the knowledge gained in practical work, and have a clear idea of his or her civil duty and actually discharge it. It is necessary to improve the selection and training of propagandists and to make wider use of the method of political self-education of communists. It is expedient to establish an all-Union center for political education. It

is necessary to bring about a rise in the ideological and theoretical level of the teaching of social disciplines at educational establishments, to encourage in every way interest in the study of these subjects and to tighten control over the quality of training of social science instructors, to prepare new textbooks and teaching aids on Marxism-Leninism.

The source of the ideological conviction of the Soviet people is in the historical rightness of our cause, the revolutionary, transforming character of the Marxist-Leninist teaching, and the advantages of the socialist system. The political rights and freedoms of the citizens of the USSR and the social and cultural achievements of our society should be vividly demonstrated. The great aim outlined in theory, which was the dream of generations of communists, of humankind's best minds — the elimination of exploitation and oppression — has long become a reality in Soviet society. Today the task of practical policy is to efface class distinctions and achieve society's social homogeneity. An important task of ideological and educational work is to make sure that the revolutionary ideology and morality of the working class and its collectivist psychology, interests and views determine the spiritual make-up of all Soviet people. In publicizing the successes of socialism, it is essential, at the same time, to indicate ways of overcoming the difficulties arising in the process of our development.

The fraternal community of nations and nationalities of the USSR, their joint work, their progressive coming closer together, and the mutual enrichment of their national cultures are the most important factors for consolidating the cohesion of the Soviet people and successfully accomplishing the tasks of education in the spirit of socialist internationalism. This education should be conducted widely, persistently, in an organic combination with patriotic education, from the positions of the party principle and irreconcilability to any manifestations of national narrow-mindedness or national nihilism, and with consideration for the feelings and dignity of all the nationalities.

It is essential to conduct the propaganda of scientific and materialistic views among the population more actively, to pay more attention to atheistic education, to integrate believers in public life on a larger scale, and to introduce traditions and rituals born of the new way of life more persistently.

The Soviet way of life, the fundamental values of socialism should be propagated skillfully and creatively. Everything progressive in social practice should be supported, and the new quality of life of the working masses, comprising collectivism and comradeship, moral health and social optimism, the confidence of each in the morrow, the high standard of labor and consumption, conduct and everyday life, should be asserted and vividly revealed. Success in educational work is inconceivable without consistent struggle for a strict observance of the socialist principle of distribution and a correct use of the public consumption funds.

The socialist consciousness is being consolidated in acute struggle with relapses into petty-bourgeois

psychology and with the ideological influence of imperialist propaganda, exerted through various channels, on the minds of a part of the population. It is essential to create an atmosphere of intolerance to such phenomena as the use of public property for personal enrichment, profiteering, bribery, and all sorts of parasitism on the humanism of our system, to consistently rely in the struggle against them on the activity of the masses and the inescapable force of law, and to conduct purposeful work to mold the reasonable requirements and interests of the individual.

A task of party propaganda is to bring to the people the truth about the peaceful, Leninist foreign policy and peace initiatives of the CPSU and the Soviet state aimed to curb the arms race and radically ameliorate international relations. Both today and in the foreseeable future the preservation of peace on earth is the pivotal task of our party's foreign policy. Propaganda should promote stronger friendship and cooperation between the USSR and other socialist states, the cohesion of the international communist and working-class movement, and successes of the peoples' national liberation struggle. The enemies of peace and progress and the militarist plans of imperialism, first of all U.S. imperialism, which today is the source of the threat of world war looming large over humankind, should be consistently and persistently exposed.

Propaganda is called upon to expose convincingly the anti-people essence of imperialism, its policy and ideology, and the inability of bourgeois society to cure social ills and eliminate national and racial injustice. The political vigilance of the Soviet people, their irreconcilability to hostile views and their ability to withstand the ideological subversion by the class enemy and opportunist and revisionist attacks on existing socialism should be developed even further. To vigorously rebuff anti-Sovietism and anti-communism is a permanent task of the party committees and the mass media. There is a need for a well-considered, integral, dynamic and effective system of counter-propaganda.

II

The press, television and radio are effective instruments in the party's ideological work. In our society the press is the most important institution of socialist democracy, a means of drawing working people into discussing and resolving burning issues and of shaping public opinion. It successfully performs its educational and organizing role when it concentrates attention on the main directions in the activities of the party and the people, a serious analysis of problems, and spreading advanced experience. The press, television and radio should attract people and make them convinced of the points they make by means of an in-depth analysis of life, sound arguments, and fresh ideas and words, they should expertly propagate the advantages of our system, and vividly reveal the character and make-up of the builder of a new life — the true hero of our epoch.

The party committees should direct the work of the mass media and propaganda bodies in a business-

like manner and without petty tutelage over them, help them raise their militancy and prestige, ensure support for the principled raising of issues, and react sharply to failure to pay attention to problem-raising and critical material.

The heads of ministries and departments, Soviet and public organizations should systematically advise the press of the activities of management bodies and the nature of the problems which are being coped with. They must respond to the press, television and radio on the substance of criticisms appearing in articles and broadcasts and inform the editorial boards in time on the measures that have been taken in response to these criticisms.

Modern conditions demand that the structure of the press, in particular the departmental press, be improved and the urgent problems of city and district newspapers resolved. Special attention should be paid to making television news programs more informative and prompt in reporting news. Work to elaborate measures to build up the material and technical facilities available to the mass media and publishing houses, taking into account their growing significance, should be expedited.

The training and upgrading of journalistic cadre should be improved and the traditions of the mass workers' and rural correspondent movement developed. There is a need to educate journalists as active and bold searchers after new ways, as staunch political fighters. They must be notable for high ideological commitment, competence, and impeccable journalistic ethics.

Oral propaganda is a tested means of party influence on the masses. It is essential to use more widely its resources for everyday direct contacts with the people and for frank talk about questions that are uppermost in their minds; to consider it an important duty of the leaders of the party committees, ministries and departments, government agencies and economic organizations to hold systematic discussions directly in the work collectives; to keep under strict party control the implementation of proposals made by the working people. The informing and instructing of agitators, political educators, current news commentators, propagandists, and lecturers should be improved, and they should be taught to speak to an audience in a lively, attractive and convincing manner so that they could lead the people.

Literature and art of socialist realism make a great contribution to the enrichment of the intellectual life of the working people and to their education on communist ideals. Underlying the achievements of the Soviet multinational artistic intelligentsia are its devotion to the cause of the party and strong links with the people's life.

In the party's guidance of the development of culture a careful and respectful attitude for talent should be organically combined with strict adherence to principles and exactingness. The task of the creative unions and associations is to educate the workers in the field of culture in the spirit of responsibility to the people and to promote among them an atmosphere of ideological, ethical and aesthetical

exactingness. Marxist-Leninist criticism, active, considerate and heedful of the creative quest must be the main method for influencing creative endeavors. At the same time its duty is to give a clear-cut, party estimate of works which express views alien to our society and to our ideology and which depart from the historical truth. Neither can criticism regard condescendingly the artistically poor, vapid works. It is essential to give unceasing attention to the development of the amateur creative activity and to bringing the values of culture within the reach of the masses. Personal responsibility of the leaders of press media and institutions of culture for the ideological content and artistic standard of publications and repertoires should be enhanced.

III

The plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee makes it incumbent on the party committees to improve considerably the guidance of ideological and mass political work. It is necessary that the party committees and their first secretaries scrutinize the state of affairs in this work and strive to secure close unity of ideological education with organizational, party and socio-economic activities.

The party organizations, the Soviets of People's Deputies, the trade unions and the YCL should combine political education of the masses with actively drawing them into managing the affairs of society and the state and into organizing control. Greater scope should be given to the practice of the working people's participation in the preliminary discussion of the draft decisions on major issues of state and social life. Wide publicity should be ensured in the work of the management bodies, and a sense of belonging to the common cause should be cultivated in each person. It is important to raise the responsibility of managerial personnel for the educative aspect of economic activities, to approve the practice of discussing education matters at conferences held by economic managers. It is necessary to use more widely the educative power of socialist emulation and the movement for a communist attitude toward work, to direct the efforts of the participants in socialist emulation to the attainment of such goals as a rise in the quality of output and better utilization of production facilities and all types of resources, and to pay special attention to the elaboration and introduction of effective forms of ideological and educational activities at agro-industrial amalgamations and in production teams.

The party committees should persistently press for unity of ideological and political, labor and moral education, improvement of coordination of the means of ideological influence and the efforts of the public organizations, the work collectives, the family and school, and for extending ideological influence to all social groups. They should disseminate systematically the best work experience, and enhance the role of ideological commissions to this end, resolutely combat stereotyped behavior and substitution of form for the essence of the matter. Unnecessary paperwork and speechifying, an estimate of work done by means of purely quantitative indicators are intolerable in ideological education

work. The level of political consciousness and working activity of the masses is the main criterion of its effectiveness.

All efforts to organize ideological and educational work are realized in the end in the work collective. It is to the work collective that main attention should be directed, and the best propaganda personnel must be concentrated there. The party committees should enhance the role and importance of primary party organizations as the leading force and political nucleus of the work collectives, and their responsibility for the solution of socio-economic problems, the communist education of the working people, for raising the degree of organization and conscious discipline, and for the development of criticism and self-criticism.

The party shows constant concern for the younger generation on whom the responsibility for the destiny of society will devolve in the coming decades. The task of the party organizations and the YCL is to draw the young people widely into socio-political activities and to bring them up in the spirit of devotion to communist ideals and to foster the sense of pride for their country and the striving to promote its flourishing through one's own work, to inculcate affection for the Armed Forces of the USSR and strengthen readiness to defend the socialist Motherland, to give unflagging attention to all social and age groups of the young people — workers and collective farmers, students and servicemen, and fully take into consideration their peculiarities, to fill the life of the YCL organizations with great social content, and eradicate the manifestations of excessive organization and noisy fanfare;

— to raise the level of education work in schools and vocational schools; to implement consistently the Leninist principles of a unified labor polytechnical school and to cultivate in schoolchildren habits of and striving for socially useful labor, to broaden their ideological outlook, first of all by shaping in each of them the lofty qualities of the citizen of socialist society, an active builder of communism; to utilize more fully the resources of the school in aesthetic education and physical training; to raise the prestige and authority of the teacher, improve his qualification, working and living conditions; to improve considerably the training of specialists for the key branches of the national economy, and the ideological and political training of students in institutions of higher learning and technical schools.

— in every way to perfect mass political work at the place of residence; to enhance the role of cultural and educational institutions in organizing spare-time activities of the working people, particularly in the countryside; to develop mass physical training and sports; to disseminate the experience in creating cultural and sports complexes in each district subordinated, regardless of their departmental affiliation, to the local Soviets.

It is important to conduct systematic scientific research into the effectiveness of educational work, for these purposes to introduce more widely scientific methodological centers and groups under the party committees. The USSR Academy of Sciences and the Academy of Social Sciences under the

CPSU Central Committee should make suggestions on enhancing the role of sociological research in organizing educational activities, on founding an all-union center, on the basis of the Sociological Research Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, for the study of public opinion.

Cadre are the key element of ideological work. All party committees — republican, territorial, regional, area, city and district — must have specially trained cadre capable of ably organizing ideological work among the different groups of the population, and responsible for it. Necessary conditions should be created for them and care should be taken of the systematic raising of their ideological and theoretical level and professional skills; to carry out additional measures to perfect the system of the training and advanced training of all categories of ideological cadre. The ideological cadre must be an example of communist commitment, highly exacting attitude to their work, and responsibility for the work entrusted to them.

* * *

The implementation of the party's line toward perfection of developed socialism will make it possible to take a new big step forward in communist construction and will demonstrate still more convincingly the advantages of the socialist system, and will enhance its magnetic force. No duty is more honorable to the communists than to pass on the great ideas of Marxism-Leninism to the masses and reveal the indissoluble connection between the party's policy and the vital interests of the people, and to raise the public activity of the working people to a higher level.

The plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee expresses firm confidence that the ideological cadre and all communists will devote their ability, energy and talent to the lofty cause of communist education, will further and creatively enrich the glorious traditions of Bolshevik propaganda and will achieve new successes in the accomplishment of the historic tasks facing the Communist Party and the Soviet people.

Pravda, June 16, 1983

Afghanistan: the Situation in the Country and Urgent Tasks of the Party and the State Power

Report by Babrak Karmal, CC General Secretary, People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, and Chairman of the DRA Revolutionary Council

The 12th plenary meeting of the PDPA Central Committee was held in Kabul on July 3.

Below is an abridged text of the main report, "Situation in the Country and Urgent Tasks of the Party and the State Power," delivered by Babrak Karmal.

The meeting adopted a resolution "On the Time Frame for Holding the PDPA Central Committee's Plenary Meetings," which said that CC meetings should be held at least once every six months. It also considered the question of enlarging the PDPA Central Committee, and elected new CC members and alternate members. The meeting adopted a number of resolutions aimed at perfecting the PDPA's organizational and political work.

The PDPA Central Committee's Political Bureau believes that it is time to assess the road we have travelled since the PDPA's National Conference, and to formulate the imperative tasks facing the party and the state. We have always declared that we carried out the April Revolution and took power into our own hands to solve the fundamental problems of our people and the homeland. We can now say with a sense of satisfaction that rehabilitation and development of industrial and agricultural projects, and normalization of economic life in the country are increasingly moving to the fore of party and state activity. That is an important factor of our full and final victory.

A special point to emphasize here is that a new factor, namely, a ramified system of party organizations and committees, has been formed and is playing an ever more important role in our socio-political life. These organizations and committees have been

putting the party policy into practice and affecting the party's ties with the people.

It is also of essential importance that imperialism and reaction have not been able to isolate revolutionary Afghanistan in the world arena. Powerful internationalist solidarity has frustrated the schemes of hostile forces. This solidarity cannot be reduced solely to military and economic assistance, for the example set by our friends in building the new society, their invaluable experience, and their wise and timely advice are also of vital importance . . . Without detracting from what has already been done, let us say in the most forthright terms: the party and the country are facing complicated and difficult tasks in ensuring peaceful conditions for the people's life and raising their living standard. Efforts to strengthen and develop the PDPA and its increasing role in society and in the state have been and remain the crucial content of political life in our country. We

note with satisfaction that the PDPA's efficiency as political organizer and leader of the masses has been growing as a result of the work being done by the whole party, by all its organizations and committees. The party's first-ever reporting campaign showed that very well, enriching the party with new experience, extending inner-party democracy, and helping to make a more critical assessment of the activity of party committees and organizations.

The PDPA now has more than 90,000 members and candidate members. Over the past year, the year 1361 according to the Afghan calendar (from March 1982 to March 1983), the party's membership increased by almost 35 per cent and continues to grow. That is a sign of the party's growing prestige and strengthening ties with the people. The party now includes representatives of more than 30 nationalities and ethnic groups; 65 per cent of its members are under 30 years of age, and more young people are constantly joining the party. It has the future before it . . . In 1361, about 31,000 men and women became candidate members: 16.9 per cent of these are workers and 33.3 per cent peasants. Although that is more than in the preceding year, workers and peasants still make up only 28.4 per cent of total party membership. The composition of the party should increasingly reflect the composition of the working population. The Central Committee attaches paramount importance to that question. We should go on working to increase the party's ranks, taking a thorough and scrupulous approach to the matter by selecting for party membership the best and most active men and women loyal to the cause of the revolution . . .

I shall now look at some questions of the party's cadre policy. Its importance is obvious, for it is primarily through its cadre that the party exercises its leading role in society . . . First of all, we should go on improving the selection and placing of personnel, advancing more boldly those who are young and have a good record of practical work. A point to remember here is that the party's cadre policy should have stability and continuity, that is, people should have enough time to master the work with which they are entrusted without undue haste.

The party's cadre policy should always be principled, and those who cannot cope with their task should be demoted and assigned a job they can do well . . . Steady and consistent abidance by the principle that personnel should be selected and appointed on the strength of their efficiency and political qualities is a necessary condition for consolidating the party and enhancing the efficiency of all its activities.

In working with cadre, one should make fuller and better use of the specifics of Afghan society, its national, cultural and religious traditions and customs. Party functionaries and administrators should be selected for work in a locality primarily from among the ethnic group or nationality prevailing in the region. We should rely more boldly on authoritative local citizens and the clergy, more extensively involving respected people — naturally, including working people — in the administration of social

affairs. They should be entrusted with responsible posts in the organs of local power.

In our cadre policy, we should judiciously combine promotion of young revolutionary cadre with a patient and tactful, but consistent and persevering education and re-education of the older cadre and specialists working in the state apparatus. The aim is not to dismantle the old state machine, but gradually to restructure it under the control of our revolutionary-democratic power.

The style of work in the state apparatus, its personnel's attitude to the working people should not remain as before. In any state institution, people should feel an atmosphere of interest, concern and attention to their needs and requirements. The party committees of ministries, departments and institutions should regard creation of such an atmosphere as their duty. In analyzing the situation in the country and the ways of its further normalization, we clearly see the need to strengthen the revolutionary power as the main factor in ensuring the homeland's peace and progress.

Our constant concern is to strengthen the revolutionary power. Organs of power have been set up and are functioning at the center, in the provinces and in most regions and districts.

In my opinion, however, there is some discrepancy between state building at the center and in the localities. The formation and development of the local organs of power obviously do not accord with the demands of life, of the actual situation.

Since our cadre, especially in the localities, still do not have adequate experience of organizational work and how to plan it, it is extremely important to coordinate the activities of party committees, the organs of state power, mass organizations, the army, the people's militia and the security forces. Such coordination is primarily necessary for solving the main problem: establishing and consolidating revolutionary power in the localities.

A final victory of our revolution is impossible without active support on the part of a majority of the country's population, that is, the peasantry. It is in the countryside that the revolutionary power should be directly present, drawing the peasant masses into the endeavor to improve their own life.

Work among the tribes should be more consistent and profound. The tribes should be offered a clear-cut and effective program of cooperation and development based on mutual and long-term interest. The fundamental principles of our policy have been formulated in our action program, in the resolutions of CC plenary meetings, and DRA government acts. This policy should be carried out with a view to past experience and the wishes of our partners. We are convinced that the interests of the revolutionary power and those of the tribes are bound to coincide. Naturally, we recognize and respect the traditional way of life and administration in the Afghan tribes, their contribution to the homeland's history and the defense of its independence. But today it is in the interests of all patriots and all tribes to maintain and strengthen Afghanistan's sovereignty and integrity, ensure economic progress and a general improvement of living standards.

Their loyalty to the homeland, involvement in the defense of its sacred borders, and honest cooperation with the revolutionary power — that is what, we believe, constitutes the natural basis of our relations with the tribes. That is how we see their contribution to these relations.

The DRA government, for its part, will go on giving the tribes material and other assistance to improve their living conditions, supply them with the necessary goods, provide technical, medical and veterinary services, and create conditions for the education of children and the young at secondary and higher educational establishments in the DRA and abroad . . .

On the political plane, it is best to give legal force to the agreements with the tribes, envisaging the commitments both of the DRA government and the tribes themselves, including a pledge to defend the state border. The tribal elders should be drawn into the work of the local organs of power on a wider scale, put on the staff of government institutions, and paid a regular salary. The best-known and authoritative people should apparently be included in the DRA's Revolutionary Council and the organs of the National Patriotic Front (NPF).

The point here is to adapt the traditional forms of the organization of life and power in the villages to the needs of the revolution so that these could help to solve the problems facing the people and the homeland.

That is one of the crucial tasks of the regional and district PDPA committees and the party organizations in the villages. We should tackle this task in a patient, consistent and persevering way, without administrating by injunction or going to extremes, and explain to the peasants the substance of our decisions and measures . . .

Party propaganda and agitation is of great importance.

I must emphasize that all types and forms of ideological work should be addressed to the masses, helping them to understand the situation and become conscious and active participants in the revolutionary process.

The party's vibrant and truthful word should ring out everywhere, constantly and effectively, and unless we achieve this we cannot win over the masses.

Mass organizations have an important and responsible role to play in this context. Over the past few years, all of these — the trade unions, the Women's Democratic Organization of Afghanistan, the Democratic Youth Organization of Afghanistan, cooperatives, creative unions, and so on — have expanded and strengthened. The NPF was set up and has been developing as an integral system of such organizations, as the broadest and most massive of them all . . .

The party and the revolutionary power have always centered their attention on economic development. The preceding, 11th plenary meeting was devoted to economic matters, and the party committees and organizations have been working to fulfill its resolutions. Life shows that the tasks formulated by the meeting are totally realistic and can be fulfilled. Thus, with the implementation of the

plan for the Afghan year 1362, the production of electric power is to go up by 33 per cent as compared with 1357, natural gas by 10 per cent, cement by 11 per cent, woolen fabrics by 6 per cent, wheat flour by 38 per cent, etc. This year, the spring sowing campaign has been successful, and the harvest is expected to be better than over the past years.

Now the land and water reform. We pay much attention to it and talk about it a great deal, but its implementation is not satisfactory. The reasons here are both objective and subjective.

The essential requirement here remains the same: the interests of the working peasant masses should be reflected in the legislation on the reform and met in the course of its implementation.

The anti-feudal edge of the reform should be more pronounced and should be effected more consistently.

What we should ensure is that the ways, methods and whole mechanism of implementing the land and water reform should fully correspond to its democratic substance, should be understood by the peasants and adjusted more closely to their needs, taking due account of the specifics of land and water use in different provinces of the country.

We have been working in complicated conditions to solve the urgent problems of state, economic and cultural development.

In the period since the national party conference, imperialism and regional reaction have stepped up the pressure on our borders and have extended their interference in our internal affairs. A section of our population, deceived or intimidated by the counter-revolution, remains on the latter's side. That is why in some provinces and regions the sphere of the creative activity of the party and the revolutionary power is for the time being limited.

We have achieved a great deal in defending the homeland and strengthening our glorious armed forces. The heroic officers and men of the Afghan army, the people's militia and the security forces have struck powerful blows at the armed counter-revolutionary bands, the agents of imperialism and regional reaction infiltrated from abroad. Over the past five months alone, we have destroyed a considerable number of insurgents, seized large quantities of arms and ammunition, and put out of action many bases and strongholds. Today, there are no longer any major armed bands left in Afghanistan.

Our armed forces have all they need to fulfil fully the tasks they face. Their organization, battle training, fire power and technical equipment have improved. New command cadre have been trained and have become stronger, and our glorious political workers are tirelessly seeking to convey to the mass of soldiers the party's truthful word and strengthening the ties of the army, the people's militia and the security forces with the working people, with all patriots. We owe this to the invaluable assistance of the Soviet Union, our great and powerful ally, friend and brother.

Our armed forces are being strengthened to meet the fundamental interests of our people, who want the bloodshed to stop and lasting peace to be estab-

lished. We have now moved much closer to that goal. Hundreds of armed detachments and groups, which earlier on allowed themselves to be involved in fratricidal clashes and sided with the enemies of the revolution, are now laying down their arms, starting up negotiations with the revolutionary power, and joining the peaceful construction. Once they realize that we are right and that their resistance is useless, many of them join the ranks of our valiant armed forces so as to correct their mistakes in action. Now that the preponderance of our forces and the ultimate inevitability of our victory are ever more obvious to all but the blind, I think it necessary to emphasize the following:

First of all, the strengthening of our armed forces does not mean that we intend to rely on military force alone or seek to normalize the situation in the country solely by military methods. Far from it. The revolution's full and final victory over the counter-revolution in Afghanistan will result from a judicious combination and use by the revolutionary power both of peaceful and non-peaceful forms, methods and means.

We resolutely advocate a peaceful way of normalizing the situation. That is evident from the conception of peace in Afghanistan elaborated by the party and approved by the National Party Conference, and based on an appeal for an end to the bloodshed and non-use of weapons in the settlement of differences. It is also evident from our practice: an amnesty for those who have given up armed struggle against the homeland and the revolution, the humane attitude to those who had been drawn into that struggle through deception or intimidation, and the numerous agreements with the heads of former armed bands, which are always observed by the revolutionary power and show its confidence in an ultimate victory of truth and justice over violence and deception. Insofar as it depends on us, we shall prefer such a way in the future as well.

But the point is that the choice of ways, methods, and means of struggle for normalization and full-fledged peace depends not only on us. If the hostile forces insist on thrusting battle upon us, we should accept and win it.

The main goal of our entire military policy is to ensure reliable defense of the independence and territorial integrity of our beloved homeland, and all the measures to strengthen our armed forces are geared to that goal. These measures have been forced upon us; they are our response to the undeclared war, the broad and organized intervention in our internal affairs . . .

The most important task facing the world today is to safeguard peace, humankind's greatest asset, and ultimately to preserve life itself. It is only natural, therefore, that the anti-war movement, the struggle against the reckless and aggressive policy of imperialism have acquired unprecedented scope on all continents and in all countries, drawing hundreds of millions of people into their orbit. The socialist community countries, led by the Soviet Union, the standard-bearer of peace, are in the vanguard of that struggle.

As a sovereign non-aligned country, the DRA will

continue its active policy of peace and broader international cooperation. We shall continue strengthening the relations of fraternal friendship and revolutionary solidarity with our great northern neighbor, the Soviet Union, with the other socialist states and all progressive forces on the planet.

We are justly proud to note that our revolution and the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan enjoy growing international support and recognition. Only in the past year, the DRA established diplomatic relations with three states: Nicaragua, Grenada and Laos. We now maintain diplomatic relations with almost 70 countries. The PDPA has been developing fruitful international ties with almost 50 fraternal communist, workers' and revolutionary-democratic parties, national liberation movements and organizations . . .

We are prepared to develop mutually advantageous and equitable ties and cooperation with all countries regardless of their socio-political system, on the principles of peaceful coexistence. This also applies to our neighbors: Pakistan, Iran and China. Unfortunately, their territories are still being actively used for armed incursions into revolutionary Afghanistan, for open interference in our internal affairs. U.S. imperialism is the main inspirer and organizer of the undeclared war against the DRA people and government. The Reagan administration has in effect elevated its brazen interference in our internal affairs to the level of state policy. These and some other negative factors aggravate the situation around Afghanistan and in the region as a whole. We are deeply convinced that the DRA's well-known peace proposals of May 14, 1980, and August 24, 1981, point out a realistic way toward a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan.

Time has shown these to be relevant and realistic. We have repeatedly said and say once again that there is no other way except a solution of all the existing problems at the negotiating table. Serious and businesslike talks with the DRA government are the most effective means of settling the questions relating to the international aspect of the Afghan problem, to the task of ensuring peace and stability in the region. As for us, we are prepared for this, and are full of political resolve and good will . . .

Abridged from *Kabul New Times*,
July 7, 1983

Problems of the Development of the Mind

A.N. Leontyev

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psychologist.**

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Statement by Twelve Communist and Workers' Parties of the Arab Countries

Below is an abridged text of a joint statement adopted at a meeting of the communist and workers' parties of the Arab countries in which representatives of the Jordanian Communist Party, the National Liberation Front of Bahrain, the Tunisian Communist Party, the Party of the Socialist Vanguard of Algeria, the Communist Party of Saudi Arabia, the Communist Party of the Sudan, the Syrian Communist Party, the Iraqi Communist Party, the Palestinian Communist Party, the Lebanese Communist Party, the Egyptian Communist Party and the Party of Progress and Socialism of Morocco took part, and which examined the present-day situation in the region and the international arena, and discussed the main tasks.

The Arab countries are being allotted an important place in the strategy of war, expansion and aggression pursued by the USA, which is bent on spreading its domination throughout the world. Directly or with the support of its "strategic alliance" with Israel, U.S. imperialism has been stepping up the attacks on the Arab national liberation movement, encouraging the Israeli aggressors to continue and invigorate their aggressive actions, and turning the region into a hotbed of tension and war danger. In its striving to impose its complete political, military and economic domination in the region, U.S. imperialism resorts to various methods — armed aggression, military threats, the diplomacy of capitulatory deals, economic pressure, etc.

AGGRESSION AGAINST LEBANON AND THE ISRAELI-LEBANESE AGREEMENT

The offensive of imperialism and Israel has now become especially sharp, as seen in the armed aggression against Lebanon and the Palestine Resistance Movement, in the "Reagan plan" and particularly in the Israeli-Lebanese agreement and the escalation of threats of armed aggression against Syria.

The Israeli-Lebanese agreement was signed on May 17 with U.S. participation and in a situation of direct Israeli military occupation and under the threat of U.S. and Israeli tanks and guns.

This agreement is a continuation of the Camp David course and is a fresh step intensifying the danger of U.S. military and political domination. It aims to expand the U.S. military presence in Lebanon and create new possibilities for continuing and broadening the imperialist and Zionist offensive in the region.

The text of the agreement, and in particular the appendix on security measures, are an open infringement on Lebanon's independence and national sovereignty. It turns Lebanon into a military base and U.S.-Israeli protectorate, and threatens the security of Syria and other Arab countries and peace throughout the world. The agreement gives Israel the opportunity to realize its territorial, political, economic and cultural expansionist designs. It imposes a number of conditions on Lebanon, including the turning of its southern territory into a so-called "security zone" occupied by Israel and its

mercenaries. The agreement aims to pull Lebanon out of its Arab surroundings and break its undertakings in the Arab world, which end is served by the paragraphs of the agreement making it incumbent on Lebanon "to renounce all treaties and laws which contradict the content and spirit of the agreement." The purpose of this is to break Lebanon's historically forged ties with Syria, drive a wedge between them and make it easier to carry out aggressive and subversive operations against Syria. The agreement seeks to win Lebanon over to the side of U.S. imperialism and Israel, pull it out of the ranks of the Arab and non-aligned countries, draw it into confrontation with Syria and the Arab countries, and make it serve the interests of U.S. imperialism's global strategy directed against the Soviet Union, the socialist community and the liberation movement in the region and throughout the world.

Implementation of the agreement will bring about a decline in Lebanon's industry and agriculture, and cause it to lose its place in the Middle East's economic and financial sphere.

This agreement deepens the division of Lebanon and encourages the separatist fascist forces to make fresh attempts to establish their hegemony over all of Lebanon. The agreement places the almost half a million Palestinian refugees at the mercy of the fascist-like phalangists, who, in complicity with Israel, massacred the unarmed population of the Sabra and Shatila camps and are bent on forcing the Palestinians to leave Lebanon.

In defiance of the opinion of the world public and of many states, this agreement compensates the Israeli invaders instead of imposing sanctions against them and making obligatory a full and unconditional withdrawal of the troops from Lebanon in line with UN Security Council resolutions Nos. 508 and 509.

The Lebanese people and all their patriotic and progressive forces oppose this agreement and are fighting against it. The communist and workers' parties of the Arab countries support the position of some leaders, parties and patriotic forces which have decided to form a very broad front of resistance to this agreement, supports the popular action spreading against it throughout Lebanon, and primarily the heroic struggle of the Lebanese Patriotic Front of resistance to the occupation. Our parties will continue to make every effort to liquidate this

agreement, prevent Lebanon's submission to Israel and the U.S. occupation troops operating under the "multinational forces" flag, and for the complete restoration of Lebanon's independence, the strengthening of its status as part of the Arab world, and its unity and democratic development without any outside interference.

INCREASED DANGER OF AGGRESSION AGAINST SYRIA

There is a growing danger of aggression against Syria. Israel has been getting additional lots of modern arms, and the number of U.S. warships close to the Lebanese coast is increasing. Different forms of political blackmail, diplomatic pressure, inducement and intimidation are being used against Syria, and all this because it has taken measures to strengthen its national defense and rejects the Israeli-Lebanese agreement and the "Reagan plan."

But Syria has been resolutely opposing the imperialist plot and the Israeli policy of aggression and expansion, and rendering effective aid to the struggle of all the patriotic forces of the Lebanese people to revoke this traitorous agreement.

Syria is broadening and strengthening its relations of friendship and political and military cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, establishing relations of close cooperation with all progressive patriotic forces in the Arab countries and throughout the world.

This course of Syria's is a serious obstacle to the establishment of U.S.-Israeli domination in the region, and stimulates the Arab masses' anti-imperialist struggle.

Syria, Lebanon and the Palestinian national liberation movement are the primary targets of the attacks of U.S. imperialism, Israel and Arab reaction since they are links of a single struggle. Subsequently those forces hope to move over to the liquidation of other seats of resistance in the Arab world and to deliver blows against all the forces of liberation and progress in the Arab countries and the entire region.

Under these circumstances, defense of Syria is of significance throughout the Arab world and internationally. An exceptionally important role is played by intensification of the factors necessary for Syria's steadfastness. To this end there is a need to place greater reliance on the people, arouse their will to struggle, prepare the masses for battle and work, for which they must be given the freedoms, make it possible for their creative energy to display itself, ensure their vital and day-to-day interests, pursue an economic and social policy benefiting the broad masses, liquidate the positions of the parasitic and bureaucratic bourgeoisie, and end its exploitative activity and negative influence on the country's political course.

The strengthening of the political and mobilizing role of the national progressive front and the broadening of the mass work of the parties in it is a reliable guarantee of the reinforcement of the internal front and of Syria's firmness and inviolability in the face of the impending aggression, imperialist encroachments and reaction's plots.

The Soviet Union, which gives Syria all-round aid and support, plays a very important role in strengthening Syria's steadfastness in the face of the intrigues of the Israeli aggressors and their imperialist accomplices.

The communist and workers' parties of the Arab countries hail the position taken by the Soviet Union in supporting Syria and the struggle of the Arab masses against the imperialist plans, and defending the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine and the Lebanese national patriotic forces, and call for the strengthening and deepening of relations of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union in every area, believing that these relations are a basic and crucial factor in the battle for liberation.

THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM AND THE DANGER OF THE "REAGAN PLAN"

After the traitorous and barbarous aggression against Lebanon and the Palestinian resistance forces, U.S. imperialism put forward the "Reagan plan" to deprive the Arab people of Palestine of the right to self-determination, split them and reduce to naught the significance of the Palestine Liberation Organization as its sole legitimate representative.

Attempts are being made, on the basis of the Israeli-Lebanese agreement, with the support of the governments of Egypt, Sudan and Oman and in collusion with a number of reactionary governments, to inveigle Jordan into capitulatory talks based on the "Reagan plan."

The reactionary Arab circles are also working in this direction, seeking to abort the decisions of the Fez summit meeting. The occupationist Israeli powers are stepping up the repression and terror, confiscating land, expanding the network of their settlements, and hardening the economic policy against the Palestinian people on the West Bank of the River Jordan and the Gaza Strip.

At the present stage, the chief task, and a meaningful one, is to firmly fulfil the decisions of the Palestine National Council's 16th session, which expressed the will of the Arab people of Palestine on the occupied territories and beyond, helped to strengthen Palestinian national unity and were a restraining political factor for all those who are trying to manipulate the destiny of the Palestinian people.

Unity of the PLO and of all detachments of the Palestinian resistance on the basis of the Palestine National Council decisions is an imperative for thwarting this reactionary imperialist plot. The communist and workers' parties of the Arab countries appeal to all Palestinian national patriotic forces to exert every effort to consolidate national unity. They believe that it is the duty of all Palestinian patriots and all progressive and patriotic forces in the Arab world to preserve this unity.

FORMS OF THE IMPERIALIST OFFENSIVE AND THE ROLE OF ARAB REACTION

The imperialist offensive is taking the form of direct military intervention, as witness:

The Israeli-U.S. alliance, based on stepped-up

political and military support of Israel, which is being allotted an active role in U.S. strategy in the region.

The "central command." Its task is to lead the rapid deployment forces. Nineteen Asian and African states, including the majority of Arab countries, are encompassed in its zone of operation. The imperialist circles declare that the rapid deployment forces' main task is to seize the oil deposits of the Persian Gulf countries and carry out military intervention to suppress the liberation revolutions and movements in the region.

Military bases and privileges. By relying on cooperative regimes in the region, the USA has been able to get a number of land, naval and air force bases, and also military privileges in Egypt, Sudan, Somalia, Bahrain, Morocco, Dubai, and Djibouti. Four bases have been completed in the Oman sultanate. The USA continues to amass arms and ammunition, and also military specialists' units in Saudi Arabia, placing them at the disposal of the rapid deployment forces. Joint military committees and early warning systems have been set up in Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Lebanon, and military agreements have been concluded with Jordan, Morocco, Tunisia and Sudan. Two U.S. air force bases have been established in the An Nakb desert.

U.S. imperialism and Israel rely on Arab reaction and its policy in their evil attacks on the Arab peoples and the liberation movement.

CAMP DAVID'S ROLE, THE IRAQI-IRANIAN WAR AND THE BREACH OF THE PARITY OF FORCES

The start of the dangerous breach of the correlation of forces in the region was marked by the reactionary Egyptian bourgeoisie's move to the road of alliance with imperialism, which allowed the USA and Israel to realize the Camp David deal and get the so-called Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty signed. As a result, Egypt was removed from the ranks of the Arab anti-imperialist front and became an accomplice in the aggression and plots against the Arab national liberation movement and an important link in U.S. imperialism's aggressive strategy.

The Camp David deal and the capitulatory policy fostered by U.S. imperialism and the Zionist aggressors has shattered illusions about the possibility of resolving the masses' economic and vital problems and improving Egypt's economic situation. The "open door" policy and the extortionist operations of the imperialist banks and the local big bourgeoisie have worsened the masses' condition, increased their poverty, sent up the cost of living and made basic foodstuffs scarcer. At the same time Egypt is very close to losing its national sovereignty and economic independence and becoming more deeply dependent on imperialism.

* * *

The continuing war between Iraq and Iran has given imperialism and Israel fresh possibilities for splitting and weakening the front of the Arab libera-

tion struggle and has led to senseless losses of both countries' material and military resources.

Along with the destruction and disasters, this war has helped the region's reactionary regimes to knock together axes and alliances and use them to undermine the Arab people's liberation struggle, while U.S. imperialism has got yet another pretext for stepping up its military presence in this region of the world.

THE GREAT ARAB MAGHREB

The communist and workers' parties of the Arab countries express their interest in détente in relations between the North West African (Maghreb) countries, which would intensify the struggle against imperialism and for the liquidation of its military bases in the region, and draw attention to the fact that some reactionary forces are bent on creating an alliance there against the peoples of the region, their mass organizations and national and progressive parties, and against democracy and social progress.

A just settlement of the Western Sahara question on the basis of the Nairobi agreements, which reaffirm the right of the Western Saharan people to self-determination, would help to normalize the situation throughout Arab Northern Africa, and to consolidate the Organization of African Unity.

THE KURDISH PROBLEM

Our parties declare their solidarity with the Kurdish national liberation movement in Iraq, Iran and Turkey. We support their struggle for national liberation and the realization of the Kurdish people's aspirations and legitimate national rights, and consider it necessary to step up the joint actions of the Arab and Kurdish peoples against imperialism and Zionism.

IMPERIALISM'S IDEOLOGICAL OFFENSIVE

Using a number of factors caused by various social and cultural conditions, imperialism, Zionism and reaction have been propagating backward, reactionary ideas and sowing despair, dejection and national nihilism, and seeking to instil illusions about the capitalist road of development and the American way of life, and to introduce a consumer attitude to reality.

This offensive has spread to information, upbringing, education, art, literature, etc., and become complex in character. Its main content is the propaganda of anti-communism and other ideas hostile to progress, democracy and socialism.

The ideological offensive is increasing the dangers to our countries since a growth in chauvinist tendencies, a narrow national perspective and religious and sectarian division bring about differences among the popular forces, weaken the patriotic struggle and open the way for realization of the plans to establish imperialist domination.

Using the false thesis about a "Soviet threat" and other fabrications from the anti-Soviet propaganda arsenal, the ideological saboteurs are bent on undermining the Arabs' friendship with the Soviet Union and the socialist community countries in an

attempt to deprive the Arab national liberation movement of a powerful and reliable ally.

DEMOCRACY AND THE MASSES' RIGHTS

The masses' participation in the struggle against imperialism, Zionism and reaction, and for social progress has always been connected with the problem of democracy in the social and political spheres. The absence of democracy in some Arab countries is a main reason limiting the framework of the popular movement and preventing the Arab working people from carrying out their national tasks, developing the struggle for their rights and vital interests, and taking an active and effective part in repulsing the imperialist, Israeli and reactionary encroachments.

Sometimes in one place, sometimes in another, some patriotic forces are unjustifiably cautious in their attitude to the communist parties, discriminate against some of them, and seek to isolate them or limit their role, and to hinder their effective participation in the country's political life. Such tendencies can only harm the interests of the patriotic struggle in any country fighting against imperialism.

The campaign of barbarous terror and physical elimination of communists and progressive-minded leaders has been stepped up in Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Sudan and North Yemen.

Our parties believe that the struggle for democracy is of decisive significance for ensuring the conditions guaranteeing failure of imperialism's intrigues against the Arab peoples. Of special significance is the struggle for democracy, democratic constitutional institutions, our peoples' freedoms and rights, and a chance to participate actively in political, economic, social and cultural life.

The communist and workers' parties of the Arab countries strongly condemn the policy of terror and repression against the communists, patriots and progressive-minded people and declare their solidarity with the fraternal parties of Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Egypt, Bahrain and the other progressive forces and national liberation movements.

GROWING THREAT OF WAR

The intensifying imperialist and Zionist offensive against the Arab national liberation movement is one aspect of U.S. imperialism's aggressive strategy based on undermining the policy of détente and peaceful coexistence and on transition to total confrontation with the Soviet Union.

This adventurist course of U.S. imperialism is fraught with the serious danger of a world nuclear war.

Washington is bent on breaking the strategic parity between the Warsaw Treaty states and the NATO countries and on achieving military superiority. The statement adopted at the Williamsburg (USA) meeting of the seven largest capitalist countries and addressed to "the peoples of the world" speaks about the determination of these states' governments to build up their military might under the pretext of defense of "freedom" and "democracy."

Instead of responding to the proposals of the

Soviet Union and the Warsaw Treaty states and returning to the road of international détente and disarmament, these heads of state decided to continue the dangerous adventure of deploying nuclear missiles, thereby subjecting Europe and the whole world to the threat of destruction and ruin.

The Soviet Union has stated its strong condemnation of the U.S. policy of whipping up international tensions and preparing for global war. It has made numerous proposals and advanced initiatives aimed to preserve and deepen détente, has assumed the unilateral obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons and called on other countries to do likewise, and has been making concrete proposals on nuclear arms reduction.

The Soviet Union never tires of warning about the serious danger which could arise for the Mediterranean countries, including those of Northern Africa and the Middle East, if the new U.S. medium-range missiles are deployed in Europe.

At its January 1983 Prague meeting, the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty states put forward a peace program to counterbalance the USA's nuclear confrontation program.

The increasing danger of a global nuclear war and of the complete destruction of life on Earth makes the task of safeguarding peace and saving mankind from catastrophe a primary one.

The communist and workers' parties of the Arab countries appeal to all Arab national patriotic and progressive parties, forces and movements, and trade union organizations to take a very active part in the worldwide campaign to prevent a destructive nuclear war, and to force the U.S. administration to renounce its plans to build up nuclear arms.

THE TASKS OF THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE PLANS FOR AGGRESSION

In order to counter the U.S.-Israeli aggressive anti-Arab course, remove the danger of direct aggression against Syria and wreck the Israeli-Lebanese agreement and the "Reagan plan," there is a need for an action program to mobilize the broad masses and all national patriotic forces in the Arab countries to support Syria, the Lebanese national patriotic forces and the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and the creation of their own state under the leadership of their sole legitimate representative — the Palestine Liberation Organization — and in support of the efforts to convene an international conference with the participation of the PLO and all other interested parties for the purpose of reaching a just settlement of the Middle East problem in accordance with the decisions of the Fez Arab heads of state and government conference and the Soviet proposals. The communist and workers' parties of the Arab countries declare their support for the struggle of the population on the occupied lands and its mass organizations against the Israeli occupation and repressive ^{policy} of Israel and the anti-^{solidarity} forces in that country. They ^{need} to strengthen the cohesion of the ^{under} the Palestinian Resistance Movement and the

Lebanese national patriotic forces, and call for an end to the Iraqi-Iranian war on the basis of a just democratic peace.

The participants in the meeting demand the release of the political prisoners, victims of reaction's repression, and also of the political prisoners thrown behind bars in Israel and the occupied Arab territories.

The communist and workers' parties of the Arab countries hail the Soviet Union, the states of the socialist community, and all working-class, democratic and peace-loving forces of the world.

Our parties reiterate their determination to continue and broaden the struggle and appeal to the workers, peasants, revolutionary intelligentsia, to all working people, national forces and movements to take an active part in strengthening Syria's steadfastness, and frustrating the plans of the Israeli aggression and the imperialist plot, for the victory of our liberation struggle and the cause of peace throughout the world.

June 1983
Abridged

Canada: To Prevent Encroachment of Civil and Constitutional Rights

Letter by William Kashtan, General Secretary of the CP of Canada,
to Prime Minister Trudeau

We write you to express our deep concern with Bill C-157, an act to establish a Canadian Security Intelligence Service.

The Bill which is directed to spy on Canadians goes in a dangerous direction. In the name of security it gives wide-ranging powers to the CSIS. These include undertaking actions previously considered illegal. These illegal actions and every other dirty trick will now be legitimized.

In the name of security, legitimate dissent will be under constant surveillance as was the case before. Mr. Kaplan (Solicitor-General of Canada. — *Ed.*) says legitimate dissent will not be "targeted", but this is so much deception. The main aim of Bill C-157 is in fact to spy, disrupt and destroy legitimate dissent.

The "threats to security" in Canada are so wide-ranging as to encompass any act of any Canadian who challenges the status quo, who calls for changes in government foreign policy or who expresses active support to peoples striving for their freedom and independence.

Mr. Kaplan says that Canadians can trust him. Why? He promised to destroy the "security" list of over 800,000 names. He has yet to do so. Mails are not supposed to be tampered with. But the press drew attention to such tampering. Presumably wire-tapping also goes on.

To place trust in Mr. Kaplan in these circumstances would be an act of stupidity.

It is interesting to note that the threats to security do not encompass U.S. interference in the internal affairs of Canada as in the matters of NEP (National Energy Program) and FIRA (Foreign Investment Review Act), and rain, extraterritorial jurisdiction. Nor the role of the U.S. multinationals in our country as Trojan horses for the U.S. administration. The threats to security do not cover the more than 1,000 Nazi killers in our country.

Apparently the authors of Bill C-157 have their

own unique conceptions of what the threats to Canada's security are.

The far-reaching character of Bill C-157 is seen in the way the solicitor-general treated the question: "Will Bill C-157 be used against the Communist Party of Canada? Will that party be targeted?" He evaded answering this and this evasiveness suggests Bill C-157 will be used against the Communist Party of Canada.

Is this Mr. Kaplan's personal interpretation of Bill C-157 or is this the position of the government?

We would like a reply to this.

We have enough historical experience to go on, to show that whenever a communist party is under attack, democracy goes out the window. Hitler fascism gives us one example. We have many other such examples, not least the illegalization of the Communist Party of Canada in the Hungry 30s.

The Communist Party of Canada is a legal political party. Its program, aims and policies are well known. None of them infringes on democracy and Canada's security. Indeed, if our program were implemented it would strengthen democracy and the real security of Canada.

Let me illustrate.

The Communist Party of Canada calls for a policy of full employment.

Monopoly interests in this country want a policy of high unemployment, and government economic and social policy have brought their wishes about.

The Communist Party of Canada calls for the working people to have a say over economic policy and technological change.

Monopoly interests deny this basic democratic right.

The Communist Party of Canada calls for a truly independent foreign policy based on peaceful coexistence, détente and disarmament, a break with U.S. control over the Canadian economy.

The multinationals and their U.S. government want instead to absorb Canada.

The Communist Party of Canada called and continues to call for a Canadian constitution which would incorporate the basic national rights of the French Canadian people, their right to self-determination and equality, as well as the national rights of the Native peoples.

The multinationals and monopoly interests in Canada oppose this.

Who then is for a truly united Canada and whose policies lead to the fragmentation of Canada? Who threatens Canada's security and who advocates policies which would ensure that security?

Why is it suggested that the Communist Party of Canada be targeted while the real culprits are allowed to undermine Canada's real security?

We believe Bill C-157 is an ill-advised and ill-conceived document which not only takes away the basic rights of the Canadian people but takes away as well parliament's rights. Notwithstanding what Mr. Kaplan says, Bill C-157 is outside parliamentary control as it is outside the law. Indeed Bill C-157 goes in an opposite direction to the Charter of Rights. Were Bill C-157 adopted the Charter of Rights would become a worthless piece of paper.

For all these reasons we add our voice to the many Canadians and their organizations in opposition to Bill C-157. We believe the best thing to do in the circumstances is to withdraw the Bill and draft another Bill. In our Brief to the Commission of Inquiry concerning certain activities of the RCMP we outlined what we believe should be done. We said then that:

"The way to come to grips with the illegalities perpetrated by the Security Branch is democratization of the RCMP and undertaking effective parliamentary control over its activities. There cannot be two laws, one for the RCMP and another for the Canadian people. The RCMP must uphold civil and democratic rights. Canadians must not allow a situation in which to all intents and purposes a state operates within the state and is outside the control of the democratic institutions of the Canadian people. To prevent this, the RCMP and the armed forces must be subordinated to civil law and to the democratically designated authorities and all paranoid and anti-democratic elements removed from these institutions. We have enough lessons from history, including the more recent period, to emphasize how important that is.

"A major conclusion from the events being examined is the necessity for a specific code of conduct which clearly delineates the nature and scope of security. Within this context the time is long overdue to eliminate all vestiges of cold war in the various institutions of government and the state as well as in the minds of people.

"The cold war, based on the myth of a 'Soviet threat' permeated most facets of life in Canada. It still finds expression today in the various activities of the Security Branch aimed against the working class and democratic movements. It is here that one finds the roots of the problem. It is more than time to dismantle these relics of the cold war and of McCarthyism. Indeed, unless this is done, Canada will

continue to be plagued by attacks on civil and constitutional rights, all in the name of national security. This emphasizes the need for a code of conduct which establishes a clear separation between what is security and what is legitimate political dissent. If the state has no business in the bedrooms of the nation, neither has the Security Branch of the RCMP any business to interfere in the democratic political life of the country.

"A specific code of conduct could go a long way toward overcoming paranoid and anti-democratic tendencies and thereby strengthen democratic and constitutional rights which have been the main victims of the illegalities. In addition to the above, a Bill of Rights is called for which has within it effective measures to guarantee the democratic and civil rights of Canadians."

We believe these views continue to have merit.

Mr. Kaplan has proposed that the timetable for adoption of Bill C-157 be extended. We believe more than that is required in the interests of defending and extending democratic rights in Canada. We join other Canadians in asking that Bill C-157 be withdrawn.

Hoping that you will give the views expressed here your careful consideration.

Central Executive, Communist Party of Canada
William Kashtan, CPC General Secretary
Canadian Tribune, June 13, 1983

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Guyana: Lowering World Tensions

Statement by the People's Progressive Party of Guyana

World peace is an essential ingredient for the economic development of nation states and the social well-being of their peoples. As such, the People's Progressive Party (PPP) wholeheartedly supports the concept of world peace, and undertakes to work with all forces interested in securing détente, disarmament, and an end to the arms race.

At this point in time, there is grave concern over the teetering of the world on the brink of a nuclear cataclysm. The blame for this must be placed squarely on the shoulders of the USA and the Ronald Reagan administration in particular. The USA has embarked upon a feverish and stupendous military build-up of nuclear weaponry, unprecedented in the history of the world.

The PPP welcomes the upcoming World Peace Assembly in Prague, Czechoslovakia, and is in full support of the efforts of the Guyana Peace Council and other anti-war forces in Guyana in mobilizing local opinion in the interest of world peace. The party notes that world peace is vital because it prevents human civilization from being destroyed and releases billions of dollars worth of resources for economic development.

Militarization is therefore inimical to economic development, for it siphons off essential funds into wasteful arms spending. Peace, disarmament and development go hand-in-hand.

In Central America and the Caribbean, the party views with deep concern the machinations of U.S. imperialism in El Salvador and Nicaragua and calls for the immediate cessation of this blatant interference. The party notes with satisfaction the refusal of the U.S. Congress to vote funds for covert CIA operations in Nicaragua.

The PPP categorically rejects U.S. pretensions and threats to Grenada and Surinam and urges the USA to keep its blood-stained hands off these two popular revolutions.

The gendarme role being played by Honduras is to

be regretted and sternly condemned. This sordid role is a base betrayal of Latin America's democratic aspirations, and a studied scheme to destabilize and overthrow the revolutionary Nicaraguan government by the use of mercenary cut-throats based in Honduras. The Honduran government should repudiate this role of an oppressive interventionist tool for U.S. imperialism.

The People's Progressive Party makes no apology to any minuscule right-wing party or group which asserts that world peace or regional peace is "not important or relevant to Guyana" and is a "matter for the big powers."

These puppet organizations, intent on peddling imperialist propaganda and becoming willing tools of U.S. imperialism, decline to comment on the burning topics of world and regional peace, precisely because if they do so, they are bound to clash with U.S. imperialism which is chiefly responsible for these situations.

It is the USA which is behind the Middle East crisis, the dispossession and massacre of the Palestinians, the strengthening of apartheid in South Africa, the delay for Namibian independence by linking this inalienable right of the Namibian people to the "withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola." This "linkage" is an effective way of vetoing Namibian freedom under SWAPO.

It is the USA which is behind the sustained East-West tensions and "trade embargoes" which profit no one, except the munitions magnates who now greatly influence the U.S. government. It is the USA which is seeking "nuclear superiority" over the Soviet Union, while the Soviet Union insists on parity with the USA. It is the USA which has drawn up plans for "limited nuclear wars" and a "winnable nuclear war against the Soviet Union." This is the type of madness and aggression which the world peace movement must fight against.

Abridged from *Mirror*, June 19, 1983

Italy: For the Country's Political, Social and Cultural Renewal

Statement by the Italian Communist Party Leadership on the results of the June 26-27 unscheduled parliamentary elections.

The elections marked the beginning of a fundamentally new stage in Italy's political life. Favorable conditions have been created for overcoming the old differences between the left and democratic forces, making it possible for them to set about realizing, with enthusiasm and determination, broad political initiatives adequate to the political, social, cultural and moral renewal which the country needs.

The disorder, confused protest and distrust

characteristic of the work of Italian democratic institutions show the need for change. Those primarily responsible for the mismanagement have been punished. By condemning the Christian Democratic Party (CDP), Italians have demanded a radical review of the political orientations and the methods of the government system, a healthier moral climate and a change in the alignment of political forces in the government. With the strengthening of the ICP,

the prospects for a democratic alternative have drawn nearer.

1. The fact that the CDP lost its balance has raised a great clamor and is fraught with all kinds of consequences. Apart from the big overall fall in votes, its defeat is very substantial on the whole. The party has been receiving painful blows from its traditional supporters throughout the country, from Veneto to the south of Italy. The CDP has been weakened still further in the large cities, and has become a middling party, yielding to the ICP to a great extent. This shows that the Christian Democrats have lost their political and cultural hegemony and makes a laughing-stock of their leaders, who proudly called themselves the bearers of a modern culture of government. In reality their system of government has been called in question. And it is thanks to this that favorable conditions have been created for a democratic alternative, and the most varied political, social, cultural and ideological forces — all those loyal to the cause of statehood — can gain scope for action, dignity and independence.

2. The attempt to rely on a revitalized CDP supported by big capital and create a majority of the center, which would make it possible to form a strong conservative government aiming to shift the main burden of the crisis onto the working people and the worst-off strata of the population, has ended in failure. It is to our party's credit that it directly opposed these designs, openly engaged their architects and made a decisive contribution to their defeat. The offensive of the most extreme entrepreneurs against the working class and trade union movement is continuing in all its gravity. It is still one of the party's chief immediate tasks to give all-round support to the working people's struggle for labor agreements and job protection. The working people loudly voiced their social protest during the election campaign. It is necessary to support this process and to speed up the search for a solution to the crisis, all of which, by eliminating waste, parasitism and unfair privileges, making broad use of material resources and manpower, raising the level of productivity of the economic system as a whole and improving state finances, will help to revive the country's economic development. Such is the road that the communists have been pointing out to all forces in Italy engaged in productive work, to the specialists, professionals and cultural figures who have expressed lack of confidence in the sham efficiency of a CDP incapable of running the state and economy on a democratic basis.

3. The defeat of the Christian Democrats has created a unique situation. For the first time it is possible to form a democratic majority without the CDP. The mere possibility of such a situation is changing the political picture and undermining the Christian Democrats' supremacy. Now even traditional CDP allies have more autonomy. They no longer have arguments able to justify their reprehensible actions with the need to maintain unity. The Italian Socialist Party's line of dependence on the Christian Democrats within the present system of power has not paid off. It should also be emphasized that, among the parties which used to be in the

government, only those — like the Italian Republican Party — which expressed a desire to dissociate themselves from the CDP on questions of morals and power have advanced.

4. Those, including left forces, who ridiculed the unprecedented persistence with which the ICP — for a long time and essentially alone — attached paramount importance to moral questions in order to restore to Italians a state freed of stratification, occultism, dissipation and subjection to private interests, and in order to return to the parties their lost political and ideological role, will now have to change their opinion. Among the most positive and encouraging results of the June 26-27 voting is the severe condemnation of those in the camorra and mafia zones — both in Calabria and Sicily and in Turin and Liguria — who have been substituting fraud for politics. Even in the south of Italy loyalty to clientelism is in regression. A question of enormous importance is on the agenda — reform of state power, meaning not so much an end to the corruption of some political leaders as an end to the impunity, the non-observance of democratic legality and the confusion of narrow party interests with those of the state, which were the result of the 40-year rule in Italy of the Christian Democrats — even with various allies — who discriminated against the entire popular opposition; and meaning not only necessary institutional reforms but also restoration of the basic rule of the democratic game — taking turns in power, the existence of an alternative to the government.

5. The other important result of the voting is that the ICP, strengthened and considerably renewed during the severe trials of recent years, is becoming increasingly able to head all the democratic and progressive forces. Here, in addition to what the figures show, lies the essence of our success. The attempts made in these years to exclude and disunite us and make us impotent have failed. That stage has ended and everyone should recognize that. The ICP is being confirmed — with all its original features — as one of the largest left, reformative and ruling parties of Europe. This force represents the interests of the majority of the working-class movement, the intelligentsia, the broad masses of the youth and women, and Italy's most developed and modern industries. It is the most powerful party of the big cities, one in which the interest of the population of the south is once again growing.

The successful surmounting of the serious obstacles on the road to the country's political and ideological renewal must have an impact on the change of the quality and prospects of the political and social struggle in Italy. Continuing the cause begun at the Milan congress, the ICP favors the development of initiatives aimed to restore to the left and progressive forces their true role — that of a reformer in power able to respond to the challenge coming primarily from the conservative forces and caused by the very character of the crisis and also by the great changes now taking place in the country and in Europe. That is why we are appealing to the ISP to define more clearly its role and place in the struggle

to take the country out of the present state of degradation and instability created by the incompetent and divided governments of recent years.

6. The crisis of government is not the result of difficulties in creating a parliamentary majority but of the inability to solve the national problems and of the unwillingness, to put it briefly, to get rid of the prejudices against forces like ours. The left forces, the working people and progressive forces play their innovative role with pride. They are not seeking to split the country in two or to come into conflict with catholicism. On the contrary, with their struggle for the alternative they uphold the dignity of all parties and the free dialectics of democracy on the basis of programs and not of bias and political calculations. They are thereby prepared to dispute with the CDP not only on the grounds of division of power but also on the basis of a program, defense of the national interests and ideas. They would like the CDP crisis, worsened by the electoral defeat, to make the best representatives of that party stop and think. At the same time a fundamentally new field of activity is being formed for the intermediary forces representing a significant part of the country's population.

7. The Communist Party's action and initiatives

in the coming weeks must be concentrated on speeding up all the processes able to take Italy out of the crisis and move it along the road of democratic transformations and progress. The country's problems cannot wait. The ICP leadership appeals to all its members to support the trade unions in their struggle for employment. The main efforts must be concentrated on activating the movement for peace and against the missile deployment in Comiso.

A profound analysis of the election results, their positive and negative aspects, and also of the party's work as a whole must be completed without undue nervousness; we must be aware of the degree of authority we have among the masses and of the growth in confidence in our policy. The exchange of party cards, the subscription to the party press, and the organization of broad measures for the *L'Unita* newspaper festival are the first stage of the test. -

The ICP leadership thanks the electorate, all party members, comrades from the Italian Party of Proletarian Unity and the League of Socialists and also the independents — all those who participated in this struggle with sober reason and ardor.

L'Unita, July 1, 1983

from the press

United We Shall Win

In its anxiety and fear in the face of the mounting popular resistance to the venal and reactionary policy, which dooms the people to hunger, the fascist dictatorship of General Alfredo Stroessner has launched a new round of arrests of trade union and student leaders and intellectuals to intimidate the working masses and the people as a whole, suppress their struggle for economic and democratic demands.

The escalating brutal repression as an element of the reactionary militarist policy of U.S. imperialism and local reaction is meant to stifle the working people's discontent, hold back the protest action of those trade unions which refuse to give in to the pressure being exerted by the leaders of the Paraguayan Working People's Confederation headed by Sotero Ledesma & Co.; to undermine the independent student movement, which has been fighting against fascist obscurantism and demanding more democratic education; to silence the conservative new paper ABC and Radio Nanduti and make them submit to the regime without a murmur; and to punish journalists who refuse to bow to the dictatorship. All of this is being done to prevent an upsurge of the democratic and revolutionary movement, whose aim is freedom, defense of the country's national wealth and sovereignty, peace and social progress.

The police repression is a sign of the weakness rather than the strength of the regime, which emerged through violence and shameless fraud and which is being sustained owing to the financial assistance and support of the aggressive and imperialist Reagan government.

The anti-democratic repression, brazenly instigated by the newspaper *Patria*, the dictatorship's mouthpiece, is being justified, as before, by the tattered inventions about "subversive activity" and the mythical threat of "communism." That is the dirty banner used by the Stroessner dictatorship and its master, U.S. imperialism, to obstruct social progress and suppress the democratic aspirations of our peoples.

That is why Reagan and his henchman Stroessner have branded the Salvadoran people's just struggle for liberation as "terrorism," while calling the Somocist mercenaries who have invaded Nicaraguan territory, and the criminal governments of El Salvador and Guatemala "freedom fighters."

The Stroessner regime, whose main features are dependence on transnational corporations, imperialist exploitation and the sway of latifundists, is unable to overcome the grave economic crisis and put an end to the unemployment, the massive layoffs, low wages, smuggling, exorbitant taxes, and so on. Finding itself in a blind alley, it has intensified

the campaign of terror and tortures; more and more political prisoners disappear without a trace. That criminal policy is called a "legal state" and "democracy without communism." But fascism, which is known to be a brutal though unstable power, is not only anti-communist, but is at the same time an essentially anti-popular regime. The aim of the rabid anti-communist campaign is to imprison patriots from all parties and social strata.

The worsening economic crisis, escalating repression and fascist obscurantism call for immediate radical and deep-going changes in the country's life. Consequently, an urgent task facing all Paraguayan patriots is to overthrow the Stroessner dictatorship with the help of all the necessary forms of struggle that accord with the concrete conditions.

To stem the wild wave of repression, save the life and secure the release of Antonio Maidana, Emilio Roa and all other political prisoners, and ensure a lifting of the state of emergency, a repeal of the anti-democratic acts Nos. 209 and 294, and the repa-

triation of Paraguayan exiles, it is necessary to organize a powerful and growing mass resistance movement, mobilizing the working people of town and country, students and intellectuals, all the anti-dictatorial forces for such a struggle. We should prepare ourselves for broader, better-organized and resolute battles. In the course of the liberation struggle, it is necessary to set up a national anti-dictatorial front pivoted on a worker-peasant alliance, which could intensify the popular resistance and expose the fascist substance of the regime. Unitary committees should be organized across the country, launching coordinated action by civilian and military forces with the active involvement of young people and women in order to overthrow the dictatorship and replace it with a provisional military-civilian government of democratic and patriotic unity, which would convene a National Constituent Assembly.

United we shall win.

Adelante, May 31, 1983

Victorious Record of Struggle and Construction

Boris Ponomarev
Alternate Member of the Political Bureau,
CPSU Central Committee, and
CPSU Central Committee Secretary

There is no corner on this planet today where people would not know about the existence of the Soviet Union, the great socialist state without exploiters and without economic, political or national oppression, a state where the land, factories and mines, railways and banks, the media, cultural institutions and health services are social property.

It is natural for the masses everywhere to want to know how this society, which has no precedent in history, has arisen? How, for the first time in thousands of years of exploitative relations, have the workers and peasants of this vast country managed to prove the possibility of getting rid of tsarism, abolishing the capitalist order, and creating a society of free and equal working people?

Within a few decades, this country has rapidly risen from backwardness to progress. The Soviet people have built a developed socialist society, turned their country into a mighty socialist power, created a crisis-proof and balanced economy, a system of true people's power, advanced culture, science and engineering, and blazed the trail for humankind into outer space.

The truth of life has been breaking all the barriers erected by the lies and slanders of imperialist propaganda against the Soviet Union and its great achievements. This truth is reaching the hearts and minds of more and more working people across the world. People of many nations have been to the

Soviet Union during the six and a half decades of its existence, and have seen for themselves the new world of socialism, the new society building communism. The peoples of the world have come to realize that the Soviet Union is the main bulwark of peace, and that it is tirelessly working to prevent another world war.

The record of the first country of socialism and subsequently arisen socialist countries points out the triumphant high-road to a free and prosperous life, to democracy, peace, and genuine human happiness. Influenced by their example, the peoples are increasingly determined to do away with exploitation, cast off the shackles of national and social oppression, and win a life fit for human beings.

Why, then, has this greatest miracle in world history come about?

It is because long before the October Revolution a revolutionary party was carrying on a struggle in Russia, a party set up at the second congress of the RSDLP in Russia, a party set up at the second congress of the RSDLP (Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party) in July 1903. Inspired by the genius of Vladimir Lenin, who combined revolutionary courage and a precise, scientifically-grounded assessment of reality, that party discovered the revolutionary opportunities for revolutionary development, taking all-round account of the objec-

tive internal and international conditions leading up to a revolution. It fused the working-class movement with scientific socialism, consistently championed the interests of the workers, peasants and working intellectuals, enlightened the masses, and led them forward to storm the pillars of the old world.

The history of the CPSU is Marxism-Leninism in action and in its creative development. Leninism has become our party's flesh and blood, and has been our guide for decades in resolving both short-term and long-term problems. For the peoples, this party has proved to be a conscious and organized force capable of realizing the working people's age-old aspirations, radically changing the face of Russia, and reshaping the state's foreign policy. A study of the CPSU's record serves to equip the communists and all the other working people with a practice-tested knowledge of the laws of social development and class struggle, and the laws of socialist and communist construction.

Fostered by the great Lenin, the Communist Party has travelled a road of heroic achievements, hard trials and epoch-making victories, a road no other political party in the world can equal. Having sprung up in the 1880s as small Marxist groups operating in the midst of Russia's working-class movement and then as the League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class set up by Lenin, the party has developed into a powerful force which is closely connected with the people and stands at the head of a socialist state.

The history of the CPSU has two great periods: the period *before the October Revolution*, when the party rallied the proletariat and the other working masses to action to overthrow the rule of the exploiters and establish that of the working class, and the period *after the October Revolution*, when it became the ruling party of the first socialist workers' and peasants' state and has since been heading the Soviet people's struggle for socialism and communism. Either of these periods is a subject for endless study. One's main concern should be to draw proper lessons from it and sum up the party's enormous experience in guiding the masses in every area of social life: ideological, political, organizational and economic.

What makes the CPSU's record so valuable is that it is a *victorious* record. The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the victory in the Civil War of 1918-1920, the victory in the Great Patriotic War, the victory in industrialization and introduction of collective farming, the victory in the cultural revolution and in resolving the nationalities question, and the victory of socialism in general have been the major landmarks in the Leninist party's *undisputable* historic achievements, which sceptics cannot play down and adversaries cannot discredit. *Therein lies the power and the abiding value of the CPSU's experience for all peoples.*

The first thing that had to be done to ensure the success of the revolutionary movement was to build a party capable of leading it forward. Lenin spent

many years before the October Revolution working toward that end. Built on the ideological, political and organizational principles elaborated by Lenin, the Bolshevik Party was the first-ever revolutionary Marxist party of the working class in the international movement, a new type of party. It emerged as an advanced and organized contingent of the Russian proletariat, as the highest form of its organization.

The formation of the Leninist Party was a logical result of social development and a breakthrough in the history of the Russian and international working-class movement. What distinguished our party from all foreign social-democratic parties was its ideological and organizational cohesion, its revolutionary commitment and consistency of purpose. None of these had ever called on the working class to establish a dictatorship of the proletariat, as it was written into the RSDLP program in 1903. None of these had so exacting a statute to govern inner-party life as the Bolshevik party had.

To achieve their aim — overthrow tsarism and capitalism and establish the rule of the working people led by the working class — the Bolsheviks had attained three major objectives before the October Revolution:

- consolidating the party itself in every way, ideologically, politically, and organizationally;
- educating the working class and all the other working people in a revolutionary spirit and winning them over;
- forging an alliance between the working class and the peasantry, with the proletariat playing the vanguard role in revolution.

The proletariat's enemies saw before long what a formidable force it had acquired in the Bolshevik party. It was already in the Russian Revolution of 1905-1907 that the Russian proletariat, led by that party, manifested its power in full measure. For the first time in the history of the international working-class movement, it came forward as the main driving force of a bourgeois democratic revolution. And although the revolution of 1905-1907 was defeated, it enabled the party, the working class and the peasant masses to draw many lessons. "Without such a 'dress rehearsal' as we had in 1905," Lenin wrote later on, "the revolutions of 1917 — both the bourgeois, February revolution, and the proletarian, October Revolution — would have been impossible" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 310).

In the years of reaction that followed the defeat, the party did not sink into despair, nor did it lose its contact with the masses. It used all legal means to explain to the masses the lessons of the past revolution and the prospects for the development of the revolutionary struggle. That resulted, after a few years of stalemate, in a renewed upsurge of the working-class movement, once again under Bolshevik slogans.

Lenin and the party kept up a resolute struggle against the overt and disguised opponents of revolutionary Marxism. The Socialist Revolutionaries, Mensheviks, anarchists, Trotskyites, nationalist and other petty-bourgeois elements denied the leading role of the working class in the revolutionary

struggle, did not recognize the dictatorship of the proletariat, and sought to turn the proletariat into a collaborator of the bourgeoisie. The Communist Party, applying as it did its skilful and flexible tactics to win the masses over to the side of the proletarian vanguard, forged the militant unity of Russia's working class and safeguarded it from any conciliation with the bourgeoisie. It brought the peasant masses over to the proletariat's side, and persuaded the working people of the oppressed nations that they could win freedom under its leadership.

The Bolsheviks with Lenin at their head prevented the Mensheviks from infecting the working class with opportunism and from pushing it into cooperation with the bourgeoisie as the right-wing leaders of Europe's social democratic parties had done. Owing to the persistent and purposeful efforts of the Bolshevik Party and its correct political leadership, the revolutionary trend was firmly established in Russia's working-class movement, and that was of decisive importance for the victory of the February and the October Revolution.

Lenin's party was always true to Marxism and creatively applied its principles to the concrete conditions of the proletariat's struggle in Russia. It defended these principles while seeking to enrich its theory with further historical experience, keeping in close touch with practice.

The overriding objective of the party's theoretical work was to ascertain the conditions for the victory of the socialist revolution and to ensure the hegemony of the proletariat in that revolution. It was from that point of view that the issue of its allies — the peasant and the national liberation movement — was considered, and the role of different strata of the peasantry and the oppressed peoples was established. The party followed the rule that theory had to precede revolutionary practice and guide the working class to victory.

Lenin's theory of socialist revolution was an example of the creative development of Marxism, showing how to replace outdated propositions with new ones, consistent with the new historical conditions of the proletariat's struggle. With Marx's ideas about the continuous development of revolution as his guide, Lenin proved it was possible for a bourgeois democratic revolution to develop into a socialist one. Life confirmed that prediction.

It was also important to ascertain the prospects for the development of the revolutionary process across the world and to find a scientific answer to the question of whether the proletariat of a particular country with a revolutionary situation in it had to carry out a socialist revolution or to wait for similar conditions to arise in other countries so as to act simultaneously. The unchallenged view in the international working-class movement at that time was that a victory could be won only if the proletariat of all or most of the advanced capitalist countries carried out a socialist revolution at the same time.

While maintaining that that Marxist proposition had been right for its time, Lenin formulated a new conclusion after a thorough study of the epoch of imperialism, an epoch marked by the ever more uneven development of different countries; he

pointed out the possibility of a victorious socialist revolution and of socialism first in a few countries or even in one individual country. Lenin's conclusion indicated a clear prospect for the revolutionary movement in Russia and for all the national contingents of the proletariat, and made them confident of their eventual victory. That conclusion was proved very well by the victory of the socialist revolution in Russia. With Lenin's theory of revolution to rely on, the party successfully applied the scientifically-grounded propositions on the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary struggle, on the distinctions between revolution and reform, on the revolutionary situation, on armed uprising, etc.

Owing to the Bolshevik party's ideological, political and organizational cohesion, based on Lenin's doctrine, its fidelity to Marxist principles, creative development of theory, and correct political leadership, the Russian proletariat, like no other national contingent of the international working class, was prepared in every way for action to overthrow tsarism and capitalism and to win power.

The victory of socialist revolutions in a number of countries of Europe, Asia, and America, and the formation of the world socialist system have shown the validity of the CPSU's revolutionary record in the new historical setting.

II

The Bolshevik party came to power in a country which tsarism and the classes that had been dominant before the revolution had reduced to a state of extreme decline, exposing it to the threat of partition by the imperialist powers. Having assumed responsibility for the country's destiny, the party rallied, organized and inspired the working people for a struggle against the backwardness and economic dislocation and for building socialism. Following Lenin's wise conclusion that "no revolution is worth anything unless it can defend itself" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 28, p. 124), the party rallied the masses for action to beat back the internal counter-revolution and the foreign armed intervention against the young Soviet Republic, brought this country to victory in the Civil War and the Great Patriotic War, saved it from enslavement by imperialism, and upheld the independence and sovereignty of the Soviet state.

Consistently working to apply Lenin's general strategy of building socialism in the USSR, the party and the people rid the nation's productive forces of the fetters of private property relations, and created conditions for the all-round progress of social and economic relations, science and culture. Under the party's leadership, this country developed into a mighty socialist power within the shortest possible historical period.

Lenin pointed out that the conditions for a revolutionary party to live up to its great mission "are created only by prolonged effort and hard-won experience. Their creation is facilitated by a correct revolutionary theory, which, in its turn, is not a dogma, but assumes final shape only in close connection with the practical activity of a truly mass and

truly revolutionary movement" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 25).

Implementation of Lenin's and the party's plans for building socialism implied a fundamental restructuring of the society in the USSR, that is, the constructive stage of the revolution.

The record of *social and political development* has borne out the validity of the Marxist-Leninist theory of the state. The party has supplemented it with important provisions and conclusions. A basically new type of state — a socialist state relying on an alliance of the workers, peasants and intellectuals of all Soviet nationalities and ethnic groups — has been created. It rests on the Soviets — a form of power that emerged in the first Russian revolution of 1905 and was subsequently defined by Lenin as the optimal political institution for Russia, a blend of state and social organization. What emerged was a hitherto unknown social and political structure filling out with real substance the notions of freedom, human rights, democracy and social justice. The party successfully put into effect Lenin's plan for resolving the nationalities problem, a burning problem for Russia, which under tsarism had been a "prison for nations," as Lenin put it.

The record of *economic development* is an example of what can be done to overcome backwardness, industrialize a nation, introduce a system of collective farming, and create productive forces geared to a steady improvement of the working people's well-being and satisfaction of their vital material and spiritual needs. A material and technical base has been created without which it would have been impossible to build up the nation's defense capability and to hold out in the years of the Second World War, defeat fascism and save the peoples not only of the Soviet Union but also of other European countries from fascist slavery.

The record of *intellectual and cultural development* has brought out an effective way for the quick enlightenment of the working masses, and a way to create the conditions for a sweeping advance of science, the arts and literature, and give enough scope for the creative powers and original talents of the working people of most diverse ethnic backgrounds. This has produced a new type of culture, uniform in socialist content but diverse in ethnic form, which has been making an ever greater contribution, highly appreciated by the peoples of the world, to mankind's common treasure-house of cultural values. Marxism-Leninism has become the ideology of the Soviet people.

In the course of *party building* Lenin's principles of party organization, leadership and ideological activity have been tested and borne out by life, by wide practical experience. In April 1917, a few months after the takeover of power by the working class, the party had a membership of only 80,000. In 1939, when the 18th party congress declared that socialism in the USSR had been built in the main, its membership was more than 1.5 million. At present, it has over 18 million members. Looking back upon the CPSU's 80 years, one cannot overrate the wealth of its revolutionary and constructive experience in resolving a vast array of problems, including those

relating to the most diverse forms of selfless and consistent struggle for the unity and ideological integrity of its ranks, against revisionists and opportunists of every stripe, for the creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory, and for its skilful application in everyday practice.

The historical experience gained by the CPSU shows that building socialism is a process that involves an intense class struggle which has manifested itself within the party through the anti-party activities of the Trotskyites, right-wing opportunists and nationalistic capitulationists. A party can successfully head the struggle of the working class for power and for the attainment of socialism and communism only if its own internal life is well-organized and if all of its organizations and all of its members have a common will and act as a coherent force.

Democratic centralism is the main principle of the party's organizational structure and internal life. Lenin said that democratic centralism was required in order that "the *organizational* role of the proletariat (and that is its *principal* role) may be exercised correctly, successfully and victoriously" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 44).

The Leninist principle of collective leadership is of fundamental importance to the party's life and activity. A party cannot, Lenin pointed out, do its political work, organize and discipline the revolutionary forces "without the collective elaboration of certain *forms and rules for the conduct of affairs*" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 4, p. 219). While developing and updating the Leninist standards of party life, the CPSU has been working to strengthen the ideological and organizational unity of its ranks to ensure the continuity of leadership, and integrate experienced and young cadre.

A party cannot be the true leader of the people unless it consciously expresses the aspirations of the masses. A party can play a vanguard role only when it does not fence itself off from the masses but, on the contrary, works with them day by day, and can convince the masses, even their backward strata, of the justice of its policy and bring them up to the level of advanced champions of the communist cause. To be a Soviet communist is a great and highly exacting honor. The CPSU Central Committee's Resolution on the 80th Anniversary of the Second Congress of the RSDLP said: "Membership in the party does not entitle anyone to any privileges, but means only the communists' greater responsibility for everything that is done in the nation and for the destinies of socialist construction and social progress."

Headway in socialist construction can be made, as our historical experience shows, only through a creative development of Marxist-Leninist science, elaboration of the fundamental problems of theory, a constant struggle against creeping pragmatism, time-serving considerations, or arm-chair theorizing divorced from practice. Experience has repeatedly confirmed Lenin's idea that "anybody who tackles partial problems without having previously settled general problems, will inevitably and at every step 'come up against' those general problems without himself realizing it. To come up against them blindly in every individual case means to doom one's poli-

tics to the worst vacillation and lack of principle" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 12, p. 489).

Leninism says that whoever fails to take into account changes in the society's development, sticks to outdated propositions and conclusions, and reiterates old formulas in place of a scientific analysis of the new historical conditions distorts the revolutionary essence of Marxism-Leninism and departs from it in practice.

The CPSU has identified the attainment of developed socialism at the present stage of Soviet history as the major outcome of the Soviet people's constructive endeavor. The party considers this stage of social development to be marked by a number of new and essential features, taking these into account in defining its approach and the tasks to be tackled in every area of social life. These features are:

— The country's dynamic social and economic development under a state plan has served to create an integral nation-wide economic complex ensuring the material, cultural and intellectual progress of each republic and region, and also the optimal use of their resources for the well-balanced development of the country as a whole.

— A new social structure has taken shape as the basis for an advance toward a classless society and for erasing the essential distinctions between town and country, and between mental and manual work.

— The socialist state which has emerged in the USSR as a state of proletarian dictatorship, has developed into a state of the whole people, expressing the whole people's interests and will, with the working class retaining its leading role as the most advanced and organized social force. The role of the Soviets of People's Deputies has increased, socialist democracy has been further developed, and the working people's involvement in social administration has been extended.

— The formation of socialist nations and their constantly strengthening friendship have produced a new historical entity, the Soviet people. A multinational socialist culture has flourished due to the all-round progress of all nationalities and ethnic groups and their mutual spiritual enrichment. For the first time in history, the multi-ethnic composition of a country is a source of strength, and not weakness.

— In the conditions of developed socialism, the Communist Party has further increased its role as the leading and guiding force of society. It has become the party of the entire people. Inner-party democracy has expanded, and the communists' activity and creative initiative have increased in dealing with political and economic issues of national life.

At the present stage, the party's major concern is to further improve developed socialism and use more of its advantages and potentialities in the interest and for the benefit of the working people. It is well aware of the magnitude of the problems that have to be resolved, soberly evaluates the country's possibilities, its productive and scientific potential, and looks ahead with optimism. "Of paramount importance today," Yuri Andropov has pointed out,

"is the need to consider and consistently carry out measures capable of giving full scope for the enormous creative forces inherent in our economy. These measures should be carefully prepared and realistic, and this means that they should be elaborated in strict accordance with the laws governing the development of the economic system of socialism" (*Kommunist*, 1983, No. 3, p. 13).

The party has launched a drive to raise the efficiency of the national economy, speed up economic growth, increase the absolute increment of the national income, as well as that of industrial and agricultural production, and improve the well-being of the working people. The major instruments in carrying out these plans are intensified production, higher labor productivity, more extensive and more rapid introduction in production of the achievements of scientific and technological progress, and improvement of the entire mechanism of economic management.

A sense of realism and a scientific approach, initiative and an exacting attitude, a constructive and self-critical attitude, that is, the party's qualities which constitute the Leninist style and the very soul of all its activities, are the major pledge of success in resolving the problems put forward by life. The CPSU is opposed to window-dressing and empty talk, guided as it is by Lenin's principle that "there must be less fine talk, for you cannot satisfy the working people with fine words" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 372). Only a party which is critical of shortcomings and which does not cover them up with a semblance of "all is well" can be the true leader of the working class and all the other working people. Lenin said that "the failure and decline of political parties have very often been preceded by a state of affairs in which a swelled head is possible" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 528). He concluded that idea by expressing confidence that our party would never "contract a swelled head" (*ibid*). The CPSU's record offers ample evidence to demonstrate the truth of Lenin's insight.

The CPSU has been boldly exposing the bottlenecks, difficulties and shortcomings that impede the progress of socialist and communist construction. Therein lies not only the party's political, but also its moral strength. The Soviet people are wholly behind the CPSU in removing everything which is extraneous to the socialist system and which hinders our advance.

A major objective of the party's activities under developed socialism is to keep perfecting the political system, promoting socialist democracy and the masses' spiritual culture and creativity, and educating the working people in accordance with the ideals of the socialist way of life, healthy and sensible needs, patriotism and internationalism.

Socialist internationalism is proletarian internationalism in the conditions of socialist and communist construction. It determines the principles and standards of relations among nations and ethnic groups not only in each of the socialist countries, but also their relations among themselves, their all-round cooperation. Covering virtually all

areas of inter-state and inter-party relations, socialist internationalism implies respect for the national and historical peculiarities of each particular country, and their resolve to lend each other unselfish support and jointly defend the gains of socialism. In the face of increasingly aggressive imperialism, ever greater importance is attached to all-round development of economic cooperation among the socialist community countries, consolidation of their political unity and of the ideological cohesion of the parties and peoples of the fraternal countries, joint enrichment of Marxist-Leninist theory, and active opposition to political and ideological subversive activity by imperialism.

III

A major issue that is invariably in the focus of the party's entire theoretical and political work is that of war and peace. Elaborating on Marx's doctrine, Lenin showed that under capitalism, wars between nations are a direct consequence of the exploitive nature of the capitalist society and that the tendencies toward militarism, aggression and war sharply intensify in the age of imperialism. From the very outset, the Bolsheviks have been relentless opponents of imperialist wars of aggrandizement. Lenin discovered the close links between the struggle against the exploitive system and the struggle against the wars it engenders. The slogan of "Peace to the Peoples!" on the October Revolution's banner was inscribed next to the slogan of "All Power to the Soviets!"

The workers' and peasants' state came forward from the very beginning as a solid mainstay and determined champion of peace. Lenin's Decree on Peace and his numerous writings on the principles of the policy of peaceful coexistence, its major lines and methods have become fundamental to the international activities of the party and the Soviet state.

To keep the peace in an imperialist encirclement was an incredibly difficult thing. This country had to pass through the grave ordeal of the Great Patriotic War. While defending the country's freedom and independence arms in hand, the Soviet people fought to make that war the last one. They paved the way to peace at the cost of immense sacrifice. There has been a peaceful sky over this country for nearly 40 years, proving the effectiveness of the CPSU's Leninist foreign policy.

The invariable loyalty of our party and the Soviet state to Lenin's peace policy has been competently reaffirmed at the 26th congress of the CPSU and in statements by Yuri Andropov. All of the Soviet Union's international initiatives, it was stated at the congress, "have one common objective, one common goal: to do everything possible to save the peoples from the threat of nuclear war." The Peace Program for the 1980s, put forward by the congress, has identified this objective as being of paramount international importance for our party and the people. "The Soviet Union will do everything it can," Yuri Andropov has emphasized, "to assure the present and coming generations of a tranquil and peaceful future. Such is the aim of our policy, and we shall not depart from it."

The CPSU's ideal is a world without wars or weapons. This ideal points the way to the future and guides it in its everyday work and hard struggle for reliable guarantees that would ensure every people's and every individual's right to life, the struggle against militarism, nuclear blackmail, military threats and imperialist diktat.

The party starts from the assumption that pursuing a peace policy in actual practice means striving for such solutions to any problems of international politics as would reduce the threat of nuclear war. That is how the Soviet Union has been acting. Thus, it has unilaterally pledged never to be the first to use nuclear weapons; proposed, together with other socialist countries, a treaty on the mutual non-use of armed force and maintenance of peaceful relations between the member-states of the two military-political alignments, the Warsaw Treaty and NATO; and has come up with a number of other peace initiatives.

The Soviet Union's constructive and realistic peace proposals have met with a broad response among millions of people of different political outlooks, ideological convictions, and party affiliations. This is only natural, for a genuinely peaceful policy is an honest and open policy, addressed not only to the governments but to the peoples as well. Lenin pointed out: "We must . . . help the peoples to intervene in questions of war and peace" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 26, p. 252). And today, our party's peace policy is helping people of good-will to understand their own part in the struggle for peace and get actively involved in this struggle. The anti-war and anti-nuclear movement has acquired an unprecedented scale and intensity, and has turned into such an important factor of social and political life in many countries that the political parties and governments can no longer afford to ignore it.

Our party is convinced that joint action of all the forces of peace and progress can stop the slide down to war, thwart the plans of the militarist circles of imperialism, and end the arms race. An awareness of the responsibility that now rests with the international working class as the main social force of our time is the most important factor shaping the positions and activity of its political vanguard, the communist and workers' parties.

The CPSU has won great prestige among the peoples because, in accordance with the principle of proletarian internationalism, it has invariably sided with the struggle of the working class and all the other working people for their interests, for social progress, democracy and socialism. It has been and remains active in supporting the liberation struggle of all the oppressed.

As a contingent of the world's army of labor, Leninist communists have always played an active part in the struggle for scientific socialism in the working-class movement. That is why the seeds sown by the second congress of the RSDLP have so abundantly germinated in the international soil. The activity of the Bolshevik party with Lenin at its head proved to be the most important ideological and political factor in the development of the world communist movement. That activity has produced a

powerful state — the mainstay of peace and socialism — and a science of how to abolish the system of oppression and exploitation and to build socialism. Communism has firmly established itself in the working-class movement, and has become the most revolutionizing force of humankind's development and the ideology of the new society, which has hundreds of millions of people already living within its framework.

History has conclusively proved the need for the working class to have a revolutionary party of the Leninist type. The absence of such a party would doom the workers' revolutionary movement to defeat even under favorable objective conditions.

At present, the working-class party's role and its Marxist-Leninist ideological commitment have become particularly urgent because some elements of the communist movement have been expressing views that are, in effect, opposed to the Leninist doctrine of the party and the practice of party building based on it.

Of course, the conditions in which the communist parties of the capitalist countries have to operate today are very different from those the Bolshevik party had to face before the revolution. Our epoch has brought profound changes in every area of social existence and consciousness. This, naturally, calls for a creative application by communists of the Leninist doctrine of the party. The communist parties should find answers to the questions put by life. Of course, they take into account the circumstances of their own countries, the balance of social and political forces, the state of their economies, the international situation, and so on. The practice-tested methodology of Marxism-Leninism provides a dependable point of departure from which to look for new forms of ideological, political and organizational work in the right direction.

Unfortunately, some circles sometimes formulate concepts which dissolve the boundary line between revolutionaries and reformists and tend to bring about a rapprochement with various other political parties which implies restricting the autonomy of the communist parties and weakening the communists' international links.

The partisans of "pluralism" have been claiming that communist parties are "monolithic" units inside which there can be no free discussion of any issues of ideology, strategy or tactics. Such a presentation of communist parties is nothing but a caricature of the actual state of affairs. In reality, there are open discussions and debates going on in the communist parties, and they have nothing to do with the practice of decisions being imposed from above through administrative machinery. The policy of each communist party is worked out democratically, with each and every communist free to put forward his own suggestions at party meetings, conferences or congresses, which discuss any issue in a free and concrete way.

One should note that the concepts of "renovation" of communist parties are most hazy, suffering as they do from a total lack of clarity as to the substance and the particulars of the new "models" proposed. Such concepts tend to erode the founda-

tions for a genuine consolidation of revolutionary parties, and that is grist to the mill of the opponents of communism.

Marxist-Leninists in the communist movement rightfully uphold the major distinctive features of the communist party: its revolutionary commitment and its ability to defend selflessly the interests of the working class and the entire working people at every stage of social development, particularly in its most dramatic periods, and to fight for the victory of the socialist revolution and for a socialist society.

"Only the Communist Party," Lenin wrote, "if it is really the vanguard of the revolutionary class, if it really comprises all the finest representatives of that class, if it consists of fully conscious and staunch communists who have been educated and steeled by the experience of a persistent revolutionary struggle, and if it has succeeded in linking itself inseparably with the whole life of its class and, through it, with the whole mass of the exploited, and in completely winning the confidence of this class and this mass — only such a party is capable of leading the proletariat . . . On the other hand, it is only under the leadership of such a party that the proletariat is capable of displaying the full might of its revolutionary onslaught . . ." (*Collected Works*, Vol. 31, pp. 187-188). This conclusion of a founder of the communist movement is as valid today as it was decades ago.

To sum up the foregoing, here are the main conclusions to be drawn from the CPSU's experience:

- it is constantly necessary to base the party's entire activity on the scientific foundation of Marxism-Leninism, to be true to that great theory, to safeguard its purity against opportunist distortions, to be able to apply it in a creative way to concrete historical conditions, develop it, enrich it with the experience of the mass movement of one's own country as well as of other countries, give a sober assessment of the gains and achievements at each stage of development, and also of the shortcomings and errors, and take bold action to rectify them. If a party departs from Marxism-Leninism, it could lose its revolutionary communist substance;

- it is necessary for a working-class party always to preserve its class nature and its irreconcilable stand against the class adversary and against any form of exploitation and oppression, and always to remain a staunch vanguard of the proletariat and all the other working people, capable of doing its utmost to carry out a socialist revolution and build socialism and communism; a party wins and consolidates its role as leader of the people through its selfless struggle for the fundamental interests of the working people at every stage of the revolutionary movement and communist construction;

- it is necessary to combine the energy of the vanguard of the working class, conscious of its objectives, with the spontaneous striving of the masses to free themselves from exploitation; to learn the art of class and political alliances while preserving the communist party's total independence, to be able to lead the masses and constantly learn from them;

- it is necessary to keep strengthening the unity and cohesion of the party ranks, safeguard the party

from extraneous elements, build up the party as a united organization of workers of all the country's ethnic communities, temper it in the struggle against great-power chauvinism and bourgeois nationalism, and combine the party's united will, based on conscious discipline, with extensive inner-party democracy, freedom of opinion and debate;

— it is necessary to remain true to proletarian internationalism and to strengthen in every way the ideological unity and internationalist cohesion of the communist movement and the alliance of anti-imperialist forces.

Such are the most important conditions by fulfilling which our party and the fraternal parties of other socialist countries have achieved their epoch-making victories.

The CPSU's historical record is one of victorious struggle and construction, the record of a trail-blazing party, a party which was called upon by history to solve problems nobody had ever solved, and one that had nothing but its own experience to learn from. Throughout its history, from its early days to the present, when the party is at the helm of a mighty socialist nation, it has directed all its aspirations and efforts toward defending the interests of the working class and securing a better future for the working people. It has thereby earned the people's highest respect and unlimited confidence. Nobody can ever play down that truth any more than one can shut out the sun with the palm of one's hand, for this is a truth of history, a truth of life itself, which is being daily asserted and re-asserted by the struggle of the CPSU for the people's happiness, for peace, and the bright ideals of socialism and communism.

At every stage of historical development, whenever new tasks arose, the party focused special attention on its ideological and theoretical armory, replenishing it with new conclusions, new ways and means. And today, when the efforts of the party and the people are concentrated on the tasks of a balanced and all-round improvement of developed socialism, and when it faces a very complicated international situation, it has once again turned to matters of theory and ideology.

The work and resolutions of the CPSU Central Committee's plenary meeting of June 1983 have clearly demonstrated the Leninist party's forward-looking philosophy. The plenary meeting has produced a powerful charge of energy, constructive commitment and adherence to principle in carrying this country to new levels of achievement. "We have now reached such a historical point in our social development," Yuri Andropov emphasized at the plenary meeting, "when far-reaching qualitative changes in the productive forces and a corresponding improvement of the relations of production are not just overdue but inevitable." Noting the achievements, the plenary meeting has called for a clear perspective to be outlined in the economy, politics, and ideology for an all-round perfection of the developed socialist society. "Implementation of the party line," the meeting's resolution said, "will mean a further great stride forward in building a communist society, and will demonstrate even more convincingly the advantages of the socialist system and increase its appeal."

Kommunist, No. 9, 1983

First Conclusions from the Electoral Results

Ernst Wimmer, Political Bureau Member
Communist Party of Austria

A whole period is over in the history of the Second Austrian Republic, but no fundamental changes have occurred. After 13 years in power, the Socialist Party of Austria (SPA) lost its majority. But there is no doubt that the leadership of the SPA and the Austrian Trade Union Association (ATUA) continue their cooperation with capital, the so-called "social partnership."

At the beginning of the 13-year period, there were many hopes, to say nothing of promises. Today, 13 years later, reality is quite different. With the onset of the capitalist crisis, the socialist government became its manager, the executive organ of a policy whose constant purpose is to freeze and dismantle the social security system, cut real wages, and collect more taxes from the masses while extending capital's privileges and benefits.

In the First Republic, the Social Democratic Party sought to steer a course between reformism, social

democracy and Bolshevism. Its policy of retreat before capital is known to have led to fascism, to the defeat of the working-class movement. In the very different conditions of the Second Republic, the social democrats from the very beginning oriented themselves toward collaboration with capital, toward conciliation with it on all major issues. They pledged themselves of their own accord to moderate any pressure by the working people from below and use the trade union movement not against capital, but for attaining accords with it. That is why instead of the promised redistribution of incomes from the upper to the lower strata there was an opposite process: incomes were redistributed away from the working people to those who lived at their expense. So, the equal rights to education, health care, housing and personal development remained no more than promises. Ultimately, the anti-social consequences of the "social partnership" line served as

an instrument for the Austrian People's Party (APP) in its electoral campaign against the Socialist Party and its government.

But it would be a mistake to assess the outcome of the election as a shift to the right. On the eve of the elections, President of Austria's Federal Economic Chamber Sallinger and ATUA Chairman Benya unanimously voiced their satisfaction over the fact that governments come and go and the balance of forces changes but "social partnership" remains. The leadership of the Austrian Freedom Party (AFP) always maintained that SPA/APP partnership had one shortcoming: the absence of AFP representatives in the major organs of power. And now it has an opportunity to introduce its own ministers into the government.

In assessing the outcome of the elections, the communists should start from this essential question: why, in spite of the marked growth in the number of discontented and the existence of the Communist Party, undoubtedly the staunchest and most conscious opposition force, have so many votes been lost?

Marxism calls for an absolutely sober assessment of objective factors, of the real conditions, and, at the same time, for an unconditional recognition of the importance of the organizations, leadership and cadre in maintaining links with the society's classes, strata and groups. We have repeatedly pointed out the unfavorable concurrence of some long-term circumstances, including the world's strongest social democratic party, Austria's long-standing special position under the crisis of capitalism, and an intricate system for obscuring class contradictions. Of course, it would be a mistake to overlook the successes achieved as a result of the more systematic work in the peace and anti-fascist movements, and in many other fields, where only two or three years ago such successes would have seemed impossible. But even today, the distribution of forces, energy, time and cadre in the organizations and the leadership still falls far short of the essential tasks formulated in the party decisions on the strength of an analysis of the realities. A number of questions were raised at the first meetings of the party's leading organs after the serious defeat in the elections. But the party's program and main line, its generalization of crucial experience and views on the main features of capitalism in our country were not called into question. Anyone who questions that will have to invent real conditions that would suit a "totally new line."

One thing is beyond dispute: a party's successes — so long as its main line is correct — are determined by its organizational abilities. That is why the Central Committee pointed out the need to re-examine the efficiency of the organizational structures on every level.

In spite of the need to concentrate our efforts on organization, it is naturally not a question of "organizational tasks as such," for these are conditioned by political tasks and goals.

We have not been repeating often or definitely enough that those who do not realize that "social

partnership" between the SPA, the ATUA leadership and capital is a double game, those who do not see that the main concern of the parties, the government and parliament is wrangling and infighting over ministerial posts and sinecures, while the "social partnership" is just a screen for a collusion and accord among the associations, chambers, trade union leaders and industrialists, those are bound to be deceived. A theoretical analysis of this state of affairs is not enough. The thing to do is to work out propaganda methods for all strata of the population, ranging from the enterprises to the communities and universities, with due account for experience and public sentiments. Agitation should also be given an "ideological" turn.

The political aim of organizational measures is to detect and use as soon as possible the opportunities for a policy of unity and a policy of alliances. The efforts to strengthen the party from within, voluntary discipline, control from top to bottom and the other way round, and assessment of party functionaries on the strength of their efficiency and their political and social qualities are meant to enhance the party's influence among the people. The section on "The Working Class and Alliances" in our program says in this context: "Defense of the interests of the overwhelming majority requires strength, engendered by a high degree of working-class unity. It also calls for workers' alliances with the intelligentsia, the toiling farmers, artisans and small tradesmen. The same applies to many initiatives for 'new social movements,' which express the aggravation of social contradictions."

This question arises from time to time: is there any point in wasting energy and squandering efforts on participation in various movements if this will not bring an early success in the election? Such a question shows inadequate understanding of the need for a policy of unity and alliances. It is precisely owing to the Communist Party's activity in these diverse movements that its influence is much wider than it would seem judging by the number of votes cast for it. Active involvement in these movements is necessary. The greater the number of their participants who draw closer to us and the more convincing are the party's activities in various fields as a real socio-political alternative, the more people will take the final step to join our ranks:

The workers' party should concentrate its efforts on the working class. However, one should also bear in mind that many people, primarily young representatives of the new strata of the working class, are interested in "alternative" organizations. But these "new social movements" are dominated by bourgeois ideology, even though of a more or less oppositional turn. The strategic aim of the advocates of the capitalist system is to weaken as much as possible and neutralize the opposition element in these movements and strata and use it to exert influence even on the working class. *The strategic aim of a revolutionary party should be to strengthen the opposition element in these movements, give it an anti-monopoly edge, and bring it closer to the working-class movement in order to reduce, primarily*

with the help of working-class representatives in these movements, the present isolation of the most advanced section of the proletariat.

It would be unrealistic to think that there is a short and easy way to overcome the difficulties now experienced by our party. The more accurately the shortcomings that obstruct our advance are pinpointed and the more concrete the proposals and ideas on the necessary conclusions, the more useful the ongoing debate will be. The preliminary results of this debate, which the Central Committee will sum up in September, should pave the way to a further debate in view of the party's forthcoming 25th congress, to be held in mid-January.

The Central Committee has already drawn its conclusions: this year, we should concentrate all our efforts on two tasks: first, on the problems stemming from the country's socio-economic situation, from

the crisis of capitalism, including the struggle for a 35-hour working week with retention of the present wages, and second, the need to make as great a contribution as possible to the movement for peace, the Linzer Appeal signature drive, with an effort to involve the enterprises, and the success of the nation-wide demonstration on October 22 against the deployment in Europe of first-strike nuclear weapons. Within the framework of "social partnership," capital is bound to step up its pressure. In the interests of an overwhelming majority of the population, there is nothing more important now than to intensify the pressure from the left. If this is to be done, we should improve our work precisely because the Communist Party is necessary and indispensable.

Abridged from *Weg und Ziel*,
June 1983

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