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**August 1984**

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## *information bulletin*

Published by Peace and Socialism Publishers — Prague  
Appears in English, Arabic, French, German, Greek, Italian and Spanish

North American edition published by Progress Books  
71 Bathurst Street, Third Floor, Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5V 2P6

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16-17 (511-512) Volume 22

PRICE: 75 cents

# Visit to the USSR by Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary, Romanian Communist Party, President of the Socialist Republic of Romania

The CPSU Central Committee and the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet gave a dinner on June 4 in the Grand Kremlin Palace in honor of Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary, Romanian Communist Party, President of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Konstantin Chernenko, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, made a speech at the dinner. Nicolae Ceausescu spoke in response.

## Konstantin Chernenko's Speech

Esteemed comrade Ceausescu,  
Esteemed comrades and friends.

Allow me on behalf of the CPSU Central Committee and the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet once again to greet comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, President of the Socialist Republic of Romania, all the Romanian comrades present here.

Your visit to the Soviet Union is taking place on the eve of a remarkable event. It will soon be the 40th anniversary of that memorable day in 1944 when the military-fascist dictatorship was overthrown as a result of a victorious offensive by the Soviet Army and an armed uprising of the patriotic forces in Romania, and the road to a new bright life opened before the Romanian people.

Guided by the Communist Party, the Romanian working people have transformed their country in the post-war years from a backward and agrarian one into a socialist state with a multi-sector, developing economy. And this gives us deep satisfaction.

Soviet-Romanian cooperation — and I think I am expressing a common view — has been developing in a stable manner. It has a good basis: the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Socialist Republic of Romania, the joint Soviet-Romanian statement of 1976, and the accords reached at meetings of our countries' party and state leaders. There is no doubt that our present meeting, too, will give new impetus to this cooperation.

It can definitely be said: today's talks have shown that we still have many possibilities for the further development of Soviet-Romanian relations in the political, ideological, economic, cultural and other fields.

We expect tangible results from the forthcoming economic summit meeting of the member-countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. It will map out the way to further deepen socialist economic integration and build up the CMEA members' economic potential.

The socialist countries have been fulfilling their peaceful, creative plans in a complex and tense international situation. The blame for the whipping up of this tension lies with the U.S. ruling circles, which have set themselves the aim of lording it over the world. They have been stubbornly pursuing a

course toward military superiority over the Soviet Union, over the socialist states, and speeding up large-scale production programs, of ever new types of arms, nuclear arms above all. The United States wants to make even outer space an arena of military confrontation.

The military threat is growing still more because of the continued deployment in Western Europe of U.S. first-strike nuclear missiles aimed at the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

In these conditions the Soviet Union, together with its allies, has been compelled to take necessary counter-measures. As we have repeatedly stated, the USA and NATO will not succeed in upsetting the military balance of forces and achieving military superiority over the world of socialism. The security of the Soviet Union and that of our friends will be reliably ensured, under all circumstances.

NATO propaganda now claims that the Soviet Union is to blame for the absence of talks on nuclear matters. Washington and those in Western Europe who go along with it, evidently need this invention to conceal the true situation from the peoples. And the situation is that the Geneva talks were thwarted and the entire process of nuclear arms talks disorganized by the policy of U.S. ruling circles, which have decided to tip the military balance in their favor and create on West European territory a bridgehead for aggression against the socialist states.

But the peoples see what the appearance of new U.S. missiles in Europe has brought about. Washington has not gained any military strategic advantages and will not do so. But there has been a rise in the level of nuclear confrontation. The danger of a nuclear catastrophe has grown and continues to do so with the appearance of every new U.S. missile in Europe. Far from strengthening, the security of the United States itself has decreased. But Washington does not want to tell the truth and is pretending that nothing special is happening. They do not have the courage to admit that the nuclear danger is growing, and that it is growing for all.

The Soviet Union is resolutely against further movement along this road. The arms race and the escalation of the balance of fear are not our choice. We are emphatically for a reduction of military confrontation and for accords on this score in line with the principle of equality and equal security.

It is sometimes said: would it not be better to

ignore the U.S. missiles in Western Europe and sit down at the negotiating table? This seems all right. But still one cannot accept such a position. What sort of talks would these be? They would, in fact, discuss not arms reduction but rather NATO "re-armament" — how many U.S. missiles and where, should be deployed in Western Europe. The possibility of strategic arms reduction would also remain blocked, for with the channel for U.S. build-up of forward-based nuclear weapons along the perimeter of the socialist countries remaining open, it would be ill-advised, to say the least — from the viewpoint of the socialist community's security — to reduce our own arms. In short, talks in the conditions of U.S. missile deployment would only give people an illusion of security and leave the exponents of the arms race free to act.

But there does exist a road to fitting conditions for constructive talks. What does this call for? It is necessary to remove the direct threat to peace that arose with the appearance of U.S. missiles on European soil. It is necessary to discard the claims to superiority that to this day are clouding the heads of U.S. politicians and which were manifested so patently in the U.S. proposals at the Geneva talks.

As to the Soviet Union, we are not seeking superiority for ourselves. And if we see on the U.S. side signs of real interest in mutually acceptable solutions, we will not fail to reciprocate.

The Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Treaty countries propose a broad program of concrete peace initiatives to improve the situation in Europe and in the whole world. This program is the fruit of the collective efforts of the fraternal countries. It is a constructive basis for mutually acceptable accords to

save humankind from the threat of nuclear war.

The recent call on the NATO countries to conclude a treaty on the mutual non-use of military force and on maintenance of relations of peace is patent evidence of the peaceable aspirations of the Warsaw Treaty member-states. The West has kept silent so far, although such a treaty would be a measure of tremendous political significance, and would facilitate a sharp turn for the better in international relations. Together with its allies, the USSR has made proposals in Stockholm to promote confidence-building and ensure European and international security.

The governments of the NATO countries have before them other far-reaching proposals, including those on ridding Europe of chemical weapons and on freezing and reducing military spending. Here, too, we have still not had any intelligible response from NATO. Moreover, Washington is demanding that its allies spend more and more on war preparations.

In the present-day international situation it is particularly important to strengthen in every possible way the unity and cohesion of the fraternal countries on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, and to secure their even closer cooperation on the world scene.

The Warsaw Treaty Organization, the defense alliance of socialist countries, dependably serves to strengthen peace. Life shows conclusively that for almost 30 years this alliance has been a firm protector of the historical achievements of our two peoples and the peoples of the other allied countries and has been exerting favorable influence on world developments. This alliance must be safeguarded and strengthened.

## Nicolae Ceausescu's Speech

Esteemed comrade Chernenko,  
Esteemed comrade Tikhonov,  
Dear comrades and friends,

On this occasion, too, I would like to express our gratitude for the welcome accorded us, and for the wishes and appraisals voiced with respect to our party, our people, and Romanian-Soviet friendship.

I am particularly pleased to convey on behalf of the Romanian Communist Party CC, the State Council, the Romanian government, and on my own behalf warm fraternal greetings and wishes of fresh successes in the building of socialism and communism to you personally, dear comrade Chernenko, to the other comrades from the leadership of the party and the Soviet state, to the communists and all Soviet people.

This working visit is yet another expression of the relations of friendship, neighborliness and cooperation existing between our countries and peoples. These relations are deeply rooted in history, in the joint struggle for freedom and progress. It so happens that this visit is taking place as the 50th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between Romania and the USSR is being marked. During the years of socialist construction these relations have acquired new meaning and developed at a higher level on the basis of full equality

and mutual respect, in the spirit of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance of 1970 and of the joint statements signed during summit meetings.

In the course of today's talks we arrived at common conclusions about the raising of Romanian-Soviet cooperation in the political, economic, scientific and technical, cultural and other spheres to an even higher stage, revealing ever more extensively our countries' vast possibilities. We agreed to act in such a way as to make these relations from every point of view an example of relations between neighboring and friendly socialist countries cooperating in an all-round way in the construction of a new system. That is why there is every reason to say, dear comrade Chernenko, that this visit, too, and the accords reached will be a new milestone of particular importance in the strengthening of friendship and Romanian-Soviet cooperation.

Our party and our people hold in high esteem the outstanding progress made by the Soviet people who have turned the Soviet Union into a mighty modern socialist state with immense economic, technical and scientific potential and a particularly important role in international life.

Closely united under the leadership of the party, the Romanian people have been working hard, being

fully resolved to mark this year's major events — the 40th anniversary of the victory of the anti-fascist and anti-imperialist revolution, and of social emancipation and national liberation, and the party's 13th congress — with fresh successes.

While seeing to it that the program of socialist construction is fulfilled, we at the same time vehemently advocate a policy of peace and cooperation, for we are convinced that only under these conditions can our people and all the peoples of the world carry out their plans for development and progress.

We give priority to the development of relations of friendship and cooperation with the socialist countries, especially our neighbors. We attach great importance to the active and all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union. Romania consistently promotes cooperation with the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and believes that the forthcoming CMEA summit will improve the activity in this field. We also want strengthened cooperation with the Warsaw Treaty socialist countries in the struggle for peace, disarmament, security and détente in Europe and throughout the world.

At the same time, we are expanding cooperation with developing and non-aligned countries and also with the industrialized capitalist states and all the world's states, irrespective of social system, and actively participate in the international division of labor. All our relations with other states rest firmly on the principles of full equality, national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs and mutual advantage.

Unprecedented tension has lately arisen in the international situation as a result of the imperialist policy of strength and diktat and interference in the internal affairs of other states. The arms race, the nuclear weapons race first and foremost, has especially intensified. It can be said that not since the end of the Second World War has the international situation been as acute as it now is. That is why we believe that the fundamental problem of our time is to curb the arms race, begin disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, and ensure world peace.

We are particularly concerned about the situation created in Europe by the U.S. move to deploy its medium-range nuclear missiles in some countries of Western Europe and by the subsequent counter-measures announced by the Soviet Union. We believe that everything should be done for a resumption of the Soviet-U.S. negotiations with the aim of concluding an agreement that would lead to the complete elimination of medium-range missiles and then of all other nuclear arms in Europe and elsewhere.

We want the Balkans to be a zone of peace and cooperation, free of nuclear weapons and with no foreign military bases. We support the creation of such nuclear-free zones in other parts of Europe and throughout the world.

We attach great significance to the Stockholm Conference, which is an important factor for the continuation of mutual contacts and the discussion of the ways and means to implement confidence and

security-building measures in Europe and disarmament measures, including nuclear disarmament measures.

At the same time we deem it necessary to do everything to ensure an appropriate agreement in Vienna within the framework of the talks on arms and troops reduction.

Life is showing ever more clearly the need to do everything to end the existing conflicts and to settle all problems exclusively through negotiations. In this spirit, Romania strongly advocates a peaceful negotiated Middle East settlement and an international conference aimed to secure a comprehensive, durable and just peace in the region. In the same spirit we are for an end to the war between Iran and Iraq and for a negotiated settlement of the problems existing between the two countries.

We attach special significance to the eradication of backwardness and the establishment of a new international economic order, and are active in the search for ways to deal with the difficulties created by the present economic crisis, which affects all states and especially the developing nations.

Our country gives its firm support to the peoples' struggle to achieve national liberation, win and consolidate their independence and fully liquidate colonialism and neo-colonialism, racism and the apartheid policies.

If the complex problems of today's world are to be resolved, there must be active involvement in international life in the conditions of the complete equality of all states, regardless of size and social system.

We deem it necessary to enhance the role of the UN and other international organizations in the democratic settlement of all problems and in the securing of peace, progress and freedom of the peoples.

Despite the fact that the international questions are extremely serious, we are firmly convinced that by acting in concert the peoples and all progressive forces can stop the dangerous course of developments and ensure the triumph of the policy of cooperation, disarmament, security and peace.

*Pravda*, June 5, 1984

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# CMEA Economic Summit

An economic meeting of the CMEA member countries held from June 12 to 14, 1984, in Moscow discussed the most important questions of the fraternal countries' economic development and cooperation. The meeting was addressed by Konstantin Chernenko, Todor Zhivkov, Janos Kadar, Le Duan, Erich Honecker, Carlos Rodriguez, Yumjaagiyin Tsendenbal, Wojciech Jaruzelski, Nicolae Ceausescu, Nikolai Tikhonov, and Gustav Husak.

The meeting adopted a relevant resolution and also unanimously approved these documents: "Statement on the Guidelines for the Further Development and Deepening of the CMEA Member States' Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation" and a Declaration of the member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance — "Preservation of Peace and International Economic Cooperation." The texts of these documents are published below.

The meeting took place in a constructive businesslike spirit and in an atmosphere of friendship, complete mutual understanding and unity.

## Statement on the Guidelines for the Further Development and Deepening of the CMEA Member States' Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation

The leaders of the communist and workers' parties and heads of government of the countries attending the CMEA economic summit discussed the most important questions of the present stage and the prospects for the fraternal countries' economic development and mutual cooperation, and unanimously agreed on the necessity and urgency of a further expansion of the scale and an enhancement of the effectiveness of this cooperation.

The participants in the meeting noted that in the 1970s, following the 23rd (special) summit session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (1969), the socialist community countries substantially consolidated their economic, scientific and technical potential, carried out major social programs, ensured the stable growth of the peoples' well-being, the further development of science, education, culture, public health and social security thanks to the selfless labor of the peoples under the guidance of the communist and workers' parties. The cooperation of the fraternal parties and states has deepened and become more multifarious, facilitating the considerable successes in the building of socialism and communism.

The experience and practice of the CMEA member states conclusively demonstrate the fundamental advantages over capitalism that are inherent in socialism, advantages such as social and national equality, planned development of the economy, the society's ideological cohesion, confidence in the morrow, constant concern for people and the all-round development of the individual. This is the basis on which the socialist way of life is enriched, the political system of socialism developed and socialist democracy, which in fact guarantees man the broadest rights and freedoms, is improved.

The CMEA member countries' economic and social progress contrasts sharply with the crisis situation in the capitalist countries. Capitalism's inability to rid itself of the profound economic crises and acute socio-political upheavals is again being confirmed.

The greater economic might of the CMEA

member countries is the material basis of their policy of peace, détente and mutually advantageous cooperation with other states. The international prestige of socialism, which is the determinant factor of humanity's social progress, has risen considerably and its influence on the course of world development has increased.

The correctness and timeliness of the collectively formulated policy of deepening cooperation and developing socialist economic integration, which are an important factor of the all-round progress of each of the fraternal countries and of the evening out of their economic development levels, have been fully borne out.

The principles of socialist internationalism, respect for state sovereignty, independence and national interests, non-interference in internal affairs of countries, full equality, mutual advantage and comradely mutual assistance, which are enshrined in the CMEA Charter and the Comprehensive Program of the Further Deepening and Improvement of Cooperation and Development of Socialist Economic Integration, are fully established in the relations between the CMEA countries, are being implemented and will be consistently applied. Each CMEA member state, especially the Soviet Union, makes a tangible contribution to the deepening of the all-round cooperation and the strengthening of the unity and cohesion of the fraternal states.

The summit participants noted the meaningfulness of the Comprehensive Program of the Further Deepening and Improvement of Cooperation and Development of Socialist Economic Integration, and of the long-term multilateral and bilateral programs of cooperation, whose provisions are being embodied in practical deeds.

The planned development of the national economy and of the mutual cooperation of CMEA member countries made it possible to ease substantially in many areas the impact on their economy of the economic crisis that has erupted in the capitalist world and to counteract the aggressive course of the imperialist circles, the attempts by the USA and

some of its allies to pursue a policy of economic pressure and discrimination.

At the same time the meeting noted that there still exist considerable reserves for expanding mutual cooperation, deepening specialization of production and co-production, increasing mutual trade so as to make more effective use of the fraternal countries' production, scientific and technological potential and raise the living standard of their peoples.

The leaders of the fraternal parties and governments focused on the tasks ensuing from the internal and external conditions which have changed in recent years.

They agreed to instruct the planning and economic bodies of their countries to seek possibilities to expand trade with CMEA member countries on a mutually-advantageous basis and in excess of the volumes of operative long-term agreements when drafting the economic development plans for the period before the end of the current five-year plan and coordinating the annual protocols on trade turnover.

The participants in the meeting expressed confidence that the CMEA member countries have all that is necessary to raise mutual cooperation to a new level. They are unanimous that at the present stage the CMEA member countries' most important tasks in the field of the economy and mutual cooperation are to:

- speed up the economy's shift to intensiveness and raise its efficiency by improving the structure of social production, making rational and thrifty use of the existing material and labor resources, and making better use of the fixed assets and of the scientific and technological potential;

- ensure the further growth of social production as the basis for strengthening the material and technical base of socialist society and raising the people's living standards;

- raise the technological level, reliability, durability and quality of output, and expand and speed up the renewal of the range of products;

- develop the export potential, in the manufacturing industries first and foremost;

- site productive forces more rationally;

- speed up the process of the gradual evening out of the CMEA member countries' economic development levels and first of all to bring the levels of economic development of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the Republic of Cuba and the Mongolian People's Republic to those of the European CMEA member states.

The meeting decided to take a new step to deepen the coordination by CMEA member states of their economic policy in areas connected with their mutual cooperation, and by interested countries in other areas of socio-economic development as well, to the extent to which these countries deem it necessary. The CMEA member countries understand by such coordination the working out on a collective basis of ways to resolve major economic problems of mutual interest and of great importance for the determination by each of the fraternal countries of the long-term directions of economic development and cooperation, and joint definition of ways to co-

operate directly in the spheres of science, technology, material production and capital construction.

All this activity should help to mobilize the countries' possibilities and strengthen their mutual cooperation to attain the dynamic and balanced development of the economy of each country and of the entire community of CMEA member states on the basis of all-round intensification of production and the introduction of world achievements of scientific and technological progress. It should help to provide the necessary resources, notably fuel, energy, raw materials, foodstuffs and manufactured consumer goods, modern machines and equipment, promote active CMEA states' participation in the international socialist and world division of labor, and acceleration of the processes of the evening out of their economic development levels.

It was deemed useful to step up the collective work of the communist and workers' parties and the governments of the CMEA member countries to develop cooperation and socialist economic integration and to share experience of economic management. It was deemed expedient to hold regular meetings at the level of the highest party and state leadership to coordinate the fundamental directions of the strategy for the CMEA member states' long-term economic development and the deepening of the international socialist division of labor.

The participants in the meeting proceed from the premise that the coordination of economic development plans will concentrate on fulfilling the priority tasks and will be the main instrument for coordinating economic policy in areas connected with mutual cooperation, and in other areas as well by interested countries, and for forming stable economic, scientific and technical ties between CMEA member states, and will also serve as the basis for the part of their national plans that concerns mutual cooperation.

When coordinating national economic development plans, the planning and foreign trade bodies, with the participation of branch management and, when necessary, of economic organizations as well, should first of all coordinate the guidelines of the countries' specialization in the international socialist division of labor, the measures to increase mutual deliveries of the most important goods, the main proportions and the structure of the mutual trade, and production cooperation projects.

Measures are to be taken to ensure that the coordination of plans is concluded before the start of the new plan period and that the results of this coordination are formalized in appropriate agreements and reflected in national plans.

The participants in the meeting regard the broad development of production cooperation and the establishment of direct ties between amalgamations, enterprises and organizations as an important trend in the improvement of the economic mechanism of cooperation and in the raising of its effectiveness. To this end the CMEA member countries will carry out measures to give them the necessary powers and to create suitable conditions for cooperation. Favorable conditions will also be created for joint firms,

enterprises and other international economic organizations to be established on a cost-accounting basis.

Viewing it as particularly urgent to speed up scientific and technological progress, the participants in the meeting agreed jointly to draft on the basis of the national programs a 15-20 year Comprehensive Program of Scientific and Technological Progress as the basis for a coordinated, and in some areas a uniform, scientific and technical policy aimed to achieve the earliest solution through joint efforts of the most important questions in the field of science and technology and the introduction of the results into production in the interested countries on mutually advantageous terms.

It was deemed necessary to strengthen cooperation in standardization and unification, and to expand the mutual exchange of information on scientific and technical accomplishments.

It was agreed that in machine-building, cooperation will be of a comprehensive nature and largely directed at supplying the key branches of production with high-quality world-class machines and equipment. It is envisaged that the countries will produce both finished goods and parts and assembled units, as well as products used in the entire machine-building industry, and that the mutually delivered equipment will be fully provided with spare parts. Special attention will be paid to the development of electronics, microprocessors and industrial robots.

The participants in the meeting believe that mobilization of their own resources and intensification of mutual cooperation can resolve the raw material and fuel-and-energy problems of all CMEA member countries. To this end, the CMEA will carry out a set of measures directed above all at the economical and rational use of energy carriers and raw materials, and at the lowering of energy and material-intensity of production through the introduction of progressive technological processes, modern machines and equipment, and a change in the production structure and consumption of raw materials and energy carriers. At the same time they will take the appropriate measures to develop cooperation in the area of the production and mutual deliveries of fuel, energy and raw materials.

In order to create economic conditions ensuring the implementation and continuation of deliveries from the Soviet Union of some types of raw materials and energy carriers to satisfy the import requirements in volumes determined by plan coordination and long-term accords, the interested CMEA member states will, as part of an agreed economic policy, gradually and consistently develop their production and export structure and carry out the necessary measures for this in the area of capital investments, reconstruction and rationalization in their industry so as to supply the Soviet Union with the products it needs, notably foodstuffs and manufactured consumer goods, some types of construction materials, machines and high-quality and world-class equipment.

Mutually acceptable decisions on these questions will be worked out with due consideration for the

objective economic conditions of the USSR and other CMEA member countries, and for these countries' structure of production and mutual trade. This will ensure mutually advantageous compensation of expenditures and open up the possibility of further deepening the stable long-term specialization of production within the framework of the socialist community.

It was deemed expedient to make a change in the structure of energy production and to expand cooperation in the area of the priority development of atomic power generation and the fuller utilization of all types of energy carriers, including new non-traditional sources of energy. The CMEA will jointly work out programs to build atomic power stations and atomic heat-supply stations up to the year 2000.

The CMEA member countries will direct their efforts and mutual cooperation at improving the structure of metallurgical production, raising the quality and expanding the range of output, lowering the metal-intensity of products, increasing the production of high-quality steel and other high-quality materials for the manufacturing industry.

Agreement was reached to increase substantially in the next few years the output and deliveries of chemical products on the basis of mutual cooperation, specialization and coproduction, and to make fuller use of the raw material resources of the chemical industry.

The participants in the meeting regard it as a primary task to develop to the utmost the branches of the agro-industrial complex and cooperation in this sphere. The CMEA will make efforts to increase the production of food through the introduction of progressive technologies, the development and improvement of the material and technical base of agriculture and the food industry, and also to increase mutual deliveries of foodstuffs so as to better the population's supply and consumption structure.

The CMEA will carry out appropriate measures, with the participation of interested countries, in capital investment and in the provision of exporter countries with other economic incentives on a bilateral or multilateral basis by the interested countries.

The CMEA member countries will take joint measures to strengthen the raw material base of their production, technically refit and modernize the corresponding industries, substantially raise the output of these products for mutual delivery, expand coproduction of durables and increase the exchange of high-quality consumer goods so as to better supply the population with these goods.

The CMEA member countries will take agreed measures to secure the comprehensive development of mutual transport ties, measures envisaging, in particular, closer coordination of transport development plans, coordination of capital investment of mutual interest in the development of countries' transport infrastructure, increased capacity of border railway stations, improvement of the planning system and conditions of carriage of foreign trade freight by all types of transport, paying special attention to the need to improve shipping conditions



to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the Republic of Cuba.

Mutual trade will increase further through the expansion and deepening of cooperation and economic integration.

The CMEA member countries consider it their internationalist duty to continue on the existing just basis to assist the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the Republic of Cuba and the Mongolian People's Republic in accelerating the development and raising the effectiveness of their national economies with due account for the tasks of socialist industrialization set by these countries, and to facilitate their broad participation in the international socialist division of labor.

The CMEA member countries consider it necessary in present-day conditions to make the mechanism of cooperation within the CMEA framework more effective and equal to the tasks of improving and raising the effectiveness of the international socialist division of labor, timely resolving the pressing problems and increasing the CMEA member countries' interest in the priority development of mutual cooperation. The task of organically combining cooperation in the area of planning activity with the active utilization of commodity-monetary relations retains its meaningfulness.

The pricing system in operation in mutual trade and the monetary-financial instruments of cooperation will be further developed and the collective currency — the transferable rouble — will be strengthened.

The development and improvement of the mechanism of cooperation should also be facilitated by the proposals now being worked out in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance to bring closer together the CMEA member countries economic mechanism structures in the areas of great importance for the development of mutual economic relations.

The leaders of the communist and workers' parties and the heads of government of CMEA member countries deem it necessary to continue to consistently develop economic cooperation with non-CMEA socialist countries, proceeding from the important role that this cooperation plays in the economic development of each country and in the strengthening of socialism's positions in the world.

The CMEA member countries will continue the principled line of developing trade, economic, scientific and technical ties with all countries of the world on the basis of mutual advantage, equality, non-interference in each other's internal affairs and respect for international commitments.

They will expand cooperation with developing countries in the future as well, proceeding from the premise that this will facilitate the growth of the national economies and the strengthening of the economic independence of these countries, and the development of mutually advantageous economic ties with them.

The CMEA is prepared to continue to develop mutually advantageous trade, economic, scientific and technical ties with the developed capitalist

countries, with all states of the world.

The conviction was reiterated that the development of these ties will help to strengthen understanding between people and to ease international tension.

The participants in the meeting deem it necessary to raise the role of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance in the organization of the cooperation of CMEA member countries and to improve the activity of its bodies and that of the international economic organizations set up by these countries.

The participants in the meeting express the firm conviction that the consistent realization of the decisions adopted will give a new important impetus to the further steady development of their economies and mutual cooperation, to the growth of the prestige and attraction of socialism in the world, to a still closer and all-round strengthening of the unity of the CMEA member countries, united as they are by common fundamental class interests and the ideology of Marxism-Leninism.

*For the People's Republic of Bulgaria:*

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Hural, Mongolian People's Republic

*For the Polish People's Republic:*

Wojciech Jaruzelski  
CC First Secretary,  
Polish United Workers' Party,  
Chairman of the Council of Ministers,  
Polish People's Republic

*For the Socialist Republic of Romania:*

Nicolae Ceausescu  
General Secretary, Romanian Communist Party,  
President of the Socialist Republic of Romania

*For the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics:*

Konstantin Chernenko

CC General Secretary,  
Communist Party of the Soviet Union,  
Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme  
Soviet  
*For the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic:*  
Gustav Husak

CC General Secretary,  
Communist Party of Czechoslovakia,  
President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.  
Moscow  
June 14, 1984  
*Pravda*, June 16, 1984

## **Declaration of the Member Countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance “Preservation of Peace and International Economic Cooperation”**

The highest representatives of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the German Democratic Republic, the Republic of Cuba, the Mongolian People's Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, who held an Economic Meeting of the Member Countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance in Moscow, consider it their duty to draw the attention of the peoples of the world and governments to the need to take urgent measures to ensure the normal development of international political and economic relations so as to consolidate world peace and promote humanity's progress.

The Political Declaration of the Warsaw Treaty member states adopted in Prague on January 5, 1983, and the Joint Statement by the party and state leaders of Bulgaria, Hungary, and GDR, Poland, Romania, the USSR and Czechoslovakia in Moscow on June 28, 1983, set out a constructive and realistic program for resolving the most pressing world problems. In keeping with these documents, the participants in the Economic Summit Meeting of the CMEA member countries reiterate their resolve to act to ensure peace and improve international relations in the economic sphere.

The leaders of the communist and workers' parties and the heads of state and government of the CMEA member countries proceed from the fact that the political and economic situation in the world affects the interests of all countries and peoples as never before, and express their deep concern over the heightened threat to peace. International tension has grown substantially because of the course of confrontation pursued by the aggressive forces of imperialism, U.S. imperialism primarily, and their attempts to achieve military superiority, pursue a policy "from a position of strength," interfere in internal affairs, encroach upon the national independence and sovereignty of states and consolidate and recarve "spheres of influence." Old seats of tension are being rekindled and new conflicts and crisis situations provoked in different parts of the world.

The escalation of the arms race by those forces is one of the main reasons for the greater political and economic instability in the world, and it is increasing the threat of nuclear war, jeopardizing humanity's very existence and putting an ever more heavy bur-

den on the peoples of the world by diverting huge material and financial resources and slowing down economic and social progress.

The already tense situation has been further worsened by the beginning of the deployment of U.S. medium-range nuclear missiles in some NATO countries, a move which ushered in a new, particularly dangerous phase of the nuclear arms race on the European continent. This forced the Soviet Union to take a number of counter-measures. The talks on nuclear weapons in Europe and on strategic arms were broken off.

The U.S. ruling circles are also trying to use international economic ties for their political ends. In violation of the universally recognized norms of state-to-state relations, they have been breaching existing agreements, organizing trade, credit and technological blockades and resorting to all sorts of pressure methods, embargoes and "sanctions," even in the food trade, against those countries which reject their overtures and diktat. They are also attempting to impose this line on their allies and on other states.

Such actions are not only aimed against socialist countries. Those forces use different pretexts and preach anti-communism in pursuit of their goal of resolving domestic problems at the expense of others, weakening rivals, squeezing them out of world markets, establishing control over entire regions of the world and undermining the positions of countries and even individual companies maintaining business contacts with socialist countries. This is impairing international economic relations as a whole.

Reliance on force, escalation of the arms race and subordination of economic relations to an aggressive policy hamper the solution of the basic problems of world economic development and make it more difficult to end the economic crisis in the capitalist world, a crisis that is compounded by energy, raw material, food and monetary crises. Disorganization and restrictions in international trade and instability on the world commodity markets are growing, the tide of protectionism is rising and international monetary-financial relations are being breached, in particular, because of the imposition of inflated interest rates.

All this is worsening the economic difficulties and leading to a further deterioration of the situation of the working masses in the capitalist countries. The runaway price hikes continue, unemployment has

reached unprecedented proportions and people are increasingly uncertain about the morrow. The onslaught on détente has spilled over into an attack on the rights and social positions of the working class, the peasantry, the broadest sections of society.

The overwhelming majority of developing countries are in particularly dire straits. Using every means of political and economic pressure, the imperialist states are shifting the burden of the economic crisis onto the shoulders of the peoples of those countries, continuing to intensify neo-colonialist exploitation, and pressing for conditions conducive to the infiltration of their economies by foreign capital, first and foremost by transnational corporations. The economic development of the emergent countries is greatly complicated, and sometimes altogether paralyzed by the impact of such factors as the worsened exchange conditions on the world markets, notably because of the substantial fall in real prices of raw materials, huge foreign indebtedness, tougher credit terms and cuts in the funds set aside by developed capitalist states for developing countries. As a result, the gap between the level of the latter's economic development and that of the developed capitalist states is widening, and the poverty and hunger of hundreds of millions of people is growing worse.

This situation also reduces the possibilities for resolving such major problems for all humanity as food supply for the world's growing population, the rational use of fuel and raw materials resources, the exploration and development of new energy sources, outer space and the World Ocean, and environmental protection.

The dangerous course of whipping up international tension is being countered by the socialist countries, the communist and working class movement, other revolutionary and democratic forces, and the mounting powerful anti-war movement, which have been expressing their resolve to end the aggressive policy, remove the threat of nuclear war, safeguard the independence and freedom of the peoples and cooperate under conditions of peace and on the basis of equality. The blocking of mutually advantageous cooperation and of the restructuring of international economic relations on a fair and democratic basis is also arousing the growing opposition of the progressive public of the entire world, the non-aligned movement, other states, and realistic politicians and businessmen in capitalist countries, including in the USA itself. This tendency is expressed in the fact that, despite pressure, many capitalist countries continue to develop economic ties with socialist states.

As to the CMEA member countries, they resolutely denounce and reject the course of undermining the peaceful foundations of state-to-state relations and oppose all forms of exploitation and any attempt to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries, and the use of economic ties to exert political pressure, regarding that as a gross violation of the universally recognized norms of international law and the principles of the UN Charter and the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

As historical practice shows, this course in relation to the socialist community countries is absolutely futile. Relying on their growing economic, scientific and technical potential and on the advantages of the socialist planned economy, and strengthening their unity and cooperation, they have everything necessary to counter any pressure or discriminatory measures or any attempt to hinder their development and participation in international economic cooperation.

Socialism is able to resolve effectively the most complex national and international problems. Because of their peoples' dedicated work and thanks to their close collaboration, the socialist countries, overcoming difficulties, have achieved outstanding results in the economy, culture, education and health care, in the establishment of equality and friendship among nations and in the creation of favorable conditions for the flourishing of the individual. These successes are proof of the viability of the socialist system and its superiority over capitalism.

The example of the CMEA member countries, their achievements in socialist and communist construction and the consolidation of their relations of friendship and cooperation exert a great positive influence on world development. Consistently applying the principles of state-to-state relations of a new type in their mutual cooperation and also in contacts with other countries, the socialist states are making an effective contribution to the restructuring of international economic relations on a fair and democratic basis.

The participants in the meeting stressed that the further development and improvement of cooperation and the extension of specialization and coproduction among the CMEA member countries will help resolve by joint efforts the pressing problems of their economic development, including the meeting of their energy, raw materials and food needs, the speeding up of the development and introduction of advanced technology and production processes, and the better use of material and labor resources and production, scientific and technological potential. This will facilitate the economic and social progress of each country, raise their population's material, cultural and intellectual level, and strengthen the might, unity and cohesion of the socialist states.

At the same time the CMEA member countries are far from indifferent to the development of the political and economic situation in the world. They have a profound interest in its improvement, not only because it affects the fulfillment of their economic plans and the normal development of their economic, scientific and technical ties with other states. Fully established as the most progressive world system, socialism naturally acts from positions of great responsibility for humanity's future because its supreme goal is concern for people, for the people's good.

The leaders of the communist and workers' parties and the heads of state and government of the CMEA member countries believe that it is necessary to work not for confrontation between states with

different social systems, not for the raising of ever new obstacles in the relations between them, but for constructive ways to develop peaceful stable international political and economic relations with due regard for the realities in the world and for the interests of all countries. They firmly believe that no world problem, including the historical competition between socialism and capitalism, can be resolved militarily. The CMEA member countries have also always consistently opposed economic isolation and have persistently advocated broad mutually advantageous cooperation with other states, normalization of international economic ties and the removal of all the barriers to their development.

The experience of the past decade has conclusively demonstrated the need for and usefulness of détente for all the world's peoples. It helped to improve international relations and to develop mutually advantageous economic links between countries. The lessening of the war danger made it possible to increase economic assistance to emergent countries. The developing states and socialist countries launched and are continuing a struggle to restructure international economic relations on a fair and democratic basis.

The participants in the meeting deem it important to strengthen and augment everything positive that was achieved in international relations during the 1970s and to work for stronger mutual trust and the development of equal cooperation between states regardless of social system. This necessitates constructive efforts of all the states in both the political and economic spheres.

Today there is no task more important than that of safeguarding world peace and averting a nuclear catastrophe. It is of paramount importance to end the arms race, move to arms reduction, and maintain the military-strategic equilibrium at progressively lower levels. This is also the most important condition for an improvement of the world economic situation.

The participants in the meeting are convinced that if the principle of equality and equal security is strictly observed, the nuclear arms race can be halted and states can begin to implement real nuclear disarmament measures. This calls for political will and honest, equal and constructive dialogue respecting the security interests of all countries. On this basis it will be possible to rid Europe completely of both medium-range and tactical nuclear weapons.

The imperative of peace and security in Europe in the present conditions is an end to the stockpiling of new nuclear weapons on the continent. In this connection the states represented at the meeting insist on an end to the deployment of U.S. medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe and declare that if measures leading to the withdrawal of the missiles already in place are taken, steps to reverse the counter-measures will be taken simultaneously. This will create the basis for a resumption of the talks to achieve appropriate agreements to rid Europe of both medium-range and tactical nuclear weapons.

Very great importance is also attached to the socialist states' proposals to reach agreement with-

out delay on the complete and universal prohibition of nuclear weapon tests; on the prohibition of the militarization of outer space and the use of force in space and from space against targets on Earth; on the prohibition and elimination of chemical weapons on a worldwide scale and, as a step toward that goal, on their elimination on the European continent.

The states represented at the meeting draw attention to the extremely important proposal to conclude a treaty on the mutual non-use of military force and the maintenance of relations of peace between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO member states. They strongly advocate that the nuclear powers which have not yet done so should renounce the first use of nuclear weapons.

In view of the task of resolving world economic problems, particular significance is now attached to ensuring the earliest possible start of substantive talks between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO countries on reduction of military spending on the basis of the well-developed and concrete proposal recently put forward by the allied socialist countries in their address to the member states of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Agreement on reduction of military spending should naturally embrace all the states with a major military potential. The funds released by these reductions could be used for economic and social development, including for assistance to developing countries.

These and other proposals of the socialist community states on détente and disarmament are well known. The CMEA countries are prepared to participate actively in their practical implementation, and in the realization of constructive initiatives put forward by other states.

The successful conclusion of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building Measures, Security and Disarmament in Europe could be of great significance for a reduction of the war danger and a lessening of the armed confrontation.

In international economic relations life demands the mutually advantageous and equal cooperation of all countries, otherwise no solid material base can be created for the consolidation and extension of détente.

Loyal to the principles of peaceful coexistence, the leaders of the communist and workers' parties and heads of state and government of the CMEA member countries appeal to all the peoples and state and government leaders to take vigorous action to develop international economic cooperation.

The proposals made on this score by the socialist countries at the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, at the United Nations and at other international forums remain in force. By way of extending these proposals, the participants in the meeting call for a program of action to improve international economic relations, ensure economic security and establish trust in this most important sphere of state-to-state contacts.

It is necessary first and foremost to realize all the recommendations and agreements aimed to develop mutually advantageous fruitful economic cooperation that were worked out through the joint efforts of states and reflected in the Final Act of the

Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, in the final document adopted at the Madrid meeting of the states participating in that Conference and also in the charter of economic rights and duties of states, the declaration and program of action to establish a new international economic order and in other UN resolutions.

All methods of economic aggression, such as the use or threat of embargo, boycott or trade, credit and technological blockade, should be excluded from the practice of international contacts.

In the economic relations between all states it is necessary to observe strictly the principles of respect for national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs, non-use or threat of force, complete equality, respect for national interests and the right of every nation to decide its destiny, mutual advantage, non-discrimination and most-favored-nation status.

The CMEA member countries are consistent champions of effective solutions and actions to exclude all exploitation from international economic relations, to ensure unimpeded international scientific and technical cooperation, remove discrimination, artificial obstacles and unfair exchange from trade relations, establish just and economically sound correlation between prices for raw materials, food and manufactured products and, to this end, to tighten control over the operations of the transnational monopolies. They advocate the regimenting of monetary-financial relations, oppose the policy of high interest rates and want normalization of terms under which credits are granted and repaid so that those terms, particularly with relation to the indebtedness of the developing countries, are not used to bring political pressure to bear and interfere in internal affairs.

The participants in the meeting reiterate their countries' firm intention to develop fruitful trade, economic, scientific and technical links with all the socialist, developing and developed capitalist states which display readiness to do so. They believe it useful to extend those links primarily on the basis of long-term programs and agreements and to employ various mutually-advantageous forms of cooperation, including cooperation in the technical equipment and construction of projects, industrial cooperation, joint work on scientific and technical problems, etc.

The CMEA member countries advocate more energetic use of the possibilities for developing business cooperation with capitalist states, and also with their enterprises and firms. Of great importance in this respect is the broadening of economic, scientific and technical contacts between European states in the spirit of the Helsinki Final Act and the accords reached at the Madrid meeting. Mutually advantageous cooperation between them could help to expand trade, supply of energy and raw materials, speed up technological progress, develop international transportation, protect the environment and increase employment in countries with a high level of joblessness.

The CMEA member countries want mutually advantageous relations between the Council for

Mutual Economic Assistance and the economic organizations of the developed capitalist and developing countries. In this connection, they reiterate their readiness to conclude an appropriate agreement between the CMEA and the EEC with a view to facilitating the further expansion of trade and economic links between the member countries of those organizations.

The leaders of the communist and workers' parties and the heads of state and government of the CMEA member countries consider it imperative to step up the work to restructure international economic relations on a fair and democratic basis and to establish a new international economic order.

Noting with satisfaction the greater importance of the non-aligned movement as a powerful factor of the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism — the forces of war and aggression — and the efforts made in that direction since the sixth non-aligned summit in Havana, the participants in the meeting express their solidarity with the resolutions and message of the seventh conference of the heads of state and government of non-aligned countries in New Delhi aimed to resolve the fundamental problems of our time — the struggle to consolidate world peace, peaceful coexistence, disarmament, and national independence and ensure the economic and social development of every country.

Mindful of the need to counter the worsened economic situation of the developing countries and to facilitate their progress, the CMEA member countries support the developing states' progressive demands in the struggle for economic decolonization, complete sovereignty over their natural and other resources and their economic activity, for broad and equal participation in the resolution of international economic problems, for an end to the outflow of capital and the brain drain, and for the unconditional application of the general preference system.

The eradication of underdevelopment, the gradual closure of the gap in economic development levels and the provision of conditions for the harmonious growth of international ties in the economy, science and technology constitute one of the fundamental factors of economic stability and improvement of the international political climate.

International economic relations should be restructured so as to enable all the countries of the world to develop their economic potential in every way and to advance on the road of development under conditions of peace, justice and mutual cooperation.

The CMEA member countries will continue to do what they can to render economic and technical assistance to the states which have won freedom and independence in their efforts to develop their national economies.

Since responsibility for the age-old backwardness of the developing countries rests with the former metropolies and is inseparable from the policy currently pursued by the imperialist states and from the activities of the international monopolies, the CMEA member countries view as quite justified the demands of countries of Asia, Africa and Latin

America that those who are to blame for the difficulties suffered by those countries should considerably expand the transfer of resources as compensation for the damage done by the colonial plunder and neocolonial exploitation, should reduce the burden of the developing states' indebtedness and make easier their access to international credit sources on beneficial terms.

The participants in the meeting reiterate the need to enhance the role of the United Nations and the organizations of its system as an important forum for pooling the efforts of states to strengthen peace and international security and to help resolve the pressing world problems. To this end, the CMEA member countries are prepared to continue to participate energetically in the work of these organizations. They advocate an early start to global talks within the UN framework on the most important international economic problems in line with the resolutions of that organization, with the participation of all states and with due regard for their legitimate interests.

The CMEA member countries will cooperate in the implementation of the proposals of this Declaration with all those interested in strengthening international peace and security and in improving international economic relations. They expect that other states will manifest similar good will, mutual understanding and a desire for joint actions, and are prepared to consider any constructive proposal in this regard.

The participants in the meeting are convinced that it is now more necessary than ever before for all

parliaments and governments, the broad world public and all sober-minded people to pool their efforts so as to safeguard and strengthen peace, curb the arms race, ensure disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament, and normalize international economic relations in the interests of all countries and peoples.

*For the People's Republic of Bulgaria:*

Todor Zhivkov  
CC General Secretary,  
Bulgarian Communist Party,  
Chairman of the State Council, People's Republic  
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*For the Hungarian People's Republic:*

Janos Kadar  
CC First Secretary,  
Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party

*For the Socialist Republic of Vietnam:*

Le Duan  
CC General Secretary,  
Communist Party of Vietnam

*For the German Democratic Republic:*

Erich Honecker  
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Chairman of the State Council,  
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*For the Republic of Cuba:*

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Communist Party of Cuba,  
Deputy Chairman of the State Council and the  
Council of Ministers, Republic of Cuba

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CC General Secretary,  
Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party,  
Chairman of the Presidium of the Great People's  
Hural

Mongolian People's Republic

*For the Polish People's Republic:*

Wojciech Jaruzelski  
CC First Secretary,  
Polish United Workers' Party,  
Chairman of the Council of Ministers,  
Polish People's Republic

*For the Socialist Republic of Romania:*

Nicolae Ceausescu  
General Secretary, Romanian Communist Party,  
President of the Socialist Republic of Romania

*For the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics:*

Konstantin Chernenko  
CC General Secretary,  
Communist Party of the Soviet Union,  
Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme  
Soviet

*For the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic:*

Gustav Husak  
CC General Secretary,  
Communist Party of Czechoslovakia,  
President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

Moscow,

June 14, 1984

*Pravda*, June 16, 1984

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# Preclude Forever the Possibility of the Use of Nuclear or Chemical Weapons

Konstantin Chernenko's Reply to an Appeal  
by Green Party Representative Petra Kelly (FRG)

Petra Kelly, West German public figure and Green Party representative, has asked Konstantin Chernenko how to preclude the possibility of the use of nuclear or chemical weapons against the FRG and what her country should do to ensure this. Below is Chernenko's reply.

Esteemed Madam Kelly,

We share your concern over the possibility of the use of nuclear, chemical and other weapons. There is every reason for such concern, the more so because some people would like to bring new consignments of chemical munitions, and also neutron weapons, into Western Europe, and particularly into your country, in the wake of the new nuclear missiles.

In this connection it is appropriate to recall the special responsibility of those states on whose territory the deployment of new types of mass destruction weapons has started or is planned, responsibility for both the future of their own peoples and for European peace and international security as a whole.

You ask how to preclude the possibility of the use of nuclear or chemical weapons against the FRG and what conditions your country should fulfil for this. In our view, the conditions essentially boil down to one thing: under no circumstances should the FRG ever become a bridgehead for the preparation or perpetration of aggression against the USSR and its socialist allies using the means of warfare you mention or any other means. In that case, your country can rest assured that nothing threatens it. It can be said that it will be insured against a counter-strike.

He who deploys on his territory first-strike weapons aimed at neighboring states places himself in advance under the threat of a counter-strike, a retaliatory strike. He who makes a target of others inevitably becomes a target himself. There must be total clarity here.

If no state is to feel alarmed about its security, it is necessary to see to it, as you yourself rightly believe, Madam Kelly, that all mass destruction weapons are eliminated, both in your country and in the West and East in general. For its part, the Soviet Union has repeatedly stated its readiness to act in this way, provided other states do likewise.

I and other statesmen of my country have already said that the readiness of the nuclear states to subordinate their relations to certain norms and to adhere undeviatingly to them in their policy, as the Soviet Union already does, would be of fundamental importance. I will recall just some of them which directly relate to the matters you raise. The Soviet

Union has officially and solemnly declared that it will never use nuclear weapons against countries which have renounced the production and acquisition of such weapons and do not have them on their territory. Moreover, our country has adopted, and unilaterally at that, an obligation not to be the first to use nuclear arms. Together with its Warsaw Treaty allies, the USSR has been proposing to the NATO countries that an agreement also be reached on the non-first-use of conventional arms and of military force in general. My country is willing to do this.

One might well ask, what is preventing the other nuclear powers from assuming similar obligations if peace is their intention as their leaders state. After all, if there is no first nuclear strike, there will naturally be no subsequent ones either.

It is clear that in such conditions it would also be much easier to reach agreement on measures to actually reduce the nuclear stockpiles and eventually to liquidate them altogether. The Soviet Union has put forward a realistic stage-by-stage program for the achievement of this aim, a program which is of a comprehensive nature.

As regards the European continent, here, too, the USSR has been proposing practical solutions: from radical nuclear weapons reduction in accordance with the principle of equality and equal security to the complete ridding of Europe of both medium-range and tactical nuclear weapons.

In just the same way, the Soviet Union is resolutely opposed to the use of chemical weapons at any time. We have made specific proposals on their total removal from the military arsenals. As a priority step, the USSR and other socialist countries have proposed that agreement be reached to free Europe from all types of chemical weapons.

Such is our position. I trust that it gives an exhaustive answer to all the questions of interest to you. If there is to be a definite turn for the better, it is necessary to break the stubborn sabotage of those who openly bank on force and who declare the use of means of the mass annihilation of people a "legitimate" and "moral" way of solving disputes and achieving their political goals. That is precisely why missiles intended for aggression are being deployed on West European soil and chemical weapons are

being brought from across the Atlantic and stockpiled there.

A barrier must be erected against this policy of deliberately placing a fuse of nuclear and chemical war under the European continent. All peoples, political parties and social movements have the urgent task of wiping out these sinister designs. And there

must be no delay or sparing of efforts in carrying out this task.

The Soviet Union will continue to do everything in its power to bring about a turn toward normalization of the European and international situation in the interests of peace and the security of the peoples.

*Pravda*, May 30, 1984

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## Hands Off Nicaragua

Statement by Gus Hall,  
General Secretary, Communist Party USA

Before each act of military aggression Hitler delivered a hysterical big lie, anti-communist diatribe.

Reagan's televised harangue last night\* was the most blatantly irresponsible war-like, war-inciting speech since Hitler.

It was the big lie taken to its most extreme, insane, pathological levels. There was not a word of truth in it.

It was a tirade in support of U.S. terrorism and undeclared counter-revolutionary wars.

It was the raw, criminal voice of U.S. imperialism — an expression of big-power chauvinism — a total disregard for the rights of peoples and nations.

Reagan's objective is not to defend freedom: it is to defend the super-profit-taking of U.S. corporations. As long as these corporations are "free" to

exploit low wages, Reagan is satisfied — no matter how terrible the living conditions of the people.

Reagan's speech was a tirade that ignored the real problems in Central America. Reagan's paranoid concentration on communism as the problem is a cover-up for the true source of revolt in the region: poverty and exploitation — the very conditions that Reagan strives to maintain.

Reagan's speech was a tirade that raises the dangers of war to new levels, wars that can lead to nuclear confrontation.

It was a tirade limited to military action.

The Reagan tirade must be a signal for new mass actions — to pressure Congress to cut off all funds for covert and overt actions in Central America; to handcuff the covert hands of the CIA; to remove all presidential authority from taking military actions.

We Americans must say loud and clear: Hands Off Nicaragua.

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\*Ronald Reagan's TV speech on May 9, 1984, dealing with U.S. policy in Central America. — Ed.

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## To Really Reduce the Level of Military Confrontation

CPSU General Secretary  
on the Position of the USSR

### Konstantin Chernenko Answers *Pravda* Questions

*Question: The leaders of the seven major capitalist states recently met in London. What, in your opinion, was the character and content of that meeting?*

*Answer:* This latest meeting of the Seven was supposed to examine economic problems, but it dealt primarily with politics. This is indicated outright by the documents adopted in London.

Again, as was the case at the NATO session in May, much was said about peaceable intentions and an interest in reducing the level of armaments, including nuclear ones. Again the Soviet Union was urged to hold dialogue and talks. Regrettably, however, these intentions and appeals were not backed up with anything tangible. Why is this so?

One explanation lies right on the surface, and the

U.S. press is literally humming with it. It is considerations connected with the U.S. presidential elections.

A more profound reason is that the meeting of the Seven rubber-stamped provisions which run counter to the interests of détente, disarmament and peace. Dialogue and talks are mentioned since they need a screen to somehow cover up the transformation of the territories of some of the West European countries into a launching pad for new U.S. missiles. The fact remains, however, that the line of missile deployment is still unaltered, as has been repeatedly stated by the U.S. administration. Of course, Washington and other NATO capitals understand that this is an ever greater obstacle to the



possibility of talks and is raising still higher the barrier to a lower nuclear arms level. Surely it is political duplicity to target new U.S. nuclear missiles at the Soviet Union and its allies and at the same time urge talks.

Is there a need for dialogue and talks? Our answer has been the same both yesterday and today — yes. But a dialogue which is honest, and talks that are serious. We stand ready to engage at any moment in such dialogue and talks.

The Soviet Union has made proposals for significant nuclear arms cuts and their realization would not infringe on anyone's interests. We want these questions to be considered in earnest at the negotiating table as soon as the U.S. side withdraws its essentially peremptory conditions for talks. A real positive shift in the stance of the USA and its allies would receive a fitting response on our part.

The Soviet Union suggests accords on a whole complex of measures capable of really reducing the level of military confrontation and precluding the use and threat of force in international life. These proposals are well known.

I will single out, as an example, the problem of preventing the militarization of outer space. The whole world recognizes that this is of the utmost importance. Washington has our proposals on how to resolve this problem. But it does not want to tackle this problem, does not want even to discuss it. To all appearances, the U.S. administration only likes its own ambitious stance, whose purpose is to open the doors wide to the most formidable arms in outer space and thus still try for military superiority. It is clear that in this very important sphere as well, we are not meeting with any reciprocal desire for solid talks, much less for accord. And no talk about the benefit of dialogue will camouflage this fact.

We make an unequivocal appeal to the USA and its allies: it is high time for them to confirm by concrete deeds their share of the responsibility for peace, to recognize the futility of the position-of-strength policy and banking on the arms race, and to display a real, rather than histrionic readiness for dialogue, for talks to find mutually-acceptable solutions to the questions on which humanity's future depends. The Soviet Union has such readiness.

*Question: How can one assess the treatment of the question of "international terrorism" at the London conference?*

*Answer:* This problem was turned inside out in London. They discussed some technical details, but kept silent about the main thing. And they did that deliberately.

Criminal terrorist acts are being committed before the whole world, on a small scale, on a medium scale and on a large scale, single-handedly and by groups, or even with the extensive involvement of the armed forces of some states. This was the case in Grenada, this was the case in Lebanon, this is now the case in Nicaragua. But for some reason not a single word was said about all this at the meeting of the Seven. Apparently they decided that if they are going to play it false they should do so in a big way.

The Soviet Union has always condemned any manifestation of terrorism and we resolutely reject

the policy of the USA, which has opted for terrorism as a method of conducting affairs with other states and peoples. And it does not benefit those who practise "state terrorism" to make declarations on "democratic values," as happened at the London meeting. This is a mere face-lift of the adventurous concept of a crusade, another attempt to transfer the ideological struggle to the sphere of inter-state relations.

On the whole, the statements on both terrorism and "democracy" serve the aims of pulling the major capitalist states, including Japan, even closer to the U.S. administration's militarist course.

*Question: And how would you sum up the discussion of international economic matters in London?*

*Answer:* A lengthy declaration was adopted on this theme. It is wordy, but these words have drowned the acute socio-economic problems which are inherent in the capitalist system as a whole and which have lately worsened still further. They are above all the unemployment, inflation and rising cost of living, i.e., phenomena which mercilessly batter the broad masses of working people of the capitalist countries. No serious measures were outlined in London to ease these problems. But then, how could they have been, when the U.S. formula of letting the rich get richer and the poor get poorer was being foisted on the meeting?

One can also sense that Washington's massive pressure on its partners is an effort to resolve its own economic problems and difficulties at others' expense. Japan's trade and economic expansion is also making itself felt. In short, the knot of inter-imperialist contradictions is tightening still further, and they are surfacing in one way or another.

It would be a hundred times easier to resolve the economic problems were it not for the arms race, an insatiable monster which gobbles up countless intellectual and material resources. But precisely this central question was ignored at the meeting of the Seven.

It is indicative that the problems of profound concern to the developing countries also ended up in the background. Declaratory statements of a general nature cannot hide the fact that there is ruthless exploitation by the industrially developed capitalist countries, the USA first and foremost, of the economically weak countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America. To all appearances, the intention is to continue this policy, which can only have one result — a deepening of the chasm between the rich and the poor countries, which will find tomorrow even tougher than today. Here, too, the arms race, which is being whipped up by Washington and its NATO allies, is having a very direct effect.

There is good reason why the question is presently being asked everywhere around the world as to whether the London meeting even set itself the aim of somehow helping to improve the situation in the developing countries. The answer to this question in the developing countries themselves is a clear negative one.

In light of what took place at the meeting of the Seven, it would obviously not be out of place to

recall the position of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries which consistently advocate a restructuring of international economic relations on an equitable and democratic basis. This has been reiterated with fresh vigor at the CMEA summit meeting under way in Moscow. In addition to its immediate objective of reducing the threat of war, our indefatigable and, one can say without exaggeration, energetic struggle to halt the arms race aims to reallocate the huge material resources that

would be thus released to an upliftment of the people's well-being and to the needs of health care, culture, education and housing. A sizable part of these resources could be used to assist the peoples of the developing countries. We have been pursuing this line in our bilateral relations, and we advocate it at international forums, including at the UN. It will continue to guide us in the future as well.

*Pravda,*  
June 14, 1984

## Konstantin Chernenko Answers Questions of U.S. Journalist Joseph Kingsbury-Smith

*Question: When the House of Representatives in the U.S. Congress was examining the Reagan administration's military programs to be financed under the 1985 military budget, it passed an amendment banning the allocation of money for testing American anti-satellite weapons in space, provided the Soviet Union and other countries refrain from holding such tests. In view of this voting, will the Soviet government agree to freezing tests on anti-satellite weapons for another year or more on a reciprocal basis with the United States?*

*Answer:* It is evident that this House of Representatives vote reflects the concern felt by U.S. legislators that the arms race may spill into outer space. There is every reason for such concern. The basic issue at present is as follows: the militarization of space has to be prevented or else it will become a source of terrible danger threatening the whole of humankind.

As for the Soviet Union, this country has been consistently advocating that outer space be kept peaceful. Seeking to facilitate this goal, last year the Soviet Union undertook a unilateral commitment not to launch anti-satellite weapons into space; in other words, it introduced a unilateral moratorium on such launches, as long as other states, including the USA, refrain from putting anti-satellite weapons of any type in orbit. This commitment undoubtedly includes test launches of anti-satellite weapons as well.

The moratorium declared by the Soviet Union is still in force. At the same time, for all its usefulness we regard this moratorium as being only the first step toward a complete ban on anti-satellite weapons, including the elimination of existing systems. It is for this very reason that we are proposing to the United States to start immediately official talks on an agreement to this effect.

The specific proposals which the Soviet Union has made on this issue are well known. They enjoy support among the overwhelming majority of UN member-states. Only the U.S. government is against.

*Question: Would it be possible to introduce an effective monitoring of a freeze on anti-satellite weapons' tests, and if so, in what way?*

*Answer:* The Soviet Union is convinced that it is possible to achieve highly reliable monitoring of a freeze on anti-satellite weapons' tests, above all by making use of the national technical means at the disposal of both sides. Statements made by many U.S. experts also support this conclusion.

Effective control by both sides of observance of the moratorium on orbital anti-satellite weapons could be ensured by means of equipment for tracking space objects, which is at the disposal of the sides. As for pre-orbital anti-satellite systems apart from those which have been mentioned, it would also be possible to make use of other radio-electronic means that the United States and the Soviet Union have deployed on land, in the world ocean and in space. In unclear situations, it would be possible to exchange information and hold consultations. If need be, other methods could be found.

Provided there is genuine interest in finding effective solutions, any relevant issues, including monitoring, could be solved successfully through negotiations proposed by the Soviet Union both on anti-satellite weapons and on preventing the militarization of space in general.

I would like to stress yet again that it is vital to reach agreement on all these issues without delay before weapons are deployed in space, before a dash forward is made in the race in space weapons, a step unpredictable in its consequences. Tomorrow may be too late.

Those who are trying, by speaking beforehand about the "impossibility" of monitoring agreements limiting the arms race in space, to rule out any productive talks in this respect, are consciously working toward a situation which would free their hands to pursue a course of space militarization in the hope of gaining military advantages.

I will be plain: this course is both unpromising and dangerous. If it leads anywhere at all, it will only be to drastic intensification of the war danger. This cannot be allowed. What we all need are urgent and effective measures to preserve a peaceful space. The Soviet Union is all for this.

*Pravda,* June 12, 1984

# Concrete Actions to Consolidate Peace

Address by Boris Ponomarev

A meeting of the editors and other senior staff members of communist and revolutionary-democratic newspapers and journals who came to Moscow for the Press Day celebrations was held on May 4 and 5 in the Soviet capital on the initiative of the *Pravda* editorial offices. The meeting was addressed by Boris Ponomarev, alternate member of the CPSU CC Political Bureau, Secretary of the CPSU CC, and we publish below the text of his speech.

The meeting took place in an atmosphere of comradeship and business-like exchange of opinions and experience.

Dear comrades,

Allow me to begin by conveying hearty greetings and best wishes from the CPSU Central Committee and from comrade Konstantin Chernenko, General Secretary of our party's CC, to you, representatives of militant party journalism, who operate on the forward line of the international ideological front.

Half a year has passed since the last meeting of this kind in Moscow. The grave and alarming events that have taken place in this brief period confirm the Marxist-Leninist analysis of world development and, at the same time, enable us to make a fuller and more clear-cut assessment of the present-day international situation.

The polarization of social and political forces in the world is more evident than ever. The extreme reactionary forces, headed by U.S. imperialism, continue to grow increasingly aggressive. This is manifested in the confrontation with the world of socialism and with the national liberation movement, and in the sabotage of any reasonable peace-loving policy. On the domestic front in the capitalist countries, this is manifested in a tightening of the screws on the working class and the other working masses. Its underlying cause is the worsening crisis of the capitalist system and, of course, the failure of the calculations to compel the forces of socialism and peace to retreat.

In the face of the mounting aggressiveness of U.S. imperialism, these forces have been consolidating and strengthening their positions and invigorating their activity. This is expressed, above all, in the firm resolve of the Soviet Union and the socialist community to prevent any upset of the military-strategic parity, and in their practical steps to that end. It is expressed in the noticeably stiffer resistance by the peoples to imperialist policy of aggression; and in the stepped-up activity of the anti-war movement's vanguard fighters against the U.S. missile deployment in Western Europe. The adventurism and imperial egoism of U.S. policy has also heightened alarm in the ruling circles in capitalist countries. The anti-war movement has been reinforced by the definite upswing in the working class movement and by the growing rebuff to the offensive of big capital. On the whole, the domestic and foreign political processes are becoming increasingly interconnected, to the advantage of socialism and peace and to the detriment of imperialism.

However, the specific feature of the present situation is that, what Lenin described as a "war party"

stands at the head of the main imperialist power. It ignores the realities and plunges blindly ahead in an effort to impose its ways on everybody everywhere.

With its colossal military machine and enormous economic and political resources, this arch-reactionary group is pursuing a policy that is pushing the world toward a nuclear catastrophe. This policy is a global one. It poses a threat to the Soviet Union, against which the militarist strategy is spearheaded, and the other socialist countries, the progressive, democratic states, all nations and countries, and the very existence of civilization.

## I

During the past six months the U.S. administration has considerably heightened international tension. And this is of deep concern everywhere.

In his Georgetown University speech on April 6, Reagan once again proclaimed U.S. imperialism's adventurist credo with cynical frankness. He said that military strength, used either directly or indirectly, should remain an element of U.S. foreign policy. For all the "peaceable" show-boating statements, the official U.S. military doctrine is still based on the possibility of dealing the first strike in a nuclear war and winning it.

Bent as it is on achieving military superiority and wishing to retain full freedom of action on this road, the USA torpedoed the talks on nuclear arms in Europe and also doomed the strategic arms talks to futility.

Outer space is becoming a fundamentally new and particularly dangerous sphere of U.S. military activity. The "Star Wars" plans have been put on a practical footing. The President's report on outer space said that "arms control arrangements for space are desirable if they contribute to our overall deterrence posture and . . . not as ends in themselves." Such is the cynical "logic" of the henchmen of the military-industrial complex. If that logic is allowed to continue, all other measures to curb the arms race — on land and sea and in the air — will obviously be insufficient from the point of view of reducing the nuclear threat. The plans to militarize outer space essentially signify an undercutting of the entire nuclear arms limitation process, and primarily of the Anti-Ballistic Missiles Treaty concluded in 1972 for an unspecified period.

The USA has been blocking the conclusion of a treaty that would ban and destroy chemical weapons. At present it is doing this through its so-called new proposals. The U.S. draft agreement on

chemical weapons uses the slogan of "all-embracing" control and excludes all privately-owned chemical plants, while at the same time demanding that the entire chemical industry in the socialist countries, where there are no privately-owned plants, should be subject to verification, Washington needed a "peace-loving" chemical weapons initiative so as to throw dust in the eyes of the world public and, most important, to persuade Congress to appropriate funds for the mass production of binary gas.

The United States continues to deploy forward-based forces along the entire perimeter of the Soviet Union, although it already has about 600 bases around the socialist countries.

U.S. imperialism has sharply intensified its aggressive activity and military preparations in Asia and in the Pacific and Indian Oceans. It has been urging Japan to step up the arms race and forming a Washington-Tokyo-Seoul triangle. This example makes it particularly clear that Washington is lying when it claims that the U.S. must build up its military might so as to counter a military threat. There is no threat to the United States there or anywhere else. But U.S. imperialism has dozens of bases there and has occupied Diego Garcia Island for military purposes.

Acting as a world policeman and usurping the "right" to use military force wherever and whenever it wishes, Washington has elevated terrorism to the rank of state policy. In line with Presidential Directive No. 138, today this is almost the main direction of the activity of the CIA, the Pentagon and other agencies.

The "crusade" proclaimed by the U.S. President is not mere rhetoric but a *manifesto of counter-revolution* conceived on a world scale.

The Soviet Union and other socialist countries are its main target. The political content of this "crusade" is sanctions, blackmail, flouting of universally recognized international standards, cynical interference in internal affairs under the guise of "defense" of human rights and threats to use nuclear weapons.

The U.S. administration is increasingly despotic and wide-ranging in its use of aggression to suppress liberation movements and wipe out progressive governments in the Western Hemisphere, in Africa and in Asia. U.S. imperialism encourages and supports Israel's aggression in the Middle East, South Africa's aggression in southern Africa, and that of the reactionary regimes in Central America and the Caribbean. The threat of U.S. intervention arises whenever a nation's behavior does not suit the Washington rulers.

The big lie of a "Soviet threat," a bogey dressed up in a variety of costumes, is the hypocritical underpin of the crusade. Not long ago the Pentagon propaganda kitchen put out the third edition of a pamphlet called "Soviet Military Power." Defense Secretary Weinberger himself has been advertising it. Following Goebbels' formula that the bigger and more oft-repeated a lie, the sooner it will be believed, the Pentagon chief claims that the Soviet Union has superiority over the United States in

practically all respects in the field of arms.

Meanwhile, the U.S. military conveyor belt is operating at full speed. Military spending is being inflated to inconceivable proportions: it will exceed \$330 billion in 1985. The programs for the build-up of nuclear, chemical and space weapons are calculated for decades ahead, that is into the 21st century. Such is the social directive issued by the military-industrial complex as it strives for an unceasing flow of superprofits.

## II

Can anything be done to counter all this, can a nuclear war be prevented?

The CPSU answers this question in the affirmative, for along with the increased activity of the forces of war there is growing opposition to them on the part of the powerful forces of peace.

They are: the Soviet Union and the socialist community. Their concerted foreign policy and constructive initiatives are reflected in such very important joint documents as the Prague Political Declaration of January 5, the Moscow Statement of June 28, 1983, and the Communiqué of the Foreign Ministers' Meeting in Budapest of April 20, 1984.

They are: the communist movement, the most consistent and best organized anti-imperialist and anti-war force.

They are: many dozens of countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, above all revolutionary democracy, the states with a socialist orientation. They are: the non-aligned movement, which opposes imperialism's aggressive and neo-colonialist course.

They are: the new mass anti-war movement and the socio-political circles supporting it.

They are, lastly, the realistically-minded groups and leaders in capitalist countries who realize that in the nuclear age there is no alternative to peaceful coexistence.

The vigilance, firmness, resolve and active efforts of the peace forces have brought U.S. imperialist policy some *new major setbacks* in the recent period.

First, the U.S. plan to force the Soviet Union and other socialist countries to reconcile themselves to the deployment of new U.S. missiles in Europe and agree to unilateral disarmament has failed. Everybody now sees that Washington's claims, echoed by NATO leaders in other capitals, that due pressure will make the Soviet Union more "compliant" are a deception.

Second, the U.S. administration's attempts to undermine the positions of the socialist community with sanctions and subversion, to fragment it and weaken its unified international potential have ended in fiasco.

Third, Washington's line of using thuggery in a spirit of "gunboat diplomacy" to crush the liberation movement has collapsed. The example of Lebanon and Nicaragua — like Vietnam and Cuba before them — has shown once more that staunch, heroic patriots and revolutionaries can inflict defeats even on such an imperialist leviathan as the USA. U.S. imperialism cannot strangle the cause of national and social progress.

Fourth, the imperialist "hawks" find themselves isolated time and again in the United Nations, while proposals made by the USSR and other socialist countries and consonant with the will of the peoples find understanding and support. At its 38th Session, the UN General Assembly opposed the U.S. and some of its allies with the adoption by an overwhelming majority of a declaration unconditionally condemning nuclear war as a monstrous crime against humanity, and also a resolution demanding that the militarization of outer space should be prevented.

Fifth, there is increasing uneasiness in NATO ruling circles over the Reagan administration's adventurism and willful attempts to secure dominant, and virtually dictatorial, positions in the world capitalist economy.

Fears that Washington's policy could lead to a nuclear clash are entering the establishment, that is, highly influential circles of the USA and Western Europe. Though only gradually, they are beginning to realize that the Soviet Union and the socialist countries cannot be intimidated, and that the nuclear blackmail policy is undermining the security of the Western countries themselves, including the USA directly. The policy of heightening tension has proved to be a two-edged sword, and one edge has undercut the positions of Reagan himself.

Whatever Washington's pressure on the West European leaders and whatever the influence on them of NATO discipline, they see that the burying of détente is fraught with a further weakening of their countries' role in European and world politics. Hence such facts as the condemnation by even some NATO governments of the mining of Nicaraguan ports and other piratical U.S. actions and of the spreading of the idea that, in order to protect its own interests, Western Europe should play a special role, one different from that of the USA, in the present-day system of international relations.

All this has had an impact on the U.S. administration and forced it to change its tactics somewhat. The President himself gave the signal when he suddenly announced on January 16 this year that he was willing to consider improving Soviet-U.S. relations. But though nearly four months have passed since then, nothing is in evidence but a stream of lip service to peace, accompanied by the promotion of more and more military programs.

The U.S. administration is trying to create an impression of some shifts in Soviet-U.S. relations, is organizing false information leaks about "numerous contacts" with us and generally claiming that things are not so bad. That is a deception. There have been no shifts at all in these relations on a single important question.

To demonstrate at least some kind of foreign policy success in the presidential election year Reagan went on a "great march" to China. It was surrounded by great pomp and was portrayed as a "contribution" to peace. Nothing could be farther from the truth. Suffice it to say that at just that time there was a step-up in the armed acts of provocation against Vietnam on the China-Vietnam frontier and by the Pol-Pot forces against Kampuchea. U.S.-Chinese relations are a big card in Washington's

anti-Soviet plans, in its crusade against socialism, including, in the final analysis, against socialism in China as well.

The Reagan administration's entire policy is coming under sharp criticism from the contenders for the Democratic Party presidential nomination. They emphasize that the colossal military build-up is not at all helping to bolster the USA's tottering prestige, and they advocate a nuclear weapons freeze and ratification of the SALT-2, and oppose the aggressive operations in Central America. These views have been meeting with wide support in the country.

Reagan critics attribute his failures to such factors as his incompetence and anti-communist and anti-Soviet prejudices, to the slackness and mediocrity of those around him, to false concepts, incorrect tactics and the like. Of course, all this is there. But the most important thing is that the ultra-reactionary U.S. forces' entire course toward social revenge worldwide is essentially unsound and unrealistic. This is not a minor mistake of the "twice two is five" type but fundamental class insanity of the "twice two make a tallow candle" type, as Lenin put it.

Broad world public opinion is growing increasingly indignant and angry, demanding that denunciation of U.S. imperialism be stepped up so as to make it perfectly clear to all, that the peoples are against Reagan's policy.

### III

Comrades, the Soviet Union has never seen either sense or use in the "edge against edge" method. The rule which invariably guides the USSR can be expressed in a concise formula: firmness and implacability on the fundamental questions of our country's and our allies' security, and readiness for serious and equal dialogue permeated with a sense of responsibility.

This rule rests on the two basic provisions by which the USSR is always guided.

*First*, the Soviet Union does not seek military superiority. But, as Soviet leaders have repeatedly declared, it will never allow those who openly boast that they will relegate socialism "to the ash heap of history" to gain superiority over itself and its allies.

*Second*, the Soviet Union has stated repeatedly that it does not intend to ensure its own security at the expense of other states or to the detriment of other peoples. This principle was reaffirmed by the USSR Supreme Soviet, our country's supreme body, in its resolution of December 29, 1983.

Konstantin Chernenko, General Secretary of the CPSU CC, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, has given a clear-cut formulation of the Soviet peace platform in the current situation at the February and April 1984 CC plenary meetings, in his March 2 speech to voters, in his April 9 *Pravda* interview, in his statement at the April 25 meeting of the CPSU CC Program Commission, in his April 29 speech at the Hammer and Sickle Factory, in his replies to appeals from foreign public figures and at his meetings with them.

What, in brief, are the main elements of this platform.

First and foremost, it is the continuity of the foreign policy formulated at the 26th congress of the CPSU and concretized at subsequent CC plenary meetings. As Konstantin Chernenko has said, this "means that we must do all in our power to prevent a nuclear catastrophe. This means seeking an actual turn for the better in the dangerous world developments. This means progress toward equitable co-operation between states on the principles of peaceful coexistence."

In accordance with this, Chernenko's statements have advanced a comprehensive plan of practical action.

The USSR proposes that all nuclear powers should:

— pledge not to be the first to use nuclear weapons;

— negotiate a freeze of the nuclear arsenals;

— jointly recognize as mandatory certain norms of their international conduct, and adopt what could be called an "anti-nuclear code."

The USSR insists on a complete nuclear test ban. The U.S. must ratify the long-signed treaties on the limitation of underground nuclear tests and on nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes.

The USSR wants Europe to be free from nuclear weapons — both medium-range and tactical. The stumbling-block to this is the deployment of new U.S. missiles in Western Europe. The Soviet Union insists, and will continue to insist, on a restoration of the pre-deployment situation. This would make superfluous the counter-measures which the Soviet Union has been forced to take, and would make possible a resumption of the talks. This position of the USSR and its allies was reiterated by the Warsaw Treaty Foreign Ministers' Committee in Budapest in April.

The USSR has been working vigorously to secure an agreement to prevent militarization of *outer space*. At the last UN General Assembly session, the Soviet Union submitted a draft treaty to ban the use of force in outer space and from outer space against Earth.

The USSR supports the idea of creating nuclear-free zones in different regions, above all, in the north of Europe and in the Balkans.

Over 10 years ago we proposed, jointly with other socialist countries, a convention to ban and destroy *chemical weapons*.

The Warsaw Treaty states have proposed to the NATO countries an agreement on the mutual non-use of force and the maintenance of relations of peace, consultations on this proposal, and negotiations on the non-increase and reduction of military spending.

At the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building Measures, Security and Disarmament in Europe, the Soviet Union has focused on the major problems on which restoration of confidence in East-West relations primarily hinges. The USSR also advocates agreement on military and technological confidence-building measures that should be more substantive and broader than the previous ones.

Despite the U.S. refusal to hold talks on reducing

the foreign military presence in the Indian Ocean, despite its unwillingness to agree to any limitation of naval activities and naval armaments, the Soviet Union is going to pursue this goal steadfastly. It is common knowledge that the USSR recently submitted relevant concrete proposals to the UN.

The Soviet Union consistently supports the efforts of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea to strengthen fraternal friendship, mutual assistance and all-round cooperation. The Soviet state is in complete solidarity with their constructive initiatives to improve relations with their neighboring countries and to turn Southeast Asia into a zone of peace, stability and neighborliness.

And finally, the Soviet Union, as Konstantin Chernenko recently restated, favors a "real turn-about in Soviet-U.S. relations and in the whole international situation. We would like such a turn-about. The ball is in Washington's court."

Such are the main proposals and constructive realistic ideas embodying the collectively elaborated international course of the USSR and the socialist community.

#### IV

Comrades, at our last meeting participants spoke in detail about the role and the problems of today's anti-war movement. This movement has already demonstrated that it is a qualitatively new phenomenon that no one can ignore. It commands great moral and political strength and has great potential for further growth.

With the deployment of U.S. missiles in Europe under way, the anti-war movement has to act in new conditions. Imperialist services and propaganda agencies have drastically increased their ideological pressure. A deafening offensive has been launched to demoralize the movement and instill the idea that the efforts were all in vain, and that street actions, demonstrations, rallies, declarations and protests are useless. A false notion is being peddled: Europe has entered the "post-Pershing period" and the populace has resigned itself to that.

But the hopes that the arrival of the U.S. missiles in Europe would deal a crippling blow to the anti-war movement have clearly failed to materialize. Western Europe is not "getting used" to the U.S. missiles. There is increasing realization that Washington plans to use Western Europe as a theater of war where it is prepared to use any weapon — from nuclear to chemical. And this realization and alarm were highlighted by the anti-war forces' "spring offensive." In the FRG alone, over 600,000 people took part in the so-called Easter peace marches. In recent weeks, many impressive events in the anti-war struggle have occurred in Holland, Belgium, Great Britain, Italy, Greece, Spain, France, Portugal, Denmark, West Berlin, Austria, Norway, Iceland, Ireland, Switzerland — and not only in Western Europe but in Canada, the USA, Japan, and New Zealand as well.

The circle of people acting in the ranks of the anti-war movement against U.S. imperialism's aggressive policy is extraordinarily broad. One could cite many examples and name tens and hun-

dreds of staunch peace fighters who are an inspiring example for others. The anti-missile camp of British women near the Greenham Common base is one such striking example. Neither repression nor arrests nor the destruction of the camp itself by the police have broken these women's spirit.

We all know that today people are alarmed at the absence of Soviet-U.S. talks. Washington demagogically claims that it can return to Geneva at any moment, that it is the Soviet Union's turn to make a move. Much has been made of the U.S. President's supposedly "new proposals." But each of these "new" proposals is a front for yet another military build-up program. Besides, Washington hypocritically reassures both the U.S. people and its allies that arms build-up is a trump card in talks with the Soviet Union.

It is also fashionable among NATO leaders to proclaim their readiness to hold negotiations "without preconditions." They would have us believe that no one remembers that they have already advanced preconditions and even ultimatums in the quite tangible form of Pershing-2 and Cruise missiles in the FRG, Great Britain and Italy. Konstantin Chernenko has noted that "Washington holds forth about its readiness to resume talks. But talks on what, one might ask? On how many and what type of missiles targeted on the Soviet Union and on our allies the U.S. can deploy in Europe? We will not agree to such talks."

"Down With the U.S. Missiles" is the call spreading today among the activists fighting against the terrible danger threatening Western Europe. This slogan is a correct slogan for the U.S. missiles were the original cause of the breakdown of talks and it is they that are the main obstacle to their resumption.

Another common anti-Soviet propaganda ploy is to charge that the USSR opposes verification of agreements and thus blocks any accords. Actually, the situation is quite different. The USSR takes verification very seriously. For example, it has made far-reaching proposals on ways to verify the destruction of chemical weapons. The Soviet draft treaty on preventing militarization of outer space also suggests reliable verification measures. Relevant verification procedures are envisaged in all treaties on nuclear weapons and nuclear tests signed by the Soviet Union and in all its proposals on conventional arms limitation and reduction.

Conversely, it is the U.S. administration that would like to keep its arms beyond verification and subject the Soviet Union to "checks" that would actually be tantamount to military and economic espionage. A *Pravda* article of May 3, 1984, entitled "On Washington's Ploys Around Verification" recently spoke of all this in detail.

Merging with the anti-war movement is the mass indignation at the U.S. interventions in the Middle East, Central America and other Third World regions. The policy of state terrorism is hated because it violates the basic standards of international law and morality and causes high civilian casualties. Solidarity campaigns with the peoples of Nicaragua, El Salvador, Lebanon, Afghanistan, Angola, Kampuchea and the Palestinian people is a great reserve

of the masses' involvement in the anti-war and anti-imperialist struggle, especially in the Third World.

Social democratic, socialist and labor parties have been increasingly definite and persistent in their opposition to the policy of interventions and heightening of international tension, and in defense of the ideas of détente and the peaceful cooperation of states. Many social democratic leaders are active fighters against the arms race and for peace. At the same time, the positions of some social democratic leaders contain many inconsistencies, contradictions and views and assessments with which we cannot agree.

The voice of the opponents of war is constantly heard at the Stockholm Conference. Representatives of anti-war organizations have already had many contacts with conference participants. Rallies, meetings and interviews have been held and petitions and inquiries sent to the conference in connection with its work. There is no doubt that these activities will be stepped up during the second session of the conference.

The anti-war movement is becoming more and more *effective* and *active* as parties, parliaments, municipalities, and influential scientific and public circles join in and as the peoples' anger is ever more accurately targeted against the den of imperialism from every corner of the Earth, for the U.S. administration is directly responsible for the hundreds and thousands of victims of "undeclared wars" and for the heavy burden of militarism.

It is very important to overcome the negative phenomena within the anti-war movement. At various international forums, Soviet peace supporters uphold the ideas uniting the movement's participants, expose false arguments, and explain the USSR's true position which meet the main objectives of all the fighters for peace.

The growing social protest by the working class and other working people has been an important new factor in international development since the end of last year.

Against the background of an economic recession and the skyrocketing growth of unemployment in the late 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s, the conservative quarters launched a massive offensive at the living standards and rights of working people and deprived them of some of their previous gains.

However, the pernicious consequences of militarism, the excessive growth of military budgets at the expense of social programs, the curtailment of civilian industries, violations of trade union rights and arbitrary shutdowns of viable enterprises, the dismissal of hundreds and thousands of workers who add to the already huge army of the unemployed, rising prices and taxes — all this has stirred the masses. A change is evident in the attitudes of working people — a change toward militancy and a resolve to act as befits proletarians, to give a fitting rebuff to the monopolies.

Many impressive facts bear this out: the nationwide strike of Britain's coal miners to defend their industry supported by other sections of the working people, the march of scores of thousands of Lorraine steelworkers on Paris, other mass actions of French

steelworkers and miners, shipbuilders and auto workers against the plans to curtail these industries under the pretext of modernizing them, the demonstrations of millions of Italian working people in Rome, which frustrated the government wage reduction bill, the nation-wide strike and mass marches of Belgian working people against the "belt-tightening" policy, the powerful wave of warning strikes, demonstrations and rallies in the FRG demanding a shorter working week. Industrial and office workers in Portugal, Spain, and many other countries are defending their right to work and protesting against dismissal. While in the late 1970s an annual average of 50 million people took part in labor disputes in developed capitalist countries, in 1983 the figure rose to over 80 million.

This upsurge in social protest also increases the anti-war potential, for the source of the troubles and danger in these areas is one and the same — imperialism. And, as always, practical struggle brings into sharper focus the link between imperialism's militarist aggressive policy and its reactionary domestic policy. This year's May Day also demonstrated this. It was marked not only by a higher level of activity on the part of the masses than last year but also and especially by the close linkage of the two main slogans that keynoted the millions-strong May Day demonstrations in the countries of capital, namely, "Preserve Peace!" and "Safeguard the Right to Work!"

Or take the elections to the European Parliament, the present focus of the party, political and ideological struggle in Western Europe. The communists are taking an active part in it, using the pre-election situation to promote their ideas and initiatives among the masses, denounce those truly responsible for the international tension and show up the disastrous effect of the militarist policy on the economic position of the working people as well.

The peace forces' potential, and the possibilities being created by the failures of the imperialist policy, the development of the anti-war struggle and social protest will not automatically lead to a success. The communist parties, the international communist movement, the other anti-imperialist forces and, of course, their press have an enormous role to play here. The very course of history has today set them the task of fighting not only to eliminate exploitation but also to save life on Earth.

## V

As for the situation in our country, it should first of all be noted that however complicated the international situation, the CPSU has no intention of retreating from its main goal of improving the developed socialist society for the benefit of Soviet people. Last March's elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet confirmed that the CPSU's domestic and foreign policy enjoys the people's full support.

The inexhaustible vital force of the party founded by Lenin lies in its unswerving adherence to the general line worked out collectively. The party is confidently advancing under the leadership of its Central Committee, headed by Konstantin Chernenko, an outstanding political figure and states-

man, a communist with vast experience in ideological and organizational work. The USSR Supreme Soviet, the highest body of state authority in our country, has unanimously elected him Chairman of its Presidium. The February and April CC plenary meetings evidenced the continuity of the party's policy, its stable unity and unbreakable link with the people.

Soviet society is now at an important and crucial stage of its development, one marked by such major landmarks in the life of the party and the people as the CC plenary meetings held in November 1982, June and December 1983, and February and April 1984. The party has once again shown that it is loyal to the wise behest of its founder, Lenin: never become conceited, always be able to see the source of its strength, never be afraid to discuss its weaknesses, and always learn to overcome them (*Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 311).

In a short period of time, the communists' will and energy have yielded substantial results in the strengthening of order and socialist discipline and the elimination of various negative phenomena. Much strenuous work is being done to raise the national economic development rates and overcome the economic difficulties faced by the country in the late 1970s and early 1980s. The plan for last year and the first three months of this year has been successfully fulfilled. The Food Program has started to yield results, the Energy Program, the Non-Black Soil Belt Development Program and the Baikal-Amur Railway Construction Project are under way. Major steps have been taken to increase the production and improve the quality of consumer goods and services. A comprehensive program of the USSR's scientific and technological progress for 1986-2005 is being elaborated.

The April 1984 plenary meeting underscored that the strategy of advance toward communism should leave no room for sluggishness or the skipping of historically necessary stages of development. The party has a sober assessment of the situation. It sees that many complicated and big problems, pertaining in their origin and nature to the first phase of the communist formation, still have to be tackled on the road to its supreme goals.

While setting large-scale, complex tasks, at the CC's April plenary meeting the party laid special emphasis on the practical questions of improving socialist democracy and the entire Soviet political system so that the plenary power vested in the Soviets and enshrined in the USSR constitution should be reflected in both the content and style of their work. The first session of the 11th convocation of the USSR Supreme Soviet also emphasized the need to make maximum use of the Soviets' enormous potential at every level from top to bottom.

As you probably know, the session passed a school reform law, an act of tremendous political significance. Prior to that, the reform bill had for several months been enthusiastically discussed by millions of Soviet citizens. Hundreds of amendments and additions were made. The bill was in fact the result of a nation-wide referendum. Surely this is an example of socialist democracy, democracy in



action. The restructuring of the public education system is oriented toward the future, toward the training of a younger generation that will have to continue the cause of the Great October Revolution in the 21st century.

These and other diverse tasks and problems facing our society will be reflected in the new edition of the CPSU program. A highly important meeting of the CPSU CC Program Committee presided over by Konstantin Chernenko was held in April. It defined the basic principles of the preparation of this main ideological, theoretical and political document. It will be a program of the improvement of developed socialism, a realistic and well-balanced program aimed to put into practice the socialist ideal and to reach ever new landmarks on the road to communism.

Such, comrades, are the matters of great concern to the party and the Soviet people today. And this, more than any words, testifies to the peaceable nature of the socialist system. Of course, if the international situation were calm and more favorable, we would make more rapid progress and many problems would be easier to resolve. However, the situation is such that it not only requires great vigilance, firmness and restraint but also more attention to the country's defenses and the diversion of considerable resources to strengthen its security. The CPSU has been acting along these lines and will continue to do so. Decisions of its leading bodies clearly show this.

Figuratively speaking, the Soviet ship is confidently moving forward following Lenin's course in the troubled, stormy waters of our age. Steered by its experienced helmsman, the Communist Party and its Central Committee, our ship will never leave this Leninist course and will steadily increase its speed.

One more topical point. In a year it will be the 40th anniversary of the great victory over Hitlerite fascism. It came at a high price. The Soviet people still cannot forget the terrible losses brought by the war. For the Soviet people, Victory Day is, as the song goes, "a joy mingled with tears."

The 40th anniversary of the victory will be marked as a national holiday in the Soviet Union. The Central Committee has adopted a special resolution to this end, mapped out an extensive program of measures and set specific tasks for the press, TV and radio. An ideological struggle is already being launched around this date. Here is a concrete example: the 40th anniversary of the landing of the British and U.S. troops in the north of France, i.e., the opening of the Second Front in Europe (June 6, 1944). Judging by the Western press, this date is to be used as a pretext for belittling the USSR's role in the Second World War and for exalting the U.S. as Europe's "savior." There is also, of course, a long-term aim, that of backing Washington's present claims to world leadership.

The memory of the Soviet people's sacrifices and heroic deeds, and the laws of historical truth and justice require that we rebuff these designs. Of course, no one is going to belittle the importance of the opening of the Second Front. We are also going to show broadly and clearly the role of the Resis-

tance Movement in the events of this final stage of the war. At the same time, we are going to counteract any attempt to instill in people in the West, especially in the young people, who did not live through the war, a distorted conception of these events and to give them an anti-Soviet tint. The truth is that the conditions for the Normandy landing of the allied forces were created by the Red Army's victories on the Soviet-German front. The truth is that people of our day are enormously indebted to the world's first socialist state for their liberation from the fascist slavery, for their freedom.

The lessons of the Second World War are closely connected with the present-day problems, with the struggle for peace, against the arms race, with criticism of the USA's aggressive policy. After all, today the U.S. is deploying in West European countries, including on German soil, nuclear weapons targeted on the very country which made a decisive contribution to humanity's salvation from the plague of nazism.

\* \* \*

Comrades, the progressive mass media have an extremely important role to play in the struggle for peace and progress, against imperialism and reaction.

The newspapers of the fraternal parties in the socialist and developing countries play an enormous role. They are the mouthpiece of the ruling parties building and strengthening socialism. Great credit goes to the press organs of the communist parties in capitalist countries. Notwithstanding the monopoly domination of the mass media, notwithstanding the limited resources, the red-baiting and persecution by the reactionary forces, and in some cases even the need to work underground, many of the newspapers published by fraternal parties are truly tribunes of the people, organizers of the masses, relentless defenders of their interests. The French *L'Humanité*, the Portuguese *Avante!*, the Indian *New Age*, the West German *Unsere Zeit*, the Greek *Rizospastis*, the U.S. *Daily World*, the Chilean *El Siglo*, and the Venezuelan *Tribuna Popular*, and many, many others are well known and held in high regard in the world. They are making an inestimable contribution to the struggle for peace and the working people's interests.

The Soviet mass media take an active part in this struggle. Their priority task is to make known to the world public the precise and full content of Konstantin Chernenko's speeches, which exert a profound influence on people's minds and on international politics. In our efforts we are greatly assisted by the press organs of our friends abroad.

There is currently growing interest abroad in the works of Soviet leaders. Publishing houses in the USA, Japan, India and other countries have begun to put out collections of Konstantin Chernenko's works.

The CPSU is setting the Soviet press and our entire foreign-policy propaganda and counter-propaganda system a complex of major tasks:

First, to explain to the masses persistently and in a readily-understandable way the essence and con-

crete content of the foreign policy pursued by the Soviet Union, the Warsaw Treaty countries and the entire socialist community. To expose the big lie of a "Soviet military threat," whatever its insidious forms and whatever falsifications surround it.

*Second*, to expose the treacherous demagoguery to the effect that the U.S. build-up of its military might is strengthening peace, and to uncover the real goals pursued by the USA and NATO in deploying new nuclear missiles in Europe. And, at the same time, to promote in a well-argued and tireless manner an understanding abroad of the Soviet stand on the nuclear missiles and on the talks, a stand that is the only possible one in the existing situation and that serves to preserve peace.

*Third*, to explain broadly and through diverse means the CPSU's domestic policy and activity, which aim to better the material and spiritual life of people, are imbued with the ideas of construction and aspire to lofty humane ideals; to spread the truth about the Soviet way of life, about the truly popular character of our society, about our grand plans to improve real socialism, and about how these plans and programs are intended to cover many decades of peaceful construction. And for this reason alone, they are incompatible with any aggressive, bellicose intentions that our ideological adversary tries to impute to us.

*Fourth*, it is a task of our mass media at home and abroad to wage a continuous and vigorous struggle against the "crusade." We will continue to rebuff

anti-communism and anti-Soviet slander and slander against the fraternal countries and communist parties streaming from the bourgeois press, radio and television.

*Fifth*, in the spirit of unfailing proletarian solidarity, our press and radio will give wide coverage to the activity of the communists, revolutionary democrats and other front-rank fighters; and will illustrate by vivid examples their courage and tenacity in the struggle against imperialism, for freedom and independence, for the interests of the working class and other working people of their countries, for truly national interests and our common international cause. We will also join them in actively denouncing the evils of capitalism and its reactionary policy and in proving factually that the imperialists are entirely to blame for the dangerous situation in the world and that working people are the victims of their policy.

*Sixth*, one of the urgent tasks of our press, TV and radio is to give wide coverage to the masses' anti-war activity, to disseminate the experience of the peace struggle in various countries, and to counter the attempts to mislead the anti-war movement and split its ranks.

Comrades, such is our party's stand on the pressing international issues. Allow me to express the hope that, like the previous ones, this meeting will be a success and will help to raise the role of the party press in the ideological struggle against imperialism and in the propaganda of the ideas of peace, freedom and socialism.

## *congresses & plenary meetings*

# The Working Class Must Be the Actual Master of Its Country

**Closing Speech by Wojciech Jaruzelski  
at a Plenary Meeting of the PUWP Central Committee**

The 16th plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, which debated the CC report "On Further Reinforcing the Role of the Working Class in the Building of Socialism in Poland" and the report of the PPR Council of Ministers "On the Role of Factory Collectives in the Fulfillment of Economic Assignments," took place in Lodz on June 2-3, 1984. It adopted an address to the people in connection with the upcoming elections to the local organs of power, the people's councils. Apart from CC members and alternate members, the plenary meeting was attended by 800 workers from the biggest industrial facilities in the republic.

Below is the abridged text of the closing speech at the plenary meeting by Wojciech Jaruzelski, First Secretary of the PUWP Central Committee.

The 16th plenary meeting of the PUWP Central Committee has become yet another working conference elevated to a high party level.

The debate was frank, often sharp and, at the same time, responsible, creative and constructive. This is exactly how our party sees itself talking with the workers, now and in the future. The party and its leadership have to bring their assessments and arguments to the workers openly even if not in all

cases there is full approval and unity. The main thing is in the intention, in the mutual understanding and confidence. As the leading force of the people, the working class should feel it is the master of its homeland in the full sense of the word. This is an underlying principle, a vital need of socialism.

The role of the working class is not strengthened at the expense of other working people. Class egotism is alien to the conscious worker: the work-

ers' party shows concern also for the peasants and intellectuals. The problems of rural communities and agriculture were debated last year at the 11th plenary meeting. One of the next sittings of the Central Committee is to be devoted to the problems of the intelligentsia.

Our lodestar is Marxism-Leninism, and our course is socialist renewal. Consistent adherence to this course wins the party steadily growing confidence, allows making good bitter losses, and restores the trust of the workers.

The party's highest task is to be the ideological proponent, organizer and executor of the will of the workers in all questions big and small, to be the force vital to the working people, and to combat everything that rouses legitimate indignation — injustice, insults to the dignity of workers, and social evil. In short, it has to be among people. This is one of the central guidelines laid down by the ninth congress, and we constantly bear it in mind.

However, there still are unhealthy survivals, instances of isolation from primary organizations, and fear of criticism in open discussion in a work collective. This applies both to some local bodies and to the central apparatus. There is some of our blame in this.

In matters that are important to the people the communists should have the courage to speak of things that are difficult, unfavorable and disappointing. It has been our experience time and again that what is unpopular today may be a way out tomorrow, and that what is popular today may have adverse effects tomorrow.

The events over the past few years are evidence of the determination with which, step by step, we are creating the politico-economic judicial system enabling the working class to take a most energetic part in the administration of the state and in the management of the economy. We have the pertinent laws, programs, resolutions, and instructions. At the same time, we are quite justifiably criticized for their inadequate fulfillment, which presupposes discipline above all. Discipline from top to bottom, equally binding on a minister, manager, shop superintendent, and worker. And in this respect, as comrades here have noted, things are not very good.

Let us consider one more aspect of this matter. Everybody remembers that recently millions of people demanded democratization, decentralization, and self-management. We moved far in that direction. And what have been the results? Far from all the created opportunities are being utilized. Many people still shun increased responsibility. There are cases when we retreat: before autocracy, the elements, conservative inertia, or unbridled demagoguery.

What is the conclusion to be drawn from this? Our party is the leading force in the state and the leading force in society. This means that every instance, every primary organization and each party member should help to strengthen state order and social discipline, to consolidate socialist democracy, improve relations between people, and create the political and organizational conditions for worker participation in the administration of the country.

The participation and influence of the workers in decision-making at the place of residence remain inadequate to this day. We expect that the workers' and peasants' inspectorate whose establishment is now discussed on our party's initiative will help to change this situation. I am gratified that in the course of the poll more than 70 per cent of the comrades favored its creation. This inspectorate is being instituted not as a formality. It must become a strong and effectively operating link of the people's authority invested with wide powers. This is how the party sees it and this is the role it will strive to play.

The new Law on People's Councils likewise significantly increases the opportunities for the active participation of the working people in the system of state administration. The representative bodies of power and territorial self-administration will enjoy greater independence. They shall have much larger financial resources at their disposal and their leading role in the activities of local state administration shall be reinforced.

We do not know what the participation of electors and the distribution of votes will be in the various constituencies, although the findings of opinion polls indicate that the vast majority of citizens will go to the elections. In society there are different views and opinions, but the main factor is the patriotism of our people, their desire for the normalization of life in the country. This enables us to say already now that the new councils will be elected, judging by everything, by a much larger margin of votes than, say, the present President of the USA, who owes his mandate to the votes of one-fourth of the electorate.

Foreign agencies are saying in advance that they will have "their own figures on the results of the elections." On the occasion of May Day there has already been an attempt of this kind. This time, too, we shall most certainly "learn," for instance, that party members "voted three times." The fanning of a strike fever, the pushing of the slogan "work at a snail's pace," the support for American sanctions, and now the calls for a boycott of the elections are all part of one and the same scenario of inciting Poles against Poles, so that they should do harm to each other.

Where human rights are concerned, the U.S. administration should keep its mouth shut and its eyes downcast in shame. It may be brought to account by asking it about the first of these rights — the right to work, and about the mockery that is being made of the lives of millions of unemployed. We could, moreover, ask about the attitude in Western Europe to the steelworkers of Lorraine, the miners of Wales, and the metalworkers of Baden-Wurtemberg.

From this lectern of our working plenary meeting we send greetings to all who are fighting capitalist exploitation, the threat to peace, and violations of human rights, and we assure them of our internationalist solidarity.

In a socialist state the effective performance of the economy is the sphere of the direct interests and responsibility of the working class. But this is also a sphere of the class struggle. The adversary knows that this is precisely where there are the most con-

ducive possibilities for incitement and subversion that inflict the greatest damage on society. I think it would be no exaggeration to say that a struggle of a scale equal to that which we conducted for popular power, for socialism, is now going on in and for the economy.

Do all people want to see an end to the crisis? No, of course not. Socialism's external and internal enemies would like to prolong it endlessly, much as those who are profiting by it.

But they do not have the decisive say. Present-day Poland is working, above all. We are growing thanks to the day-to-day efforts, resourcefulness and patriotism of the working class, of millions of working people. This is demonstrated by the basic economic indicators of last year and of the current year.

But life is still not easy. The families of most workers have a tight budget, and disaffection is based on real facts. We are perfectly well aware of this: the workers' party cannot be indifferent to the hardships of the workers. Prices and wages are the most frequent cause of dissatisfaction. We all know how strong is the desire for higher wages. Is this normal? Of course it is. But can this step be taken if there is no corresponding production increment? Of course, it cannot! Prices and wages are inseparable from the magnitude, quality and cost of production.

As we advance in this direction, we are tightening control of the growth of costs and prices, but these steps do not everywhere meet with understanding from self-management bodies and from work collectives.

What is the situation over wages? This will possibly surprise many people, but among those working in the socialized sector of the economy, among those whose wage is roughly double the median, more than 80 per cent are industrial workers. These are usually skilled workers, with a long seniority, and they are also working overtime, so there is no cause for envying them. This is further evidence that our economic policy proceeds from the interests of the workers.

Further, we should consider how it would be possible gradually to raise the pay of engineering and technical staff and also of many groups of intellectuals, whose wages are in many cases far below what their skills and duties entitle them to.

It is highly important that on their earnings the working people should be able to buy what they need, that wages should not lose their purchasing power. This depends to a large extent on the implementation of the savings program. There has been visible progress here.

There is still confusion in employment. In particular, the balance between the people employed directly in production and the rest of the working people is often violated. Rationalization in employment is consistent with the interests of the industrial enterprises themselves, but in this matter nobody cares to take a risk. But the party leadership and the government have taken such a risk: five industrial ministries have been abolished in the past few years with the resultant considerable decrease of the number of people employed in the central apparatus.

There should also be a further rise of the standard

of elementary labor discipline expected at factories. Socialist justice and primitively understood equality are two different things. Distinctions in incomes based on dissimilar quantity, quality and social value of labor are fair. In our system nobody is threatened by the scourge of unemployment, but low wages for poor work do not conflict with the basic law of socialism, namely, "to each according to his work."

A favorable factor of development is the reform which, to be effective, has to be enforced uncompromisingly. Possibly it will hurt some people, for it brings their inefficiency to light. Today, with the experience we have accumulated we have entered the decisive phase of the reform and have adopted some new decisions. Moreover, we are drawing upon the experience of other socialist countries. Our main thrust is to consolidate the strategic role of central planning, especially from the angle of ensuring the nation's interests and, at the same time, steadily perfecting economic levers, promoting the initiative, independence and responsibility of enterprises, and increasing material and moral incentives.

To improve the working conditions of workers is both an economic and a social problem, a question of the further advancement of each worker, of the growth of the working class as a whole, and the gradual diminution and erasure of the distinction between labor by hand and labor by brain. In this connection the party feels it is necessary to expand mechanization, introduce organizational and technical improvements and, above all, promote robotization in production. A distinctive feature of our sitting is the close attention we are giving to the question of social justice. Our adversary may say that the idea of socialism has been compromised in Poland, but socialism spells out social justice in the first place. The fact that this idea is so deeply rooted in the minds of the working people, that it has become a universal requirement and a vital need is, in effect, a voice in favor of socialism, and the most significant achievement of People's Poland.

Some comrades dealt with the questions of collective consumption and social benefits. Despite the crisis, their scale has been increased substantially. But all the indications are that we have gone beyond the limits of our potentialities. In our country the leave granted for bringing up a child is the longest in the world. Sickness benefits and the alimony paid by the state are the highest. This year the state will pay nearly 2,000 million zlotys to unmarried mothers.

Workers, the working people disapprove of those who make money dishonestly, who profit from hardship, which is a particularly wide practice in the private sector, and cast aspersions on honest people, on those who abide by the law.

With a very high sense of responsibility we considered at this plenary meeting matters concerning the condition of the working class, its difficulties, aspirations and needs. We analyzed how it performs its role of master of the country and specified the tasks linked to strengthening its position in our socialist state.

The confidence of the working class in the party

and the activity of the workers are of fundamental, decisive significance to Poland. I should like to emphasize the importance of two tasks. The first may be characterized briefly as: more workers at all levels of the party's work — among activists, in commissions, in work collectives, and also in the apparatus; more workers among party probationary members, and a more accentuated class orientation in the work of all the party's links. The second task is to strengthen the ties of party members with non-party workers, with all working people.

Our discussion took place in an atmosphere which

differs from the atmosphere that reigned three, two, or even one year ago. We are surmounting one obstacle after another and working intensively on the plan for the next five years and on guidelines up to 1995 that are closely tied in with questions related to fraternal cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Tomorrow is our opportunity. So that it is not missed the party must be together with the workers, and the workers must be together with the party.

Abridged  
PAP News Agency

## *statements & speeches*

# Revival of the Trade Union Movement is an Important Factor of Socialist Poland's Socio-Political Life

Wojciech Jaruzelski's address at a meeting between PUWP and PPR government leaders and trade union representatives.

This meeting is a confirmation of our general line of activity for the good of the working people and our homeland — the Polish People's Republic.

The period since the revival of the trade union movement has seen many events in the international arena, in the life of our country, and in the trade union movement.

Stress should be laid on the political unity of the revived trade union movement, which has inherited the best and finest trade union traditions that are an integral part of socialist Poland's entire 40-year history. This trade union movement has been ever more effectively applying the Leninist class principles.

We have gained much experience in the past period. You, as trade union members, have learned how to carry out your tasks better in the new conditions, and we, as representatives of the authorities, know how better to resolve the common problems troubling us. However, when it comes to constructively developing cooperation, we by no means believe that contradictions are absent or that our opinions fully coincide on all matters. That would be artificial, unnatural. The most important thing is that we are seeking to understand each other and respect the objectives by which we are jointly guided, always bearing in mind the supreme goal — the good of socialist Poland, the good of the working people.

We have repeatedly emphasized that we want to have strong trade unions. We are reiterating that. Today the trade unions which you represent are increasingly strong, and this process is continuing.

You have taken a big step forward in the past year, strengthening the trade unions' positions, and gain-

ing great and valuable experience. However, the trade union movement does not operate in a vacuum but in the overall situation conditioned by the realities of socialist Poland. We have made much progress in every area of the country's life by pooling our efforts. Of course, there are still tangible difficulties having both objective and subjective causes.

The West's economic sanctions against Poland continue. The damage to the Polish economy currently stands at over \$13 billion, and the figure is still rising. Imports from western countries have been halved. We have been experiencing difficulties linked with the foreign debt and the interest payments, on which almost \$2 billion had to be spent last year. Still, the country's steady progress continues. In 1983, the increase in national income and industrial production was twice what had been planned. This is fact. The first four months of this year also show favorable tendencies of development in the main sectors of the Polish economy. But there still exist dangerous symptoms which we need to watch carefully and counter effectively. Favorable phenomena have also been evident lately in labor productivity.

If any capitalist country made such progress in a similar situation and in such a short space of time, the whole world would call it an economic miracle, but since all this is happening here, in a socialist country, it is still being suggested in the West that things are really much worse, much more tragic and hopeless.

But up to now the croakings and predictions of the utterly uncivil Polish and emigré crows have not

been realized. It is timely to recall and read their statements of a year or two ago. It is indeed very amusing trash, but what is particularly angering is the cynical banking on the naiveté of Polish society and the attempts to implant in it passivity, apathy and alarmism. All in all it is an outrage on the hard work of the working class and the entire Polish people. These kinds of fabrications, suggestions and predictions signify at the same time a desire to make the topic of Poland a sensational one and to form a smokescreen to hide the embarrassing phenomena compromising the capitalist system. It is especially regrettable that a certain part of our deeply patriotic and proud people does not understand the essence of these shameful manipulations.

They have not managed to knock us down, force us to our knees or bring us to a fratricidal conflict. They have not managed to destroy our economy, slow down the solution to the crisis, weaken the socialist state's defenses or paralyze cultural life. They have not managed to prevent the creation and development of a patriotic movement of national revival. Finally, they have not managed to compromise or question the genuineness and growing accomplishments of the revived Polish socialist trade unions.

Our plan is for the main indicators of economic equilibrium to be achieved by the end of this five-year plan, i.e. by 1985 inclusive, in line with the broad public consultations and the plan adopted by the PPR Sejm. We are on this road and believe that the plan will be fulfilled.

The government does not plan to raise food prices. What is more, it is going to continue to oppose every unjustified price increase on industrial goods.

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As a rule, price changes are derivative phenomena rigorously subordinate to economic laws. But we do not want to approach these laws passively since everything hinges on the production level, on labor and its productivity. This is as always our common vast reserve.

However paradoxical it may sound, I would like to note here that though a large section of our people have it very hard, we as a people are still living beyond our means. What I have in mind is working hours, work quality, labor discipline and organization, and the equipment of labor. We are taking only the first steps in the introduction of industrial robots which has gone far ahead in other socialist countries. There is also a need to economize on raw materials, energy and other materials, and to use technological progress.

I know that this conclusion must spark the question: If we are living beyond our means, at whose expense are we living? I will answer: previously, in the 1970s we lived on the credits which are such a heavy burden on us. And today we are living beyond our means in relation to the tasks of the future and to real needs. What I am saying is dismal but not hopeless, for, I would re-emphasize, we have enormous potential concealed in our society, and there are huge reserves in our economy. And so, if we consistently carry out our intentions and plans — and all the possibilities for this exist — we will rapidly make up the ground lost. A factor that is extremely favorable to this is the profound re-orientation toward economic cooperation with socialist countries, with the Soviet Union. My recent visit to the Land of Soviets conclusively confirmed this. An economic summit of the socialist community countries is soon to take place, and I am sure that the problems facing the Polish economy will be carefully considered there, and that the powerful potential of the alliance will be a valuable support for us in overcoming the crisis and in the country's further socialist development.

Comrades raised a number of problems concerning the extension of the trade unions' rights and powers in various spheres. We listened very attentively to the entire list of proposals. I think that as the trade unions gain in force it will be possible to resolve some problems more effectively, notably in housing construction, culture and the many other areas where we see broad possibilities and the most far-reaching trade union powers.

In a socialist state the trade unions are a big moral force and thus an inspirer and observer of the norms and principles for which we must tirelessly and persistently fight. Labor discipline, work quality, conscientiousness and thrift are production topics, but ones requiring a certain attitude and necessary moral and social mobilization.

I would like you to leave this meeting with confidence in our great respect for the trade union movement, which has displayed boldness, political wisdom, true patriotism and a desire to serve the working people and their socialist homeland.

Abridged  
PAP News Agency

# Defend Sandino's Homeland, Rebuff Imperialist Intervention in Central America

## Appeal by the Representatives of 20 Communist and Workers' Parties of Latin America and the Caribbean

The Commission on Problems of Latin America and the Caribbean of *World Marxist Review*, composed of 20 representatives of communist and workers' parties of the region, analyzed U.S. President Reagan's May 9, 1984 speech and expressed their attitude to it in an Appeal to the Peoples of the Continent, the text of which is published below.

Throughout the years of the Reagan administration, the United States has been interpreting the Munroe Doctrine in its own way, as presidential advisers defined it in the Santa Fé Document. This document openly proclaims that inter-American relations will be based on the principles that all America is a part of the security shield and expansion sword of U.S. global power.

And that is not all. For the Reagan administration, it is not just a matter of considering Latin America a part of the foundation of the United States. The Santa Fé Document says explicitly that it is not enough to preserve the *status quo* and the United States must improve its position in all spheres of influence.

This decision by the Reagan administration to intervene directly in the affairs of the peoples of Latin America, as in those of other regions of the world, has sharply heightened political tension, and created new seats of military conflicts and a growing threat to universal peace.

Not since the years preceding the Second World War when Hitler and German fascism proclaimed their "right to living space" and launched preparation for a "thousand-year empire" has the world seen such a hysterical and adventurist arms race, such waste of resources for military purposes and such insane plans for what Hitler called a "*Blitzkrieg*" or what Pentagon and NATO strategists now call a "first decapitating strike."

This U.S. policy toward Latin America is a tragic one for our peoples. In recent years it has meant an escalation of the dirty war against Sandinist Nicaragua, including such extreme measures as the mining of its ports, the attack on its fuel depots, and the more frequent penetration of its territory by Somocist mercenaries based in neighboring countries and armed with modern means of destruction. The USA's Latin America policy has meant support for the ultra-right groups and death squads that have been committing genocide in El Salvador, making the people pay with their lives for their resolve to win the right to social emancipation. The USA supports the fascist regime in Guatemala and its numerous crimes. It has turned Honduras into its military patrimony. Throughout Latin America, the United States has been assisting the dictatorships, indoctrinating their armed forces in the fight against their own peoples, and destabilizing the economies of the countries of the continent so as to impose the will of the transnational companies on them.

In the name of its "global power," the USA cynically and brutally dealt with tiny and unarmed Grenada, where it is currently trying to implant its model of an "authoritarian non-communist regime" while turning the island into a new military base — one more in the unending chain of U.S. bases across Latin America and throughout the world.

In the name of its doctrine, the U.S. continues the criminal blockade of revolutionary Cuba and is threatening it with direct aggression. The Santa Fé Document, which guides the present U.S. administration, says outrightly that if propaganda fails, a war of liberation must be launched against Castro.

All these years President Reagan has unceasingly reaffirmed that this is his Latin American policy. He has said this in his speeches and interviews and showed this in his concrete acts.

But his May 9 TV appearance before the American people cannot be considered merely one more restatement. The content and objectives of this speech should alert the peoples of Latin America and the entire world, and arouse their indignant protest.

This speech is undoubtedly a part of Reagan's re-election campaign, for it is directed almost exclusively to his voters. But it goes much further: it is preparing U.S. public opinion for new and more dangerous adventures on the continent.

Reagan's speech is full of lies and gross distortions of reality that have been repeatedly refuted by politicians of various countries, including members of the U.S. Congress. But Reagan deliberately repeats these groundless lies.

Above all he wants to disarm and placate the country's public opinion, which is alarmed by the growing danger of a holocaust. Reagan says, for example, that the arms race does not mean, as some would have us believe, that there is imminent danger of an atomic war. He says that such a war can be avoided because of "the basic prudence of the Soviet leaders," who would hardly wish to challenge the power of nuclear weapons.

According to Reagan, the real threat to the United States is an altogether different weapon: subversive activity. The Soviet Union, Cuba, Nicaragua, the El Salvadoran patriots, etc., supposedly imperil the USA's existence from Latin America. And to somehow substantiate these ridiculous fabrications, Reagan states that Latin America is a region of enormous importance for the USA and is in immediate proximity to it, that America's economy

and well-being are at stake in the Panama Canal and the Caribbean.

He says further that the communists' activity could bring the hundreds of millions of people in the region from Panama to an open border to the south of the USA under the control of pro-Soviet regimes.

Reagan no longer includes only Nicaragua, El Salvador and Guatemala in this pile of untruths; he also includes all countries of the region, Mexico among them, which is quite unreal. Neither the economy nor the well-being of the United States is at stake; the peoples of the region are merely fighting for their national liberation and social emancipation, for a solution to the problems of age-old backwardness, and fighting to rid themselves of the deformed development brought about by the plunder on the part of the transnational monopolies and international banks. This is a struggle to wipe out hunger and poverty, for the right to health care and education, the right to work and to a guaranteed future, and for real development for the good of Latin America. It is a struggle that in no way threatens either the people or the future of the United States. For Reagan, all this is "subversion" fomented by Cuba, Nicaragua and the Salvadoran patriots. And to "give weight" to these ridiculous assertions, he adds the populace of all countries from Panama to Mexico.

Proceeding from these fabrications about supposed dangers, Reagan explicitly formulates his objectives, saying that the U.S. can and must help Central America as this meets the U.S. national interests and is the only correct course from a moral viewpoint. But this aid implies the need to take sufficient measures to guarantee U.S. security. He says that this has been the administration's policy for over three years.

It is not a question of just any aid but of that which meets the U.S. national interests and is linked with adequate security measures. It is the aid which the U.S. gives to the thousands of Somocists armed to the teeth and going all out to destroy Sandinist Nicaragua; it is the aid it gives to Honduras in an effort to create a vast military complex and hold constant military maneuvers in that country. It is the new military base in Grenada, and the aid to arm and train repressive forces in El Salvador.

In his speech, Reagan grossly distorted the irrefutable historical truth about the Nicaraguan people's heroic struggle to liberate their homeland from the bloody dictatorship of the Somoza clan and its lackeys. He replaces this truth with outrageous fabrications about "intrigues" on the part of Cuba, the Soviet Union and even the Palestine Liberation Organization, dragging into this what he says were errors by Western public opinion, which was misled by the democrats into abandoning aid to Somoza. Reagan is eloquent in his efforts to impose his particular idea of Nicaragua on the U.S. public.

Claiming to be reporting on the true character of the Sandinist regime in Nicaragua, he says that the Sandinists ruling in Nicaragua are communists, that Sandinist rule is the domination of communist terror, and that what the Sandinists have done with Nicaragua is a tragedy. He adds that Americans

should know and realize that the Sandinists are not content with committing outrages upon their own country but also want to export terror to all other states of the region.

It is Reagan who has been committing outrages and who interferes brutally in the internal affairs of a people that has been martyred by the external aggression that his administration supports. However hard he tries, Reagan cannot hide the truth about a government which has begun to restore the country's economy by giving land that belonged to the Somozas to the poor peasants; a government which set about reconstructing the society by wiping out illiteracy; a government that has begun to satisfy the needs of the populace and to enable it to exercise its right to health care with the all-round and generous assistance of hundreds of Cuban doctors and with the broad solidarity of democrats the world over. Reagan's lie cannot hide the fact that Nicaragua is advancing in the construction of a democratic society with broad participation of the population, that Marxists and Catholics cooperate in its government and in the localities, and that, if it is left in peace, it will be an example of how to resolve all problems in the people's interests.

In an effort to conceal the truth and sow hatred and fear, Reagan has to invent the fable of a Nicaragua that is a threat to its neighbors, a Nicaragua that is full of military camps and overarmed. It is a bald lie to state, as Reagan does, that the Sandinist regime has been waging a war against its neighbors since August 1979, that armed raids have been made on Honduras and Costa Rica during this war, and that these operations are continuing today and receiving substantial assistance.

Reagan made the equally false statement that in the week beginning April 29 a Soviet vessel began to unload heavy military trucks at the Nicaraguan port of Corinto and that another Soviet vessel with trucks and 155 jeeps on board are on the way there.

But it would be wrong to regard these blatant lies and absurd attempts to make out that trucks and jeeps are dangerous weapons as mere propaganda ploys and an anti-communist device since they come from the leader of a power that has the largest arsenal of nuclear weapons, warships, fighter planes, missiles and other sophisticated arms.

Reagan has never had any qualms about moving from falsifications to extremely dangerous assertions. For example, he says that if the Soviet Union can and does assist subversive activity in our hemisphere, the United States has the legal right to help those who oppose this activity, and this is its moral duty. It is not only necessitated by U.S. strategic interests but is correct from a moral and ethical viewpoint.

This is not only fabrication. Reagan is trying to persuade the people of the U.S. that, in the name of the country's security and well-being, its administration has the legal right and the moral and ethical duty, heedless of the consequences, to intervene with its armed forces wherever it considers that U.S. interests, i.e. the interests of the transnational companies, international banks and imperialism's "global power," are imperilled.



Reagan is trying to neutralize the domestic resistance to a repetition of the Vietnam adventure, which is why he says in his speech that if the U.S. political process works, the U.S. can destroy the aggression backed by the Russians and Cubans, and that communist subversive activity is not a tidal wave that is inevitably overtaking the U.S. It was rebuffed in Venezuela and in Grenada not long ago.

He adds that everything is very simple: it is a question of whether or not the U.S. will support freedom in the hemisphere; whether or not it will defend its vital interests; whether or not it will stop the expansion of communism; whether or not it will act while there is still time.

Reagan then demanded that Congress take a decision on the provisional appropriations necessary to give the soldiers fighting in El Salvador and the peace-loving peoples of Central America the weapons which they need.

He ended his speech with this threat:

"Let us show the world that we want no hostile, communist colonies here in the Americas: South, Central or North."

Reagan's entire speech is teeming with such threats. It aims to prepare the American people for direct aggression against Nicaragua, intervention throughout Central America, and suppression of all movements for national liberation and social emancipation. Reagan proclaimed it his legal right and moral duty to intervene in the affairs of any country.

It has been rightly said that one specific feature of the present situation which makes it particularly complicated and dangerous is that the main imperialist power is being steered by what Lenin defined as a party of war that ignores the real state of affairs and stops at nothing in its striving to impose its own order throughout the world. We are witnessing a global policy based on the nuclear threat, a policy which includes the deployment in Europe of missiles that lower the first-strike threshold, and plans to militarize outer space and create rapid deployment forces to operate in all areas of the globe.

These are not mere words. The enormous and constant concentration of arms and armed forces is taking Central America to the brink of intervention and total war. This is an integral part of the USA's global policy.

The peoples of Latin America must give a rapid and vigorous rebuff to this policy. Any underestimation of the danger of the present moment is tantamount to suicide.

It is necessary to expand still further the solidarity campaign with Nicaragua and the Sandinist revolution. The people's cry that Nicaragua is not alone, that all progressive forces of the world are on its side must be heard throughout the continent.

We call for:

— exposure of the gravity of the threats made by Reagan on May 9, of his speech's terrorist character and of the President's arrogant statements about his "right" to unleash a war against any government or people that does not submit to his diktat;

— exposure of Reagan's lie regarding the Sandinist government of Nicaragua and his threat to move from escalation of the dirty war to open intervention;

— exposure of the open U.S. support and assistance to the bands of criminals terrorizing the Salvadoran people, and defense of their inalienable right to social emancipation;

— support of the proposal for talks made by the Sandinist government of Nicaragua, and also by the Democratic Revolutionary Front and the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front in El Salvador as the only way to resolve the region's problems.

We call on all democratic forces, all social and political leaders, parliamentarians, deputies to municipal councils, workers, students, and intellectuals to organize very broad action as soon as possible.

All efforts and initiatives must be placed at the service of a mass and many-sided movement for:

- Nicaragua's right to its Sandinist revolution;
- the right of the people of El Salvador to fight for national liberation and social emancipation;
- liquidation of the dictatorial and fascist regimes;
- democratic and popular solutions to our countries' problems.

Prensa Latina News Agency,  
June 20, 1984

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# Foil U.S. Imperialism's Designs

## Message from the National Leadership of the Sandinist National Liberation Front to the People of Nicaragua

The U.S. administration, whose global objective is to impose U.S. imperialist hegemony on the world at the cost of holding the progress of all peoples and endangering world peace, is pursuing a brutal policy of aggression toward Nicaragua.

The big stick policy and gunboat diplomacy used against our people in 1856, from 1909 to 1912 and from 1927 to 1933 as well as throughout Somoza's 40-year-long dictatorial rule, are being hardened at a time when the people of Central America are engaged in a legitimate struggle to alter unjust socio-economic structures and affirm their sovereignty and national dignity. These aspirations began to materialize after the victory won by the Nicaraguan people on July 19, 1979.

Ever since then, imperialism headed by the Reagan administration has been trying to reimpose its hegemony and bring back foreign exploitation and oppression. Prompted by adventurism, Washington sees it as a matter of vital importance to destroy the People's Sandinist Revolution.

In fighting for freedom, we are again compelled to resist unprovoked massive aggression. The Reagan administration's first step was to rearm and reinforce the genocidal Somoza Guard. To train and supply it, the USA occupied Honduras and turned it into a bridgehead for armed intervention. Using pressure and blackmail it seeks to turn Costa Rican territory into another base for mercenaries. The United States continuously holds land troop exercises, organizes spy flights and sends warships to our shores; it is effecting a troop deployment unprecedented in modern Latin American history.

Mercenaries spreading terror and death in the border areas of our country are the principal instrument of direct armed intervention which the Reagan administration is planning. The CIA has ordered them to exercise genocide against the courageous and proud people of Nicaragua, who have already lost many heroic combatants and hundreds of civilians. There is no compensating for this loss of precious life. The formation, reinforcement and criminal incursions of the mercenary army are aimed at paving the way for outright military intervention by the USA.

This is the underlying cause of the current intrigues against Nicaragua and its revolution. Smear campaigns, a shameless torpedoing of the diplomatic efforts of the Contadora Group and Nicaragua in favor of a political settlement, the formation of military blocs on the Central American isthmus, the revival of the Inter-American Mutual Aid Treaty, and the refusal to recognize either international legal standards, or the decisions of authoritative international courts are unmistakable evidence of U.S. plans for a military-political encirclement of Nic-

aragua that could serve as a bridgehead for direct armed intervention by the USA.

Against the background of a severe world economic crisis, imperialist aggression is aggravating the already acute economic problems inherited by our working people from the Somoza regime and a venal bourgeoisie.

The U.S. administration's terroristic policy has forced thousands of families to abandon their homes and resettle elsewhere. The subversive activity of the CIA and its hirelings causes immense damage to our economy: it has resulted in the destruction of many industrial plants, agricultural cooperatives, health centers, children's institutions, schools, building machines and equipment. All this seriously affects the revolution's ability to meet the people's social needs and supply them with basic necessities.

In these circumstances the limited economic resources of the country must, first and foremost, be used for satisfying the requirements of combatants, militiamen, reservists and peasants living in border areas who day after day heroically beat back criminal attacks launched by bands of CIA mercenaries.

In short, production, supply, the resources of the country and the energy of the people as a whole must be directed primarily towards meeting the needs of those who daily risk their lives in the forefront of the struggle.

Our economic policy must be aimed above all else at improving supply and meeting the requirements of the population in necessities, primarily those of its poorest sections, for to help the poor is to defend the interests of the classes which are the main force defending the country and safeguarding our gains.

Accordingly, we will continue the implementation of the agrarian reform in the interests of landless peasants, who will receive land and become its real masters. The rights of small and medium cultivators will not be prejudiced in the process, any more than those of rural employers really engaged in production.

Our pressing tasks include steps to improve passenger and goods traffic, the purchase of output and the Universal Health System, meet the requirements of the people compelled to resettle, and grant urban and rural working people lots for the construction of homes.

It is a patriotic duty of every social sector to devote priority attention to the families of heroes, of all those who have fallen defending the country, as well as to war-disabled persons and to families whose members have been called up.

To accomplish these tasks, we must establish rigorous control over the distribution of consumer goods and penalize hoarders and speculators.

The situation demands that our foreign economic activity — trade and foreign aid — be brought into

line with the main tasks of our economy: ensuring effective resistance to aggression and meeting the basic requirements of the people, who are involved in a war imposed by the U.S. military machine.

The material damage caused to Nicaragua by the terroristic activity of the present U.S. administration exceeds two billion cordobas.\* Added to this are expenditures for mobilization, transport and the construction of defenses. There is also the diminution of revenues plus losses incurred due to the fact that ships bound for Nicaragua cannot enter our ports because these have been mined on the instructions and with the direct participation of the CIA.

The purpose of the aggression mounted against Nicaragua is not only to restrict our financial and commercial ties still more but to paralyze the country and reduce our material ability to defend it.

To repulse aggression on the part of a power highly developed economically and militarily and to survive, our small country must make extraordinary efforts. We are paying dearly in blood and suffering from the defense of our national honor and dignity. We are compelled to spend enormous material resources exceeding our economic potentialities.

This is why we must distribute the little we have between defending national sovereignty and meeting our elementary requirements. To exercise our right to life and national sovereignty, we are forced to accept shortages, problems of supply, the lack of such necessities as medicines.

Revolutionary austerity and frugality as well as readiness to share not only in the working people's joys but in their sacrifices and the perils they are exposed to will remain a necessary aspect of the education of Sandinists.

Along with operations from without, imperialism is expanding acts of aggression inside the country by delivering overt or covert blows to our economy, organizing sabotage, setting up underground networks of terroristic groups, carrying on subversive propaganda and encouraging vicious attacks from the top leadership of the church and recurrent provocations by reactionary parties. These are all components of one and the same plan, which is intended to destroy our revolutionary power, our defense capacity and clear the decks in this way for direct armed intervention.

The U.S. military, which had hypocritically insisted that elections be held in Nicaragua, is now doing its utmost to prevent them. In a bid to nullify revolutionary Nicaragua's efforts at preparing for the elections, the USA foments through the CIA the anti-national activity of reactionary parties, of their leaders and mass media.

Despite ill-intentioned and illegal efforts at foiling the elections, the SNLF reaffirms its resolve to hold them, being confident that the people, who emerged victorious from the armed struggle against the Somoza regime and inflict reverse after reverse on the mercenary army, will win the elections in spite of the complicated domestic political situation.

Proceeding within the legal framework, we must firmly demonstrate the strength of revolutionary rule to the enemy and leave no room for doubt as to our determination to follow our chosen path.

The enemies of Nicaragua are faced with the immense mass of wage workers, poor peasants, the flower of our youth and numerous members of the middle strata, or the overwhelming majority of Nicaraguans, who have repeatedly shown their resolve to defend the country and its revolutionary gains even at the price of their lives.

A mobilized people is equal to the most resolute action. It is well aware that its standing task is to defend the revolution. To resist large-scale aggression effectively, it is essential, first and foremost, to strengthen the alliance of workers and peasants, concentrate on their interests and demands and steadfastly pursue a policy for national unity on this basis.

We cannot hope for an easy victory or an early solution of our problems. The task is to be prepared for a protracted struggle, for great sacrifices and difficulties in building new Nicaragua.

We are waging a war in defense of our country. It involves all fair-minded Nicaraguans, all patriots and revolutionaries. The Nicaraguan people led by the Sandinist National Liberation Front and its National Leadership are bound to defeat imperialism's mercenary army and fulfil the main task of national unity, which is to thwart plans for armed intervention.

The ideological struggle is intensifying and it is therefore most important to fully grasp and assimilate our revolutionary position. This means that we must vigorously publicize our fundamental ideas and major actions everywhere. The people of Sandinist Nicaragua must expose the lies and intrigues of imperialism and its reactionary underlings everywhere and in all circumstances.

We must step up everyday ideological work among the working people, in particular youth, to give them a more exact idea of the nature of imperialism and help them expose its agents in our country. Political education should be promoted by publicizing and studying the program, achievements and difficulties of the revolution and by showing what the war of conquest imposed by the Reagan administration costs us.

Our people derive militancy and moral strength not only from the historic deeds of Sandino and the SNLF, but also from the everyday defense of our revolutionary achievements. History warrants confidence in our people's victory, helps us appreciate their patriotism and inspires us to make new sacrifices in defending our country.

The support given us by world opinion has been and will always be a major factor in the struggle against the danger of direct armed intervention and other forms of aggression being planned by the U.S. administration.

Stating that the survival of the Sandinist People's Revolution depends on the main on our own strength does not imply minimizing the importance of inter-

\*28 cordobas equal U.S. \$1. — Ed.

national solidarity or deny that our revolution can only exist in the context of a definite balance of world forces. International support is a necessary complement to the political, military, economic and ideological struggle which our people are carrying on heroically and selflessly and to which Nicaragua and the SNLF owe their growing international prestige. We will continue seeking aid from international organizations to expose and condemn the criminal policy of the present U.S. administration.

We have said that the economic dislocation inherited from the Somoza regime and the world economic crisis are endangering our development. Nicaragua has therefore decided to do all in its power to end its lag.

We have also said that the U.S. government began armed intervention after organizing and arming counter-revolutionary units. Nicaragua responded by deciding to make the people as a whole an invincible army, which is already inflicting reverses on the empire's mercenaries.

Imperialism wants to destroy us. But Nicaragua will survive and advance steadily to its strategic goals, carrying high its revolutionary banner. All our people will join in the struggle to achieve these goals, either in the trenches, or in cities, rural areas, neigh-

borhoods, schools, work places — in short, all over the national territory.

The peoples of Latin America see in Nicaragua a symbol of hope. A small country with a deep sense of dignity, it may be said to represent the interests of the oppressed and exploited throughout the world.

All peoples are witnessing this historic juncture at which the Nicaraguan people are defending their right to life and national sovereignty. We will never swerve from our path even if we are threatened with direct military intervention by U.S. imperialism. We are ready to contribute our share to the peoples' struggle for peace on earth.

More land for poor peasants!

Fight speculation relentlessly!

Wage a life and death war against the U.S. aggressors' mercenary army!

Everything for the front, everything for our combatants!

A free motherland or death!

*Tomas Borge Martinez, Victor Tirado Lopez, Daniel Ortega Saavedra, Humberto Ortega Saavedra, Henry Ruiz Hernandez, Jaine Wheelock Roman, Bayardo Arce Castano, Carlos Nunez Tellez, Luis Carrion Cruz.*

*Barricada, May 19, 1984*

*from the press*

## Coal Strikers Fighting for the Future of Britain

**Gordon McLennan, General Secretary  
Communist Party of Great Britain**

Britain's miners are prepared for a long and bitter struggle. But if they receive from the trade union and progressive movement the support to which they are entitled, they can win well before the autumn.

Why do they deserve that support? Because they are not just fighting for themselves, but for the future of Britain and all its working people.

If coal board chairman Ian MacGregor and the government get their way, coal production will be savagely cut back. The reduction planned for this year is only the first step.

Yet coal is one of our greatest assets. We need it for industry, for our homes, schools and hospitals. It is cheaper, safer and more plentiful than other sources of power and heat.

Any policy which aims to get Britain's economy out of its present state of crisis, and set it on the road to expansion, should have an increase in coal production as its basis.

It is madness to butcher this key industry. But there is method in the Tory madness. They have already inflicted enormous damage on the country's industrial base. Their policies continue to prevent expansion on the scale needed.

Above all, they want to reduce dependence on coal because of the crucial importance of the miners in working-class resistance to Tory policies.

If the miners are beaten and their union smashed, the Tories reckon they can then deal ruthlessly with the trade union movement as a whole, which is the main obstacle to their policy of mass layoffs and closures and destruction of publicly-owned industry.

Along with the rest of the democratic forces in Britain, the miners stand in the way of the Tory onslaught on democratic rights and civil liberties.

Those who want an authoritarian state have always begun by trying to sap trade union power. This government is no exception.

So helping the miners to win is not just a question of solidarity with those who are under attack. It is an act of self-preservation for the whole of the progressive movement.

A victory for the miners will be a victory for the British people. To help the miners is to help Britain.

The scope of that help is one of the three major factors that will determine the length of the strike and its eventual outcome.

The first of these factors is the degree to which unity is forged among all miners. Some 84 per cent are now on strike, including tens of thousands of young miners who have contributed an exciting, special and vital element in this dispute.

How to build on existing unity and work out the future conduct of the strike is the responsibility of the miners and their union. They have decided the course of their action, from day one of the overtime ban last October, in accordance with their rules, constitution and conference decisions.

In doing so they have exercised their collective democratic rights as a trade union, just as will other unions, such as the National Union of Teachers, in deciding how to conduct industrial action on their demands.

All trade unionists should support the miners in their attitude on this question, for it would be to the detriment of the trade union movement as a whole to concede to the state and the mass media the right to determine if and when a trade union engaged in struggle has a national ballot. The decision on that must lie with the union concerned and its members.

What is absolutely clear is that the government, while denouncing the miners' union as undemocratic, is using all the power at the disposal of the state to deny miners their democratic right to speak to, and try to influence, their fellow-miners who have not so far joined the strike.

The massive police intervention, the arrests of miners and miners' wives, the use of obsolete, discredited and vicious riot law against strikers, the interference, not only with miners but with others travelling on their normal business, all constitute the most serious infringement of trade union and civil liberties for many years.

They underline the need for the miners to unite, but also show how vital it is for them to receive the support of the rest of the community, and especially their fellow trade unionists.

This is the second great factor — the development of maximum solidarity by other trade unionists. Solidarity with another section of workers in struggle is one of the most elementary and fundamental characteristics of trade unionism.

It must be implemented now in the form of moral, social and financial support by all trade unionists. Industrial action is the highest form of solidarity. When the miners call for such action they must get the most positive response.

Many unions and their members have already responded magnificently to such appeals from the miners' union, and where the response hasn't been forthcoming, from a minority, clearly a bigger battle for understanding has to be waged.

Collections of money and food, on a weekly basis, should now be underway in every industrial establishment and office where there are trade unionists, and the miners' case made in meetings, rallies and demonstrations and through publications and distribution of other materials.

The miners have always given unstinting solidarity to other trade unionists in struggle. Now is the time to repay it.

Solidarity activity along these lines should be widened out to include the whole community, not just mining communities. This is the third and increasingly important factor as the government and mass media step up their campaign to weaken public support for the miners.

Inspiring stories abound of collections of money and food outside supermarkets in city centers far away from the coal-field.

Of course, for many people, to give such support is not automatic. But where the miners' case is made people can be won to agreement and positive practical actions of support.

Thousands of women — miners' wives and other women — are now involved, making their own distinctive contribution in this historic struggle.

The electrifying success of their mass meeting in Barnsley last Saturday has been followed by the increased participation of women on the picket lines. In these actions these women are giving us all a new understanding of what women's liberation would mean for trade union and political struggle in our country.

In all solidarity activity the campaign of the mass media against the miners has to be combated. The biased and unscrupulous use of mass-circulation newspapers against trade unions in struggle has been seen before.

It occurred in the miners' strikes of the 70s, in the so-called "winter of discontent," when public service workers were in the vanguard, and more recently in the strikes of train drivers and print workers.

But today the mass media are outstripping all previous examples of gutter journalism with their attack on miners and their leaders and particularly on Arthur Scargill.

He is the subject of their most poisonous venom, because of his tireless activity on behalf of the miners and his courage and commitment at the storm center of the strike.

Present experience of the millionaire press must intensify the demand for democratic control of the mass media. The existing situation is a menace to democracy and civil liberties.

It hammers home the need for the *Morning Star*, which like its predecessor the *Daily Worker* has always been on the side of the miners and other workers in struggle, to increase its readership and influence and secure its future. This is a major responsibility of communists and of the left in the labor and democratic movement.

Winning new readers and raising money for the *Morning Star* is part of the wide-ranging public activity of communists in the miners' strike.

Communists have distributed hundreds of thousands of leaflets, produced posters, held meetings, collected food and money and campaigned for public and trade union solidarity. In the ranks of the miners themselves, communists are giving outstanding leadership.

This is the case for building the Communist Party among miners. A similar case could be made among

other sections of people, and democratic organizations and movements which are increasingly moving into action, swelling the rising tide of opposition to Tory policies.

About 40 miners have joined our party so far during the strike.

We welcome them into our ranks.

We are confident that more miners, trade

unionists, peace activists and others who want to make their fullest contribution in the battle against Tory policies will respond to the call made by our national executive committee last weekend to build the Communist Party — the party of struggle, the party of peace, the party of socialism.

Abridged from *Morning Star*,  
May 19, 1984

## On the Role and Prospects of the Communist Movement, Questions of Theory

Vadim Zagladin

### I

The modern communist movement is relatively young: less than 70 years have passed since its birth. But during this time it has made an incomparable contribution to the cause of social progress.

What is most important is that, guided by the scientific theory of social development, Marxism-Leninism, the communist movement has spearheaded the social renovation of the world. It has thereby acted as an effective tool of social progress.

A significant part of humanity is already marching under the banners of socialism today. And where socialism has been or is being built, many basic problems of concern to humanity from time immemorial have been solved in practice within a short time and in very difficult conditions. Social inequality and want, unemployment and illiteracy have been eliminated in those countries. Their citizens are to an ever fuller extent being drawn into the discussion and solution of pressing problems.

And whatever questions are still to be resolved and whatever problems still remain open, the peoples of the countries of socialism know firmly that their future is ensured; tomorrow they will live better and more fully than they do now. This is a great or, to be more precise, the greatest gain of human civilization.

But it is by no means only the accomplishments of the communist and workers' parties of the socialist states that embody the communists' historical mission. The communists of other parts of the world have firmly established their place in society — regardless of whether they represent a large or a small party — as consistent defenders of the interests of the broadest masses of the working people, as relentless fighters against fascism and reaction and as a truly internationalist and yet truly national force.

And, of course, one cannot but mention the communists' outstanding and ever increasing role in the struggle for peace. From the first days of its existence the communist movement raised aloft the banner of peace. Today it is waging a vigorous struggle to prevent nuclear war.

In a word, the merits of the communist movement are self-evident. This certainly does not prevent

many in the Western world from vilifying it and looking for signs of a crisis or even decline of the communist movement. Well, they say that a hungry hen dreams of millet. And the enemies of social progress have always dreamed of a crisis of the communist movement.

One can expect an objection here: but do the communists not encounter difficulties or problems of one kind or another? Yes of course, difficulties and problems do arise in their path. The communists also have both setbacks and defeats. But this is natural. A vanguard is called a vanguard precisely because it marches at the head of progress, taking on, naturally, all the difficulties of a trailblazer and all the fierce blows from the forces of the doomed old world.

One must also consider the fact that life goes forward and even the communists, armed with Marxist-Leninist theory and relying on a really scientific world outlook, do not always manage to keep pace with its truly seven-league strides. It sometimes happens that at sharp turns some do not stand the test, get left by the express train of history or even, abandoning the soil of Marxist-Leninist principledness, jump off it themselves. But those who are loyal to the principles cope with the difficulties and continue to advance confidently, even if not always rapidly.

And it is no accident that ever new millions of people join the communist ranks, which now include over 80 million fighters (compared with 50 million in the early 1970s). And it is no accident that fraternal parties now exist in 95 countries, as against 88 a decade and a half ago.

Incidentally, the very toughening at present of the foes of communism indicates more convincingly than many other things the strength of the communist movement. If anti-communism is today essentially a common denominator of all the forces hostile to progress, this has occurred precisely because communism has become a mighty political force incarnating in practice the chief tendency of humanity's modern development.

Yes, we repeat, life is going forward. And at each step it raises ever new problems and ever new tasks. In view of these new tasks, an acute and increasing

social need is also emerging today for a further enhancement of the communist movement's role in social development and of its prestige and influence. The communiqué on Konstantin Chernenko's April 28 meeting with Charilaos Florakis pointed out that the CPSU considers it its duty to assist this process in every way possible.

## II

It was Karl Marx and Frederick Engels who discovered the general sociological law of the growth of the masses' role and of their active part in the historical process. Formulating this law, they noted that "together with the thoroughness of the historical action, the size of the mass whose action it is will . . . increase" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 4, p. 82).

Our times have most forcefully borne out this proposition, which Lenin considered "one of the profoundest and most important precepts" of Marxism (V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 524). Indeed, when in the past have such vast masses of people been involved in the active making of history? The construction of socialism and the struggle to build communism have already drawn over 1.5 billion people into their orbit. And what about the fight for national liberation? Does it not demonstrate the involvement in revolutionizing activity of new hundreds upon hundreds of millions — actually the bulk of humankind? Finally, the anti-war movement, which embraces all continents and regions of the world, is also a symbol of the masses' active participation in history-making.

It is clear that the expansion of the number of participants in the historical process and the growth of the masses' political activeness inevitably increase the need for an organized, ideologically equipped and battle-hardened force able to grasp the essence and dynamics of the social processes and to discern and understand the paths of struggle leading to the future. A force that could embody this understanding in a concrete program of struggle, inspiring the broadest masses with it and rallying them under the banners of social progress. "The wider the new streams of the social movement become," Lenin wrote, "the greater becomes the importance of a strong Social-Democratic organization capable of creating new channels for these streams. The more the democratic propaganda and agitation conducted independently of us works to our advantage, the greater becomes the importance of an organized Social-Democratic leadership . . ." (*ibid.*, Vol. 8, pp. 216-217).

In other words, the greater number of participants in the socio-political struggle objectively requires that the communist parties' organizing and guiding role should be enhanced. We see confirmations of this constantly and everywhere, above all where spontaneous mass movements emerge. When such movements have no orientation they either go down a dead-end street and exhaust themselves without results, or end up on a wrong path leading away from the goals of true social progress.

And here we come to another specific feature of the present stage of our epoch which also gives rise to the need for further growth of the role and in-

fluence of the communist movement.

The past few decades have been marked by humanity's more rapid movement along the road from capitalism to socialism. It is well known that this movement is extremely uneven. Its forms are becoming ever more diverse, and its very process is becoming more complicated in many respects. For all that, this movement cannot be stopped; humanity's gravitation toward socialism is increasing.

This is quite natural. As society develops, more and more problems arise which can have truly dangerous consequences for all humanity if there is a refusal to resolve them or if their resolution is delayed, but which are not being resolved because of the continuing domination of capitalist relations of production in a considerable part of our planet.

Capitalism, the system which, as Marx put it, drags "individuals and peoples through blood and dirt, through misery and degradation" (Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 12, p. 221), has already actually become not merely a break on historical development but also a threat to the very existence of human society. This is what is giving rise to the growing, though so far in many cases spontaneous, striving of an ever greater number of people to change the existing system.

But it is not just a question of the masses' subjective striving to change a state of affairs which utterly contradicts their fundamental interests. It is also that the objective material prerequisites for socialism have matured on a world scale and, if we take the developed capitalist countries, have long been "overripe." Actual evidence of this are all the major changes in the productive forces and relations of production of capitalism which have occurred in the past few decades (progress in the socialization of production, social polarization, the larger mass of hired labor, of the proletariat above all, and so on).

But neither the existence of the objective prerequisites for socialism nor the masses' instinctive urge to make changes are enough for a transition to socialism. History has shown that this transition cannot take place spontaneously. It requires the purposeful organized activity of the masses, and the will, preparedness and ability to overthrow capitalism in a revolutionary way (in one or another of its forms), and to build a new, socialist society in place of it, the more so since the old world very actively conducts a well-organized "crusade" for the preservation of its positions, against socialism and against the masses' growing thirst for socialist order.

A greater role and influence of the communist parties is a major condition and prerequisite for preparing the masses for the future decisive battles for socialism. "We see in the *independent*, uncompromisingly Marxist party of the revolutionary proletariat the sole pledge of socialism's victory and the road to victory that is most free from vacillations" (V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 8, p. 159). These words of Lenin fully retain their significance in our days, and will continue to do so in the future as well.

## III

Finally, another specific feature of our time that

objectively necessitates a stronger and more influential communist movement is the danger of a nuclear war and the need to do everything possible to avert it. Imperialism's activity, especially that of U.S. imperialism, the arms race it has been escalating and its undisguised preparation for a nuclear war daily serve to show more conclusively that this is a task of great urgency.

The anti-war, anti-nuclear and anti-missile struggle is a distinctive feature of the current stage of the masses' social activity in the broadest sense of the word. However, as Konstantin Chernenko and Alvaro Cunhal emphasized, "it is still the communists, the representatives of the working class, the most active and creative force of present-day humanity, who are the most consistent fighters for humanity's salvation."

What determines their specific role in the anti-war struggle? Above all, it is the fact that, guided by a scientific theory of social development, the communist parties are capable of accurately establishing where they stand in a situation and determining the right methods of struggle against the war danger. On the other hand, it is the fact that, as the organized and well-disciplined vanguard of the working class movement, the communist parties are able to rally to themselves the most conscious sections of the working class and to draw into the anti-war movement the other forces willing to take part in it.

Lenin attached great significance to the communists' activity in defense of peace. "Special antimilitarist propaganda," he wrote, "must be carried on all the more energetically because cases of interference in the struggle between labor and capital on the part of the military forces are becoming more frequent; and because the importance of militarism not only in the present struggle of the proletariat, but also in the future, at the time of the social revolution, is becoming more and more obvious" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 15, p. 197).

Although these words were said more than 70 years ago, they still hold true. The practice of recent years bears this out. It shows that the cause of peace gains positions particularly wherever the communist parties follow an undeviating, principled line and wherever their influence among the working class is based on class consistency.

Of course, these are but the most general causes necessitating further growth in the strength and influence of the communist movement. Mention could also be made here of more concrete, specific causes relating to either the socialist countries or the capitalist or the developing countries.

Thus, if one takes the socialist countries, the most important factors behind the growing role and importance of the communist parties are, according to Konstantin Chernenko, "the growth in the scale and complexity of the tasks involved in building communism, which require a higher level of political and organizational leadership."

In the developed capitalist countries, the need for the communist parties to have a greater role stems from the deepening of the social contradictions, the growth of the mass protest against the monopolies'

oppression, and the need to give correct bearings to these sentiments and impulses and counteract the reactionary bourgeois-reformist and social-reformist attempts to lure them onto a road that will strengthen the foundations of capitalist domination.

Finally, in the developing countries the need to build the role and influence of the revolutionary parties is growing as the proletariat becomes increasingly formed as an independent, creative revolutionary force, as the struggle against imperialism is stepped up, and as imperialism intensifies its attacks on the peoples striving for freedom. A specific manifestation of this need is the growth and development in the developing countries of revolutionary-democratic parties guided by Marxism-Leninism.

#### IV

The question naturally arises as to whether or not the present-day international communist movement meets the stiff demands of the time and is prepared, taking into account all the complexities of its development at today's stage, to accept "the challenge of history" and raise its role and increase its influence on the course of world development. Our view is that it is. Very important evidence of this is the real growth of the force and influence of the communist and workers' parties over the recent decades, a fact already mentioned above.

However, if new and greater advances are to be made, it is necessary to ensure one precondition, so to speak — a further strengthening of the communist parties themselves. What is meant by "strengthening of the communist parties?" What specific questions are most important in this context? Speaking very generally, the fraternal parties single out four main factors. These are:

— greater emphasis on the communists' scientifically substantiated ideology, i.e., activation and deepening of the communist parties' theoretical work on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, rebuff of all hostile attacks on our teaching, instruction of the communists in the principles of this teaching, and the dissemination of the Marxist-Leninist ideas among the masses, primarily among the working class;

— organizational strengthening of the communist parties, i.e., firmer establishment of the time-tested principle of democratic centralism and its constant application in conjunction, of course, with adherence to Marxist-Leninist ideology;

— invigoration of the fraternal parties' policy of alliances, i.e., realization of their ability to spread the influence of the ideas of socialism beyond the working class and to mobilize the ever broader sections of the masses to struggle for social progress. Naturally, these goals can only be attained if the communists play an independent vanguard role in each such alliance;

— strengthening of the communists' solidarity on an international scale, in particular consolidation of the cooperation between the communist parties of the socialist countries and all other countries of the world, and vigorous support by all communists for



the revolutionary contingents under especially violent pressure on the part of reaction, and, of course, the broadest possible cooperation between the fraternal parties in the fight against the threat of war.

It is the combination of firm commitment to the ideology of Marxism-Leninism, strict organization and discipline, active and essentially revolutionary work among the masses and consistent internationalism that ensure the functioning of the communist party as a party of a new, Leninist type.

True, the opinion has fairly often been expressed of late in some countries that the notion of the "party of a new type" is outdated. It is sometimes said that what is now needed is not a party of the Leninist type but a "new party wide open to the masses." But all these concepts essentially boil down to one thing: recommendations to renounce the precise class criteria and approaches, the Marxist-Leninist ideological bases and proletarian internationalism.

One may ask what would then be left of the communist parties. Recommendations of this sort do not urge forward movement but rather backward movement to the communist parties' conversion into parties of the old, social democratic type. However, these parties have already traversed a long road and their experience has proved that this way leads to neither revolution nor socialism. It does not resolve the fundamental problems of concern to the working masses.

The need for parties of precisely a new and truly proletarian and revolutionary character was felt by Marx and Engels in the last years of their lives. It was just such a party that Lenin founded for the first time in history at the second congress of the RSDLP

in 1903. And all the real successes subsequently scored by the working class movement have been scored by precisely such Leninist parties — new parties, fundamentally different from the parties of the social democratic type.

Of course, having emerged these new parties continuously accumulated new revolutionary experience, developing and improving their organizational forms, their strategy and tactics. But they have always remained parties of this new type, consistently fighting for the interests of the working class and all working people, and for socialism.

Speaking at the extraordinary plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee in February 1984, Konstantin Chernenko said: "We, Soviet communists, sincerely rejoice over the fact that in the struggle for humankind's peaceful future and progress we are marching shoulder to shoulder with millions of our class brothers and sisters, and with numerous contingents of the world communist and working class movement. Invariably true to the principle of proletarian internationalism, we have warm sympathies and deep respect for the struggle of our comrades abroad for the working people's interests and rights, and believe that our duty is to strengthen in every way the bonds between us."

The communist parties and the communist movement in general are a crucial factor of social progress. Strengthening these parties, developing their cooperation and strengthening the communist movement means advancing the common cause of the international working class, the cause of peace and socialism.

*Pravda*, June 5, 1984

## Reaganism — the New Imperialism

Gus Hall, General Secretary,  
Communist Party USA

The contemptuous and arrogant announcement by the Reagan administration that it would ignore and reject all proceedings, as well as the verdict of the Hague International Court, concerning acts of aggression against Nicaragua was symbolic of the essence of its politics and policies in both foreign and domestic affairs.

Its total disdain for international law and public opinion has greatly increased the threat to world peace and security.

In the past 25 years U.S. imperialism has lost much of its post-World War II economic and military superiority in the world. In the past, monopoly capital enjoyed unchallenged dominance throughout the world.

The loss of this supreme position has been a traumatic experience for the U.S. ruling class and the multinational corporations. The rising power and influence of the socialist world — economically, militarily and diplomatically — has also had a shock-effect on U.S. capitalism.

For a short period financial domination over the Third World countries and the major capitalist countries was effective. But the huge hundreds of billions in debt and the near-bankruptcy of many countries has tended to close this avenue also.

Reaganism and Reaganomics represent and express the decision by U.S. monopoly capital to recapture its former top-dog status in the world.

However, the ruling monopoly circles determined that regaining of world supremacy would not be possible by way of peaceful economic competition.

They realized they could not achieve hegemony through peaceful competition with the socialist world, the Third World and not even with the rest of the capitalist world. The 100 billion dollar 1984 trade deficit is testimony to this fact.

What, then, were the remaining options? It is now clear, in world affairs Reaganism has opted for the military nuclear superiority approach. It is an attempt to regain the lost former status along the nuclear path.

From the day of its inauguration, the Reagan administration's stated position has been to pursue a foreign policy based on building weapons of nuclear superiority and first-strike capability over the Soviet Union, as quickly as possible. It is a reckless, dangerous, aggressive policy of nuclear confrontation. The positioning of the nuclear Cruise and Pershing II missiles in West Germany, Great Britain and Italy is but part of the worldwide U.S. offensive nuclear network.

There are questions and illusions about whether U.S. imperialism would be so insane as to strike first and start a nuclear war of aggression. One must never forget Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

All Reagan's pompous pronouncements about his willingness to negotiate a disarmament agreement with the Soviet Union are nothing but demagogic hogwash, a deadly and cruel hoax on the people of the USA and the world.

All the empty talk about negotiations has been and remains a cover-up for the specific measures of U.S. nuclear arms build-up. And Ronald Reagan is the personification of these policies of U.S. imperialist aggression.

Because of this, Ronald Reagan is the world's leading, most consistent imperialist nuclear warhawk. He presents the single most serious threat to world peace.

Reagan stubbornly pursues a foreign policy based on the development and production of weapons of nuclear superiority and nuclear first-strike capability.

Reagan is the world's chief purveyor of big lie, "evil empire" anti-communism. He actively pursues a policy based on a stated outlook of pushing socialism into "the ash can of history." He constantly adds to and uses the big lie of anti-communism as the beginning and end of everything he says and does.

The Reagan administration sees the socialist world, and in the first place the Soviet Union, as the main obstacle to its new drive for world domination.

Reagan most persistently pursues a policy of using U.S. military and economic imperialist power to halt

the processes of national liberation and force the Third World countries under the total domination of U.S. imperialism.

Reagan ordered the placement of offensive nuclear Cruise and Pershing II missiles on the borders between the socialist and the capitalist countries.

Reagan actively works to weld together an imperialist USA-Japan-South Korea-China axis.

The Reagan administration operates with total disregard and disdain for international law. It is the most lawless, bandit administration in all of U.S. history.

Reagan is the head of a government whose policies are rooted in financial and military support to fascist, reactionary, militarist, death-squad governments the world over; the head of a government that has made undeclared, counter-revolutionary wars an ongoing official policy; the head of a government that maintains on active duty huge armadas of U.S. nuclear naval forces to back up its gunboat diplomacy.

Reagan is the Commander-in-Chief who ordered the military attack on Grenada, who directed the mining of Nicaragua's ports and harbors and who actively plots war against the countries of Central America.

Reagan is the U.S. president who has made counter-revolutionary terrorism a major feature of U.S. foreign policy.

Reagan is the only U.S. president who has made a fanatic "crusade" against communism, against the Soviet Union and the socialist world, the very center of his political existence.

The Reagan administration is the most serious threat to peace in the world today. Therefore, in order to preserve world peace, prevent a nuclear holocaust and achieve nuclear disarmament the American people are gearing up for the November 6 elections, with the aim of removing not only Reagan, but all the Reaganites from the U.S. Congress.

At this point, what the November 6 electoral decision will be hangs in the balance.

*Morning Star, June 9, 1984*

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