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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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3-4 (523-524) Volume 23

PRICE: \$1.50

Konstantin Chernenko Replies to an Appeal from the Fourth World Congress of "International Physicians for the Prevention of a Nuclear War"

Last June's fourth World Congress of "International Physicians for the Prevention of a Nuclear War" adopted an appeal to the leaders of the USSR and the USA. Below is the reply by Konstantin Chernenko, CPSU CC General Secretary, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

I have carefully read the appeal which I received from the Fourth Congress of "International Physicians for the Prevention of a Nuclear War."

The ideas it contains confirm that your activities are imbued with humanism for they are based on concern for the health and lives of people. The Hippocratic Oath, which binds physicians to protect their patients from everything that might threaten their lives, has acquired a new dimension in the nuclear age.

Studying the possible medical and biological effects of nuclear war, you honestly warn that, should it occur, such a war would be the "last epidemic," whose scale cannot be exaggerated. It is not only a matter of the fate of modern civilization but of man's preservation as a biological species.

You are quite right that nuclear war cannot be squeezed into a "limited" frame. A burned-out planet would be the price paid for miscalculations by irresponsible politicians.

One of your congresses rightly pointed to the danger of the "nuclear illusions" which possess the leaders of certain states. Chasing the specter of military superiority, these leaders have been filling the land and the seas with weapons and are now planning to do the same thing of outer space.

The Soviet Union shares your fervent desire to stop this rush to the point of no return. We consistently work to ensure that nuclear weapons are never used, and that man's supreme right, the right to live, is guaranteed.

The USSR has already assumed the obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons and proposes a freeze on nuclear arsenals and agreement on complete cessation of nuclear weapons tests.

It is now of primary importance to resolve the issue of space weapons. If the militarization of outer space is not reliably blocked, it will erase everything that has so far been achieved in the area of arms limitation, will spur the arms race in other spheres and dramatically increase the danger of nuclear war.

The Soviet Union is prepared for the most radical agreements that would make it possible to advance along a route to cessation of the arms race, and prohibition and eventual complete scrapping of nuclear weapons.

Firmly resolved to achieve a major breakthrough in the reduction of the danger of war, the Soviet

Union is going to the forthcoming Soviet-U.S. negotiations with the aim of reaching mutually acceptable agreements on the entire range of issues related to nuclear and space weapons.

We are prepared to cooperate honestly and constructively with all those who really want the future development of world affairs to proceed not along new stages of nuclear rivalry but along a road of stronger peace, security, détente and confidence.

In today's troubled world it is extremely important that all states shouldering the formidable and costly burden of nuclear arsenals should realize their historic responsibility for humanity's destiny and help through definite actions to reduce the danger of nuclear war and improve the international situation.

The slogan of your movement's Fourth Congress was "Physicians Insist That Nuclear War Can Be Prevented." The optimism of these words is in keeping with our conviction that the forces of peace can prevail. The broadening anti-war movements, among which the physicians occupy an authoritative place, are one guarantee of that.

I wish the participants of the movement further success in carrying out their socially meaningful curative mission.

Respectfully yours,
Konstantin Chernenko
Pravda, December 6, 1984

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For Peace, Jobs and a Secure Future

Extracts from Dietmar Ahrens' Report to a SUPWB Conference*

This conference of the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin is formally opening the party's campaign of elections for the Chamber of Deputies and District Assemblies of Deputies due on March 10, 1985.

Our party offers a clear and far-reaching alternative to all West Berliners who expect consistency and integrity in upholding their demands for peace, jobs and a secure future. The SUPWB is fighting against a situation in which the CDU/FDP Senate has swept the subject of peace off the table in a city that would not stand the slightest chance of surviving should the nuclear war planned by the U.S. administration break out.

The SUPWB is sounding the alarm because Mayor Eberhard Diepgen has, contrary to common sense, described West Berlin to the U.S. President as a city threatened politically and militarily from the East, thereby helping step up Washington's hysterical anti-communist "crusade" instead of countering it with constructive peace initiatives.

The SUPWB is breaking through the conspiracy of silence against the constructive peace proposals, initiatives and unilateral steps of the Soviet Union, GDR and other socialist countries meeting the interests of all West Berliners. It declares without qualification that our city and its people need peace, peace with socialism. Everything depends on this.

The SUPWB says explicitly that the interests of monopolies and those of the working people are incompatible. The struggle for jobs and against chronic mass unemployment and the spread of a "new poverty" can bear fruit only if the inner political balance of forces is changed in favor of the working class and the classes and sectors associated with it.

The SUPWB is an anti-fascist party. It knows from experience that an active anti-fascist position is inseparable from the fight against the curtailment of democratic rights and freedoms.

The SUPWB stands for socialism. What is becoming more and more obvious is that the roots of war preparations and wars, the destruction of the environment and the reckless plunder of natural resources lie in the exploitation of man by man and the drive for profit.

We reaffirm at this point the idea of forming a coalition against the Right advanced by Party Chairman Horst Schmitt in the Board Report to the seventh congress: "On the strength of the experience of the mass struggles of recent years for peace and jobs, for democratic and social demands, we propose to the SDP and the Alternative List (AL) — regardless of existing political and ideological differences — to form a coalition against the Right in the current election campaign. It should be aimed at calling the CDU/FDP senate to account for its anti-labor and anti-popular policies and at breaking these parties' parliamentary majority.

"We call on the SDP and AL to concentrate in the election campaign on this goal and to renounce mutual petty accusations between the opposition forces. This by no means rules out businesslike and well-founded debates between us on fundamental differences.

"We want a policy of reason and realism to prevail in our city at long last. This could be achieved all the more easily if cooperation between the SDP, AL and SUPWB became reality not only outside parliament but in the Chamber of Deputies and District Assemblies of Deputies."

Anyone who is contributing his share to this cause in the Federation of German Trade Unions, peace initiative groups, tenants' organizations, neighborhood associations, women's and youth movements can confirm the fact that the communists prove their worth as a constructive force rich in initiative wherever the working people's interests, democratic and social progress and the defense of democratic rights are concerned. The election of communists to representative bodies would result in the strengthening of all forces to the left of the CDU/FDP coalition.

If communists, who speak for the largest political and ideological movement of today, were to move into the town halls of this city this would benefit all opponents of the CDU/FDP Senate, which attacks democratic and social rights and comes out for the nuclear arms race.

We say again that we are interested in a majority for a reasonable policy and not in a monopoly on it. Therefore we propose to the SDP and AL a coalition against a Senate declaring for missiles, destroying jobs, serving millionaires and producing a new poverty. This is not a short-term tactic but the fundamental strategic orientation of our party.

It goes without saying that in the present situation the SUPWB as a workers' party will do all in its power to help eliminate the war menace, coming from the policy of nuclear arms race which the U.S. administration and the top leaders of NATO are carrying on. This task requires the mustering of all forces, especially because the outcome of the U.S. elections does not augur a change in U.S. official policy that the peoples would welcome.

Why are Herr Lummer and Herr Landowsky of the CDU so upset by the demonstration of November 5, when thousands of West Berliners confirming by their participation in it a great achievement of the peace movement — the fact that the movement encompasses people differing greatly in party allegiance and religion — expressed once again their concern about the Reagan administration's dangerous course? It is not the peace movement that interferes in U.S. elections but the U.S. President that interferes in the affairs of all nations. This interference will always draw emphatic protest.

Surely it is a disturbing fact that five days before the U.S. elections further multimillion dollar orders

*The conference, held on November 9, 1984, unanimously approved the party's electoral program. — Ed.

were placed with U.S. arms-producing companies — this time for the manufacture of Trident-2 missiles and other weapon systems. So what is the worth of Reagan's demagogical declarations about his readiness for talks with Chernenko? Talks about what? Would they be about the Soviet proposal which was reaffirmed on the occasion of the 67th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution and provides for an immediate freeze on all nuclear weapon systems and hence for laying a dependable groundwork for effective disarmament talks? Mr. Reagan will not hear of it. Could he mean the proposal to prevent the militarization of space? This does not suit Reagan, either. Perhaps he means the proposal to renounce first use of nuclear arms and sign a treaty banning the use of force as a means of settling international problems? The U.S. President is uninterested in this, now as in the past.

How can West Berliners be unconcerned or fail to express their concern in the face of all this?

A few days before the results of the U.S. elections were announced — results which can only satisfy a President who does not care for the opinion of 70 per cent of his compatriots — Nicaragua's Sandinist government achieved an overwhelming victory in the democratic elections. Does Reagan respect that? On the contrary, he is arrogant enough to send his jet-fighters to the sky above Managua, capital of a sovereign state, and is casting about with the aid of shady CIA reports for a pretext to launch outright military intervention. How can West Berliners be unconcerned about this?

Herr Diepgen and Herr Lummer ought to be told that they want to link the destiny of the people of this city to a government hazarding the lives of nations. Haven't they noticed yet that the U.S. administration is defeated in the UN each time a question of safeguarding peace is considered, and only gets support from venal dictatorial regimes plus its more docile NATO vassals?

Those who, like the top CDU leaders, not only accept but approve of a situation in which the deployment of Pershing-2 and Cruise missiles on FRG territory has made possible the start of a nuclear war against the Soviet Union from German soil must be called to account at the elections to be held on March 10, 1985. It would be a fitting manner of observing the 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism here, from where two devastating wars were started.

Not accidentally, the electoral program that we have to adopt assigns a prominent role to the need to raise relations with the socialist German Democratic Republic surrounding us to a qualitatively new level.

Peace in Europe means peace with socialism; in West Berlin it also implies, specifically, promoting durable good-neighbor relations with the GDR. This is something which the dangerous talk of the CDU Senate that the function of West Berlin is to keep the so-called German question open cannot be reconciled with.

He who still refuses, now that the GDR is in its 35th year of existence, to bury his dream of calling the sovereign existence of that state into question

from this city has not really learned the lessons of history.

West Berliners were hit by the effects of the cold war hardest of all; they know of the benefits of settling relations on a treaty basis. The four-power agreement on West Berlin, whose key provision is that West Berlin does not belong to the Federal Republic and shall not be ruled by it, paved the way for improving the condition of West Berliners in many spheres.

What could be more pressing, especially in the present situation, than consistent utilization of the opportunities offered by a constructive treaty policy?

To use the advantages of our geographical situation also means raising our sights at long last to the requirements of the socialist market, which the planned, proportional development of the socialist economy makes possible to forecast 10, 15 or 30 years ahead. Despite the effects of the deepening crisis of capitalism, this market is expanding and its expansion is a rational process meeting the working people's interests.

The preservation of existing jobs and the creation of new ones are central to our party's electoral program.

Unemployment in our city has doubled since the CDU took over. Experts estimate the number of jobless youth alone at 50,000.

The condition of women on the labor market has been going from bad to worse.

Ruthless cuts have been made in social services; they affect both those engaged in them and the population as a whole even though the demand for these services is steadily growing. Early disablement is a common occurrence now; there are more and more mental cases and drug addicts.

The utter indifference of the CDU to the interests of workers and unemployed people alike was betrayed by Senate member Piorrot's joyful statement that Siemens, which has abolished 20,000 jobs in our city of late, has now announced the prospect of creating 600 jobs by 1995. Yet the time is still 1984.

Major companies are to be granted subsidies at the expense of tax-payers, their sum exceeding these companies' wage fund, in some cases noticeably. Consequently, allocations on wages are nil in this case; but any trade union demand for higher pay is rejected because a pay rise would allegedly affect the profitability of enterprises.

This state of affairs is no accident. It shows what happens when the reins of power are taken over by the CDU, a party of big capital, and when, furthermore, the Senate and monopolies fuse to the point of forming personal unions.

The scandals over the financing of Federal German parties — scandals which burst out like filth from an overflowing cesspool and which again involve primarily the CDU — show that this party's political morality is not above dancing to music paid for by big capital.

The only conclusion our party can draw from this is that in our city as elsewhere, it is necessary to change the balance of social forces in favor of the working class and other classes and sectors associated with it.

While continuing the struggle outside parliament, it would be very important for attaining this aim to bring about such a change on March 10, 1985 in parliament as well.

The SUPWB has specific economic, social and political proposals designed to preserve the economic substance of the city, counteract trends undermining the economy and create new jobs for workers and apprentices.

Following publication of the draft electoral program on September 29, our party discussed it in detail, with numerous non-communists participating. The discussion, which involved all party groups, was constructive everywhere. The Board received 98 written responses comprising 1,676 proposals and suggestions from party groups in enterprises, residential neighborhoods and higher educational institutions, from the leadership of district party organizations and from individual party members.

The district conferences held by the SUPWB in September and October approved our party's electoral list. What makes our candidates eligible is, needless to say, their political and personal qualities. Their trustworthiness is confirmed by years of struggle for the social and political interests of their colleagues in enterprises and trade unions. Not one of them has ever received a gift from big capital, nor would any one of them offer a gift to big capital in the struggles to come. SUPWB candidates are distinguished for their integrity, staying power and perseverance in defending the working people's interests and for their patience in coordinating and

defending the common interests of all forces to the left of the CDU/FDP coalition.

Our candidates put forward specific proposals that are not patent remedies but dependable concepts where the interests of workers, intellectuals, women and young people are at stake.

At no stage have they ever kept out of the fight for peace, the social and political interests of the working people and democratic changes. They bring with them their experience and traditions of struggle, their political maturity and their ability to choose the right orientation.

In accordance with the character of the SUPWB as a workers' party, 78 per cent of its candidates are workers and other employees; 31 per cent of them have been elected by colleagues to various trade union or factory posts.

The candidates include apprentices, students, intellectuals, jobless people, non-wage workers, housewives and pensioners. Women account for 33 per cent of the candidates. Our candidates champion a policy safeguarding peace, jobs and the future against the intrigues of big capital and its lobby in the Senate and Chamber of Deputies.

The SUPWB says to the working people, the unemployed, youth, women, intellectuals, the middle strata and pensioners:

You can rely on the consistency of the SUPWB in defending your vital interests.

Vote SUPWB on March 10!

Abridged from *Die Wahrheit*,
November 13, 1984

Do Everything to Ease International Tension

Statement by the Political Bureau, Communist Party of Belgium

In the opinion of the CPB, the U.S. presidential elections are one more reason for the Belgian government to avoid following further the course toward escalation of the blocs and, on the contrary, for it to take or support initiatives available to it which could contribute effectively to paving the way to a Europe and a world that is less armed and less subject to attacks of international fever.

The CPB believes that Belgium's duty is above all to:

— support, together with other large and medium states of Europe belonging to the two blocs and with all neutral states, a freeze on the deployment of medium-range nuclear weapons in both East and West, and the opening on this basis of talks aimed at balanced reduction of the arms of this type that have already been deployed in one or other part of our continent;

— delay in connection with this any final decision on the deployment of cruise missiles on our territory and to halt the preparatory work under way in Florennes;

— help to remove the obstacles in the work of the disarmament conferences in Stockholm and Vienna instead of being zealous for the creation of a so-called "European pillar" of NATO;

— confirm Belgium's support as a member of the European Ten for the Contadora plan for achieving a peaceful settlement in Central America by ending all forms of foreign intervention against Nicaragua and other states of that region.

Abridged from *Le Drapeau Rouge*,
November 6, 1984

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

Y. Bugrov

Paper 56 pp \$1.00
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Toronto, Ont. M5V 2P6

Do Everything to Avert Nuclear War

Joint Statement On Talks Between a CPSU Delegation Headed by Konstantin Chernenko and a CPJ Delegation Headed by Kenji Miyamoto

Talks were held in Moscow from December 11 to 17, 1984, between a delegation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union headed by CPSU CC General Secretary comrade Konstantin Chernenko and a delegation of the Communist Party of Japan headed by CPJ CC Chairman comrade Kenji Miyamoto.

The talks centered on effective radical measures to avert nuclear war and attain the total prohibition and elimination of nuclear weapons.

The CPSU as a party of a country which lost 20 million citizens in the struggle against fascism, and the Communist Party of Japan as a party of a country which was the first in humanity's history to suffer from nuclear arms, solemnly stated that in the present situation, with the growing danger of nuclear war, they view this task as urgent, as vitally important for humanity, as the central one in the anti-nuclear, anti-war movement, in the whole of world politics.

During the talks, which were held in a constructive spirit and an atmosphere of friendship and comradely solidarity in the struggle against the threat of nuclear war and for humanity's very survival, comrades Konstantin Chernenko and Kenji Miyamoto stressed the extreme importance, from the viewpoint of war and peace, of the year 1985 — the year of the 40th anniversary of the end of the Second World War and of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Both parties underscored the need to exert maximum effort to make this year a decisive one, a turning point in the struggle to avert nuclear war and fully ban and eliminate nuclear weapons.

Comrades Chernenko and Miyamoto agreed that it is necessary to outlaw nuclear weapons.

The first resolutions adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1946 called for efforts to eliminate atomic and all other types of mass destruction weapons. However, despite that, the reality shows that to this day development has followed the path of a rapid nuclear arms build-up. Tens of thousands of nuclear warheads have now been accumulated in the world, and their total power exceeds by more than one million times the destructive power of the atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima. Even a small part of the accumulated nuclear might is sufficient to destroy civilization. The peoples of the world are concerned over the threat of nuclear war. This threat must be removed. The elimination of nuclear weapons is the demand of all peoples of the world. There is no alternative to this.

The parties affirmed that important forces promoting the fulfillment of these common tasks are the movement of the world's peoples and mobilization of public opinion. With the peoples' anti-nuclear movement now at an unprecedented level in Europe, Asia and the Americas, the voice of the public for peace is louder than ever before. All this is already exerting an impact on international politics.

Of enormous significance are the vigorous actions of the peace-loving and democratic forces on a very broad basis, with no discrimination whatsoever on political, ideological, religious or other grounds, to free humanity completely from the threat of nuclear war, and if they manage to isolate the proponents of nuclear arms, this will be a huge force that will open up real prospects for complete prohibition and elimination of nuclear weapons.

Both sides affirmed that they will spare no effort to bring about the earliest possible conclusion and implementation of an agreement on complete prohibition and elimination of nuclear weapons, an agreement providing for complete prohibition of the development, production, testing, possession, deployment and use of such weapons.

The CPSU and the CPJ are prepared to do everything within their power to intensify further the struggle of the peoples to eliminate nuclear weapons, and urge the communist and workers' parties of other countries and all other peace-loving forces to do likewise.

The concepts of the "deterrent force of nuclear weapons" and the admissibility of their use are perpetuating the extremely dangerous coexistence of nuclear weapons and humanity and place humanity under the constant threat of a nuclear holocaust. Concepts that question the need for and possibility of an early prohibition and elimination of nuclear weapons and which postpone these tasks indefinitely contradict reason and the will of humanity, which wants to rid itself of the danger of nuclear war.

The present situation demands the isolation of all those who are clinging to nuclear weapons and who would like to use talks as a means of concealing the continuation of the nuclear arms race, and demands that priority be given in international politics, both in the United Nations and at bilateral talks and other international forums, and in the anti-nuclear, anti-war movement, to the task of prohibiting and scrapping nuclear weapons, and that consistent efforts be made to carry out this task. It is necessary to bring about a radical turn in postwar history by eliminating forever the threat of nuclear war.

Expressing profound solidarity with the international anti-nuclear, anti-war movement the parties welcome the intention of the world public to make August 6, the day when, for the first time in humanity's history, an atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima, a day of international joint actions for the scrapping of nuclear weapons. This would be an important contribution to the effective development of people's struggle to avert nuclear war and completely ban and scrap nuclear weapons.

Taking into account the historic experience of the 1950 Stockholm Appeal, which demanded an unconditional ban on atomic weapons, establishment of strict international control over its observance, and the proclamation of any government which is

the first to use these weapons a war criminal, an appeal that was signed by more than 500 million people all over the world and which tied the hands of the nuclear war-mongers, both parties pin great hope in the present-day situation on a new powerful upsurge of the international movement, on a new expression of the masses' will with a call for a total ban on nuclear weapons, for their elimination.

While giving priority to the task of completely prohibiting and eliminating nuclear weapons, it is at the same time important to carry out effective partial measures that practically facilitate advance toward this objective. Both parties expressed determination to fight for the realization of the following measures:

— adoption by all nuclear powers of the commitment not to be the first to use nuclear weapons; conclusion of an international accord on non-use of nuclear weapons; prevention of the militarization of outer space, especially the prevention of a nuclear arms race in outer space; conclusion of an accord on a total and comprehensive ban on nuclear weapon tests; renunciation of the use of nuclear weapons against non-nuclear states; creation of nuclear-free zones in various parts of Asia and other continents of the world.

And the implementation of these measures can be promoted by developing the movement for a complete prohibition of nuclear weapons and by mobilizing public opinion.

Both sides confirm the major significance of the development of cooperation between the two parties

on the basis of the agreement reached during their talks. The differences in opinion between the CPSU and the CPJ on the international situation and the nuclear arms race and on other issues cannot be an obstacle to their cooperation in the cause of preventing nuclear war and bringing about a complete prohibition and elimination of nuclear weapons. The parties are convinced that this will be of great importance for the further development of the peoples' struggle to prevent nuclear war, in defense of peace, for the cooperation in this struggle of various forces, irrespective of their views.

The parties agreed to continue the practice of summit talks and also to hold periodical consultations, including consultations at a high level, in both countries in turn so as to ensure the active implementation of the accords reached on the tasks of the struggle to prevent nuclear war and effect a total prohibition and scrapping of nuclear arms, and agreed to study the course of their implementation and continue the search for effective measures in this direction.

With the increased threat of nuclear war, these talks are of great importance. The cooperation of the CPSU and the CPJ in the struggle to avert nuclear war and effect a total prohibition and elimination of nuclear arms will be a major contribution by both parties to the noble international cause of saving humanity from a nuclear holocaust.

Pravda, December 18, 1984

Pietro Ingrao, Member of the Italian CP Leadership: There is Cause for Concern

On the Deployment of U.S. Cruise Missiles on the Italian Island of Maddalena

Following the statement by British Conservative MP Sir Geoffrey Johnson Smith, a letter was sent to *L'Unita* by an adviser of the U.S. embassy in Rome, Leonard J. Baldiga. It explicitly confirms some facts but is very significantly silent on others.

It has been confirmed that the *Fulton*, another U.S. floating nuclear submarine service station, has arrived at the base on the island of Maddalena, where the submarine service vessel *Orion* is already located (according to the U.S. adviser, this vessel is currently being modernized). Also to arrive is a contingent of U.S. technicians, who, the U.S. adviser adds with involuntary irony, will "help to develop the local economy" by staying in hotels of this zone.

The very significant silence concerns the dry but unambiguous statement of the British Conservative MP. In answer to comrade Cerquetti's question at a meeting of the NATO parliamentary assembly, he said that Cruise missiles have already been loaded onto the U.S. submarines that are laid up in the Maddalena archipelago. The Englishman also claimed that it is not possible to rescind a decision that has been taken and to remove missiles that have already been deployed.

I have neither reason nor desire to swear to the truth of the factual side of the British MP's state-

ment. Neither would I like to go in detail into the various complex aspects of the problems of this archipelago, which have already been discussed in a sharp and anxious manner on both Maddalena and Sardegna. It seems to me that we should immediately bring up this matter for discussion in parliament, where the communists and independent Left have already made relevant inquiries. I hope that the urgency and importance of this problem will be borne in mind by those competent to organize sessions of parliament. Answers should be given to these questions: on what grounds and how, with whose "go-ahead," with whose support and with whose sanction was it decided to turn a part of our territory — now or in the future — into a base for submarines equipped with Cruise missiles?

What is more, as far as we know, the Italian government gave permission for a U.S. base on Maddalena in 1972, that is, almost 12 years ago. And this was done in such a form that the matter was from that time virtually outside the government's control. Were any changes subsequently made in the document? With whose sanction? Who knows anything about this matter? Who controls it?

Reflect for a moment on the participants in the discussion about the Maddalena base. They are:

British and Italian MPs, the mayor and advisers of this Sardegna commune, the deputies to the regional Sardegna legislative assembly, a representative of the U.S. embassy. Maybe the Italian government will finally add itself to this list by making a statement on this matter?

Why has it remained silent up to now? Is this not a question of the fate of a part of Italian territory; does this matter not affect all of us Italians?

What concretely has been conceded to the U.S. in these years on Maddalena? When and under what circumstances was the forementioned permission granted? Who is authorized to take such decisions?

The question once again arises of international obligations assumed without the knowledge of the relevant legislative bodies. How easy it is to scoff at parliament! So the chairman of the Council of Ministers ventured to call parliament an "arena," speaking about it in a disparaging tone . . . But, for fairness sake, it should be noted that it was precisely in this "arena" that the truth about the alarming situation on Maddalena was recently heard. And earlier there were disclosures about the scandalous deviations in the work of the secret services and dubious links between the mercenary interests of concealed forces

and some government institutions. During the inquiries, neither the government nor the chairman of the Council of Ministers himself was able to give answers that were at all persuasive.

In a few days, on December 10, 1984, the ICP Center for the Study of State Reform and its Department of State Problems will open a discussion on Article 80 of the constitution with the aim of finding possibilities for amending a number of this article's formulations, taking into consideration that the existing situation, in which the government does not deem it necessary to be guided by the parliament on international agreements that profoundly affect the country's sovereignty and security, is inadmissible. This will make it possible to renew the discussion on the very relevant question of possibilities for the population to influence the government through the institution of the referendum used in a new way.

I am confident that this and other similar initiatives should serve as the starting point for a discussion of the conditions, difficulties and prospects of the peace movement.

Abridged from *L'Unita*,
November 20, 1984

Meeting of Representatives of Communist, Workers', and Revolutionary-Democratic Parties to Discuss the Work of the Journal "World Marxist Review" (Problems of Peace and Socialism)

Communiqué on the Discussion of the Work of the International Journal World Marxist Review (Problems of Peace and Socialism)

The work of the international journal of communist and workers' parties, *World Marxist Review* (Problems of Peace and Socialism), was discussed in Prague from December 4 to 6, 1984. In attendance were delegations from 91 parties: People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, Party of the Socialist Vanguard of Algeria, MPLA — Party of Labor (Angola), Communist Party of Argentina, Socialist Party of Australia, Communist Party of Austria, National Liberation Front of Bahrain, Communist Party of Bangladesh, Communist Party of Belgium, People's Revolution Party of Benin, Communist Party of Bolivia, Brazilian Communist Party, Bulgarian Communist Party, Communist Party of Canada, Communist Party of Chile, Colombian Communist Party, Congolese Party of Labor, People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica, Communist Party of Cuba, Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus (AKEL), Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Communist Party of Denmark, Dominican Communist Party, Communist Party of Ecuador,

Egyptian Communist Party, Communist Party of El Salvador, Workers' Party of Ethiopia, Communist Party of Finland, German Communist Party, Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Communist Party of Great Britain, Communist Party of Greece, Guadeloupe Communist Party, Guatemalan Party of Labor, People's Progressive Party of Guyana, United Party of Haitian Communists, Communist Party of Honduras, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Communist Party of India, Communist Party of Indonesia, People's Party of Iran, Iraqi Communist Party, Communist Party of Ireland, Communist Party of Israel, Italian Communist Party, Workers' Party of Jamaica, Japanese Communist Party, Jordanian Communist Party, People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea, Workers' Party of Korea, Lebanese Communist Party, Communist Party of Luxembourg, Madagascar Independence Congress Party, Communist Party of Malta, Martinique Communist Party, United Socialist Party of Mexico, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, Party of

Progress and Socialism of Morocco, Communist Party of Nepal, Socialist Unity Party of New Zealand, Communist Party of Norway, Communist Party of Pakistan, Palestinian Communist Party, People's Party of Panama, Paraguayan Communist Party, Peruvian Communist Party, Communist Party of the Philippines, Polish United Workers' Party, Portuguese Communist Party, Romanian Communist Party, San Marino Communist Party, Communist Party of Saudi Arabia, Senegal Party of Independence and Labor, South African Communist Party, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Communist Party of Spain, Communist Party of Sri Lanka, Communist Party of Sudan, Left Party — Communists of Sweden, Swiss Party of Labor, Syrian Communist Party, Tunisian Communist Party, Communist Party of Turkey, Communist Party of Uruguay, Communist Party USA, Communist Party of Venezuela, Communist Party of Vietnam, Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin, Yemeni Socialist Party, and also two parties whose names are not mentioned at their request. A report by the Editorial Board and Editorial Council on the work of the journal from November 1981 to November 1984 was submitted.

The delegations analyzed the journal's activity and made concrete comments and proposals with a view to further improving their collective publication. Particular attention was devoted to the issues of strengthening peace and international security, rebuffing aggressive imperialist policies, and highlighting the varied experience of the communists' struggle.

The representatives of fraternal parties recommended to the Editorial Board and the Editorial Council that they should take into consideration the wishes expressed, seeking to ensure that the international collective of the *World Marxist Review* always works in a spirit of equality, cooperation and respect for each party's interests, and facilitating the dissemination and strengthening of the ideals of peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism, and the consolidation of the unity and solidarity of all progressive forces.

The discussion proceeded in a frank, comradely atmosphere.

Rude pravo, December 8, 1984

Introductory Speech by Yuri Sklyarov, WMR Editor-in-Chief, to the Report Presented by the Journal's Editorial Board and Editorial Council

Dear comrades,

The report submitted to you by the Editorial Board and the Editorial Council on the work of *World Marxist Review* reflects the main aspects of its performance over the past three years and sets forth considerations on how to improve it. Permit me in this connection to touch upon only some of the facets of the journal's work.

As in the past, our international team has been striving to discharge the tasks set before it by the fraternal parties, promoting international contacts of communists in the field of ideology, joint examination of the theoretical and political issues facing the communist movement, and exchange of experience, information and views concerning the struggle for peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism.

These tasks have been tackled in the spirit of the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin, with due regard for the distinct features of the ideological struggle at the current stage, on the basis of the traditions that have taken shape over the 25 years the journal has been in existence.

You will have seen from the Report that the Editorial Board and the Editorial Council have tried their best to take into account the social processes and changes under way in the world and the greater demands made on the journal by the fraternal parties and by its readers. This naturally brought certain changes to its contents.

First and foremost, the journal has considerably enhanced its coverage of a broad range of issues related to the struggle for peace, against the war

threat that imperialism has aggravated sharply over the past years. More parties have been using the journal to discuss this subject which now accounts for about one-third of the *WMR* space. More collective projects were held to consider many aspects of the anti-war movement and of the efforts to rally together the peace forces representing different social strata. Analyzing issues of war and peace from class positions, the authors exposed the aggressive nature of imperialist policies and highlighted the importance of the socialist countries' peace initiatives and of the unity of the peace forces. Also discussing the defense of peace were social democrats, non-communist public figures and scholars.

Assisted by authors from the fraternal parties, the Editorial Board and the Editorial Council are looking for ways to raise the level of features on this subject, trying to link them closer with the practical tasks of the struggle against the war threat. Another objective is to provide more thorough and specific arguments showing that social progress has a future only if nuclear war is prevented and to adapt these arguments to the distinct conditions in different countries. The 40th anniversary of the victory over German fascism and Japanese militarism offers great scope for improving work in this and other directions.

As always, another major aspect of the journal's work has been its coverage of the theory and practice of socialism. *WMR* articles dealt with the perfection of developed socialism in the USSR, with the building of the new society in other socialist countries, and reflected the ever greater leading role played by the communist and workers' parties in

these processes. The authors representing the fraternal parties paid considerable attention to issues of improving production efficiency, planning and management and of accelerating scientific and technological progress. Articles were published analyzing the accomplishments and problems of socialist economic integration, of the many-sided cooperation among the socialist countries. Issues related to the advancement of socialism have been combined intimately with the demonstration of the fact that the possibility of preventing global nuclear catastrophe depends overwhelmingly on the growing strength and peace policy of the socialist community states.

The journal offered broad coverage of the struggle of communists and the working class in industrialized capitalist countries. The authors from these countries' parties analyzed the social consequences of the economic crisis and shifts in the alignment of class forces and in political structures of state-monopoly capitalism. The features spotlighted the inter-relationship between the arms race and the growing influence of more reactionary, right-wing forces in bourgeois society. The report of the Editorial Board and the Editorial Council notes that, unfortunately, a shortage of articles on the situation and struggle of working people in some countries limited the journal's possibility of presenting a fuller picture of the militant experience of communists in the industrialized part of the capitalist world.

During the past three years the journal took care never to lose sight of the social developments occurring in Asian, African and Latin American countries. Special attention was paid to transformations in socialist-oriented countries. Also featured prominently were articles exposing neocolonialist policies, aggressive imperialist forays, racism and apartheid and analyzing the record of the national liberation and anti-imperialist struggle.

As before, discussion of issues concerning the international solidarity of communists and cooperation among all of today's anti-imperialist forces was a major aspect of the journal's work. Our authors were striving to view issues of internationalism from the standpoint of the struggle against the war threat, in connection with the need to rally the anti-imperialist peace forces together so as to rebuff aggressive imperialist policies. The current intensification of the ideological confrontation has enhanced the importance of articles written to expose anti-communism, anti-Sovietism and the ideology of the "crusade" against socialism and today's progressive movements. Considerable importance was attached to analyzing the processes of internationalization of the class struggle — processes which, several authors stressed, were making it an increasingly urgent mission for communists to strengthen their solidarity on a class basis.

Comrades,

In their everyday activities, the Editorial Board and the Editorial Council enjoyed unflagging support and assistance on the part of the fraternal parties and maintained close cooperation with their Central Committees. The journal's articles are the foremost field in which the results of such cooperation are felt. The parties made wide use of the journal to raise and analyze topical theoretical, political and

ideological questions, to sum up the specific record of the class struggle in their countries, to exchange experience and views. Readers all over the world were especially interested to read contributions by the parties' General (First) Secretaries, Chairmen and other leaders. We believe that such features are the prime factor in the growth of the journal's influence and prestige.

Other types of contacts were also developing. Of great importance were regular meetings of Editorial Council members with leaders of communist and workers' parties. The ideas and recommendations set forth at such meetings provide us with major guidelines for our work and help the journal to cover the struggle of communists and other revolutionary forces more fully and in greater depth. Trips by the journal's delegations invited by the parties' Central Committees to attend party congresses and communist press festivals and to prepare joint articles were an effective form of contact with the fraternal parties.

In accordance with the wishes expressed at the previous meeting on the journal's work, the Editorial Board and the Editorial Council worked to promote their cooperation with revolutionary-democratic and national liberation parties and organizations. The journal assisted in the dissemination of the ideas of scientific socialism not only in the working class but also in the national liberation movement and helped parties to further internationalist contacts among broad anti-imperialist forces.

With vigorous participation of the fraternal parties' Central Committees, the journal organized collective projects — international theoretical symposiums, seminars and discussions among Marxists. They facilitated exchange of experience on issues which are of interest for the parties. Such meetings were invariably held in a businesslike and principled spirit of mutual respect, helping to enrich international contacts among communists both in content and in form.

The record shows that efforts to promote collectivism and a spirit of creative cooperation are indispensable for an international publication to discharge its functions effectively. Here, much obviously depends on the representatives of the fraternal parties on the journal, on their activeness, competence and skill in reaching agreement on questions that arise. Of primary importance for the journal is the fact that the parties' Central Committees usually send communists tempered in struggle and possessing a great store of political, ideological and organizational experience to work on the journal.

Together with the fraternal parties, the journal has taken care to unswervingly observe the principles of equality, solidarity and party comradeship in all spheres of its work. These were the principles underlying the efforts of the Editorial Council. Over the period under review, the Council was joined by the representatives of the communists of Ecuador and Palestine and now comprises representatives of 65 fraternal parties. In dealing with the journal's contents, the Editorial Board invariably followed the rule that the internal affairs of any party can only be discussed in features contributed by the party in question or approved by its representative. When

difficulties arose in the course of our work, they were overcome on the basis of comradely discussion, equality, attention to and maximum accommodation of the views held by party representatives.

The establishment, in accordance with the wishes of the fraternal parties, of an International Collective Secretariat in 1981 helped to further expand the democratic basis of the work performed by the *WMR* staff. Practical experience has confirmed that this was a useful step. The International Secretariat includes both the journal's Managing Editors and chairmen of the problem and regional commissions. All party representatives can, if they so wish, take part in its meetings. Within its competence is a broad range of questions concerning the organizational and creative aspects of the work of the commissions and the *WMR* staff; this enhances the role of collectivism in the management of everyday affairs.

The Editorial Board and the Editorial Council were striving to make the journal a vibrant embodiment of internationalism, a truly collective and consistently democratic publication. This is what the fraternal parties and our friends want it to be. A specific confirmation of this was offered last year in the numerous messages of congratulations on the journal's 25th anniversary received from the parties' Central Committees and from international and na-

tional democratic organizations.

Comrades,

The Editorial Board and the Editorial Council are aware that much can be done to improve our work. The *WMR* staff will continue their efforts to make the journal's articles politically more topical, theoretically more thorough, more informative, interesting and accessible to our broad international audience.

The Editorial Board and the Editorial Council maintain that of decisive importance for the effective discharge of its mission is the steady strengthening of the journal's ties with the fraternal parties. Allow me to express our conviction that this meeting will make an important contribution to the deepening of these ties and will help us to better grasp and use the considerable opportunities open to the journal thanks to the steady support from the fraternal parties. You know that the ideas and wishes expressed in the discussion of its work guide the Editorial Board and the Editorial Council in their efforts.

We hope that the discussion which begins today will help our journal to continue solving the tasks it faces effectively and raise to a new and higher level our collective work to disseminate the ideas of peace, socialism, national liberation and international solidarity of working people.

The Work of the Journal and the Current International Situation

**Speech by Boris Ponomarev,
Head of the CPSU Delegation,
CPSU CC Political Bureau Alternate Member
and CPSU CC Secretary**

Comrades,

First, permit me to convey fraternal communist greetings to you all from the Central Committee of our party and from comrade Konstantin Chernenko, General Secretary of the CPSU CC and Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Our present meeting has convened at a most crucial time. Europe, and the whole world for that matter, have had a troubled year. The deployment of new U.S. nuclear missiles in some West European countries and other U.S. and NATO moves have greatly increased the threat of nuclear war. The forces combatting this threat have also grown in scope, and have become stronger and more active. The Soviet Union and the rest of the socialist community have steadily worked, and are still working, to secure a change for the better in the international situation. The White House line of confrontation and power politics has caused serious concern, and has sharpened the sense of responsibility for the future of civilization among diverse social and political groups. The anti-war protest of the masses has grown immensely.

Visible changes are also occurring in the social pattern of the world. The socialist world system is increasingly consolidating its positions. The great principles and values it is putting into practice — the abolition of exploitation, a planned economy, accelerated elimination of backwardness, full

employment, social security for the working masses, the abolition of class and national antagonisms — are becoming the property of all humankind, are opening up its prospects for the future. Meanwhile, the crisis of capitalism continues to deepen; the class contradictions have grown more acute. In many capitalist countries, the political struggle has become tougher. The non-aligned countries, including those of the socialist orientation, are gaining strength — and this despite imperialism's emphasis on a policy of confrontation and intervention, above all against the national liberation movement.

The conditions for the activity of communist and revolutionary-democratic parties are changing accordingly, and the tasks they face have in many ways become more complicated.

All this is extensively reflected on the pages of our collective publication. The CPSU commends the results of the journal's work as presented in the Report of the Editorial Board and Editorial Council.

How do we conceive the main directions in the journal's work in the period to come?

I

The CPSU delegation considers it entirely legitimate that the journal's Editorial Board is paying so much attention to various aspects of *existing socialism*, that it covers the highly diverse experience of the socialist countries and the various forms and methods of activity pursued by the ruling parties.

It is no secret that discussions about the attitude to existing socialism, about its international role, broke out time and again within the communist movement in recent years. A certain sharpness was injected into these discussions by the difficulties that arose in the course of socialist construction in some countries, by the belated handling of urgent problems, by certain negative phenomena. All this was assiduously exploited by the class enemy, who redoubled pressure on the socialist countries and did not stop at unmitigated interference in their internal affairs.

Considering the role of existing socialism in the present-day world, I should like to call attention to a number of fundamental aspects of its development.

To begin with, a few words about our country. The party and its leadership has mounted an especially active effort in all areas of home and foreign policy. In his speech of policy-making significance at a meeting of the CPSU CC Politburo on November 15, Konstantin Chernenko said: "The economy has begun to develop more dynamically. The past two years are highlighted by positive changes in the work of practically all branches of the economy. This year, the industrial output will increase 4.4 per cent instead of 3.8 per cent as planned; the quality indicators have improved, and the living standard of the Soviet people is rising as a result. The more exacting approach to personnel at all levels, to their responsibility for the state of affairs in their industry, their region or enterprise, has yielded good results. And, of course, the drive to tighten labor and production discipline, to improve organization, to set things in better order, has made itself felt. The resolutions of the Central Committee plenary meetings and the activity of the CPSU CC leadership are marked by vigor, a creative approach to improving the society of developed socialism. All this is convincing evidence that our party is firmly following the course set by the great Lenin. Its evaluations of achievements are level-headed and realistic; it is aware of shortcomings and is taking steps to rectify them. All plans of the party are directed to the future — *they are plans of peace and peaceful construction.*

The Central Committee of the CPSU holds that victorious socialism must pass certain stages of development. The stage of developed socialism is a historically long succession of social, economic and political transformations, and of the ideological and cultural growth of the entire society. Our country is at the beginning of this stage, in which it will yet have to attain the socialist ideal in its full scope.

At present, Soviet society has come right up to a turning point, meaning changes of quality, the road to which was paved by all our preceding development.

As regards the *material basis*, the main task here is to accelerate and secure a more balanced economic growth, to intensify production. In the past two years we have managed to halt the decline of growth rates witnessed in the early 1980s, and to give the economy a new dynamism. This has had an instantaneous favorable effect on the living standard of the Soviet people. And that is the main criterion of the correctness of the party's economic policy.

In the 12th five-year plan period we are planning to

secure radical progress in heightening the efficiency of the whole economy through the introduction of scientific and technological achievements. The question of accelerating scientific and technological progress will be dealt with at the next CPSU Central Committee plenary meeting. The Food Program launched two years ago has given impulse to large-scale intensification of agriculture. A long-term land improvement program has been set in motion, which will reduce to the minimum agriculture's dependence on the whims of the weather.

A major economic experiment is under way, aimed at improving the system of planning and management, at improving the entire economic mechanism. Its substance is to give more rights to enterprises, to heighten their responsibility and their material stake in the ultimate results of their work. Once its results are weighed, this comprehensive improvement of management will be extended to the rest of the economy.

The complicated international situation compels us to divert considerable resources for defense. But even in these circumstances, social programs are not being curtailed. *The main goal of our economic plans is to heighten the well-being of the people, to raise the material and cultural standard of life.* This objective is central to the plan for 1985 adopted some days ago at a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. I might stress that in the case of most of the social indicators of the plan the country is going to attain the targets of the five-year plan. This is true of the accretion of the social consumption funds, of house-building and the building of schools, hospitals, polyclinics, kindergartens and nurseries. In 1985 real incomes are to rise by 3.3 per cent, that is, higher than the average for the preceding four years.

Many things are being done to further improve socialist democracy. The socialist awareness of the working people is being heightened in every way, and an increasingly broad and competent participation of the masses in the socio-political life of the country is being secured through the Soviets, work collectives, people's control bodies, trade unions, the Young Communist League, and women's and other organizations. The emphasis is on eliminating elements of formalism, red tape and empty pomp from their work. The utmost importance is attached to the school reform launched this year. New generations of Soviet people who are to continue the great cause of the October Revolution in the 21st century will receive training that meets considerably higher standards — both in terms of professional knowledge and in ideological and spiritual development.

In the light of these tasks, the party is devoting enormous attention to ideological work — the mass media, more publicity to the work done by party and government institutions, and the attainment of greater practical results from the social sciences. The party wants the creative intelligentsia, all the arts and literature, to attack shortcomings and negative phenomena boldly and incisively; it wants them to influence the public mind and people's behavior more effectively, and to participate more actively in furthering the socialist way of life.

Our party has now come to the period of preparations

for the 27th congress. Preparing for the congress means evaluating and actively consolidating everything that has become part of Soviet life in recent years, it also means self-critical analysis of what has not yet been done, and it means defining the ways of carrying out new, major tasks. The congress will approve a new edition of the CPSU program and amendments to the party rules in keeping with the new objectives.

Comrades, considering the present international situation, we should speak loud and clear of *the role and significance of the socialist community* for the world communist and working class movement, for the liberation struggle of the peoples, for the present and the future of humankind.

When socialist revolutions triumphed in a large group of European and Asian countries in the first few years after World War II, Marxist-Leninists acclaimed this historic development. They foresaw the tremendous impact it would make on the world, though it was impossible to anticipate then, of course, what the rates and distinctions of the socialist transformations would be in such a diverse array of countries ranging from former colonies to developed capitalist states, and what sort of relations would shape between socialist countries or what problems would arise during the emergence of the new social system on the international scale. Only practice could furnish the answer to this.

Today, given the experience of the past 40 years, we get a clear view of the historical mission of the socialist community in the present-day world.

First, it has made and continues to make the decisive contribution to the fight against nuclear war. For the first time in world history, the struggle against the war danger is carried on not only by mass movements and not only by the Soviet Union, but also by a large number of countries. The nuclear-missile potential created by the Soviet Union at the price of intense effort has been keeping the U.S. hawks from starting another war that would have destroyed all civilization. The joint military power of the Warsaw Treaty countries is not only ensuring their own security, but is also a dependable buttress of peace in Europe.

The socialist community is doing everything it can to safeguard the revolutionary gains of its peoples, and is simultaneously working for a reduction of the military confrontation, for cessation of the arms race and, in the final analysis, for saving the world community from the nuclear threat. And it is exceedingly important to let the broadest possible mass of the people know that existing socialism is the main force fighting for the most vital of human rights, the right to live.

Second, by holding down the forces of imperialism, the socialist community is creating a favorable environment for the success of the national liberation struggle of the peoples. There is every reason to say that in the absence of this factor, the collapse of the imperialist colonial system in such a short time in history and the emergence on the road of independent development and social progress of dozens of countries, would have been impossible. The power and political influence of the socialist com-

munity are a barrier to arbitrary imperialist actions against liberation movements.

Third, the socialist community contributes greatly to social progress, carrying into effect fundamentally new forms of social organization.

By the standards of world history, the socialist world is a young, progressive community of peoples and states. But we are already entitled to speak of it as of a definitive gain in human society's progressive advance, to speak of the major social changes it has brought about all over the world, and of its proven ability to resolve problems in the interests of the working people that capitalism cannot resolve.

Fourth, the socialist community represents a type of international relations that is based on socialist internationalism. Growth of its combined potential furthers the development and rise of each individual country belonging to it. Unlike the capitalist world system where we see competition and antagonistic contradictions, the relations between the fraternal socialist countries are based on cooperation and mutual assistance. One of the greatest advantages of socialism is that it overcomes the nationalist prejudices, enmity and mistrust between nations cultivated over centuries by the exploiting classes.

Certainly, various problems are liable to arise in the economic and political cooperation of sovereign socialist states. The guarantee that they are resolved correctly and in time lies in the continuous contacts between the Central Committees of the fraternal parties, between their leaders, in the close ties between the ruling communist and workers' parties on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist principles, and in their policy which organically combines national with common interests. Such contacts make for the coordination of the foreign policy of socialist states, and set the tone for the entire system of ties between them at party, government and social levels.

Fifth, by its example and its coordinated activity on the world scene, the socialist community is contributing invaluable to the restructuring of the entire system of international relations on the principles of justice. On the initiative of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, backed by a large group of non-aligned states, UN documents lay down the key democratic principles of equality, independence, sovereignty, and non-interference in the affairs of other countries.

Sixth, the socialist community is the buttress and hope of the embattled working class, the working people of the capitalist countries. The knowledge that there is a force, and a mighty force, that promotes the same lofty aims as they do, and that is always in solidarity with them, is of tremendous importance for them. The solidarity of the working people of the socialist countries with the striking British miners is the latest proof of the vitality of the ideas of the unity of workers of all countries.

The socialist community influences the world situation and the revolutionary process in many other ways as well. Among these, for example, is the dissemination of truthful information, which prevents imperialist ideological centers from imposing on the world public their self-seeking interpretation of events. Among these, too, is the tremendous amount of work done to sum up the experience of

building the new world, that of the class struggle against the domination of capital, and that of promoting the creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory. And take the invaluable service socialism does to civilization by creating a new humanitarian culture and safeguarding the classical legacy against the incursions of the corrupt imperialist pseudo-culture.

The close cooperation and ever greater unity of the socialist countries, their coordinated activity on the world scene and their joint rebuff to the subversive activity of imperialism, which is bent on inciting discord and dividing our great community, is of special importance in the present conditions.

The CMEA countries' summit meeting last June was of fundamental significance in strengthening socialism as an international force. Its documents envisage collective elaboration of solutions for major economic problems, direct interaction in the chief, priority areas of cooperation, and joint definition of the basic guidelines of long-term economic strategy.

In pursuance of the ideas and conclusions of that meeting, the Havana session of the heads of government of the CMEA countries adopted a set of extremely important resolutions. They concern a process of historic importance — the economic integration of the socialist countries.

And it is quite safe to say that humanity is lucky that the socialist community exists and is making good headway toward new attainments. It is the duty of all revolutionary fighters to defend this buttress of peace and progress and to assist its further strengthening and development in every way.

The processes that we see in our country and in other socialist countries, in the socialist community, attract the attention both of friends and foes abroad. And we agree with what is said in the report of the Editorial Board and Editorial Council about the need to continue devoting special attention to covering the role of the socialist countries in the present-day world.

II

The problems of the struggle against the war danger, against the arms race, and for peace, for the preservation of human civilization form an important sector in the work of the journal.

The lessons of recent years, when Washington put its stakes on military superiority and victory in a total or limited nuclear war, and torpedoed the negotiations in Geneva, have not been wasted on the world. The military threat has grown during this period, but so too has resistance to that threat.

The course of events has reaffirmed the correctness of the international course taken by the socialist community. The socialist countries have not submitted to intimidation, and have not abandoned their principled policy of peaceful coexistence and prevention of nuclear war. By taking counter-measures they have demonstrated that it is no use trying to talk to them from positions of strength or trying to blackmail them. They have shown that this dangerous policy boomerangs against those who pursue it.

In the year since the Americans wrecked the Geneva negotiations the Soviet Union has per-

sistently looked for a way of unravelling the knot of international problems that has been drawn and tangled even tighter by the appearance of the new U.S. first-strike missiles in Europe. More than once the Soviet leadership has emphasized that no chance of resuming negotiations and a return to détente should be missed.

The Soviet Union has now approached the U.S. administration with the proposal to begin negotiations on the whole range of questions relating to nuclear weapons and weapons in outer space. The idea is to start *completely new negotiations*, covering both non-militarization of outer space and nuclear armaments (strategic and medium-range), and to have all these problems considered and solved in their interconnection. The deployment of new American missiles in Europe and the plans for militarization of outer space have created a new strategic situation. This situation has called for a new approach to the subject and aims of negotiations, which are to be defined at the meeting next January between the Foreign Minister of the USSR and the U.S. Secretary of State. This comprehensive approach is made necessary by the need for urgent and effective measures to prevent any further destabilization of the strategic situation and to stop any new spirals in the arms race.

Objective causes have given key significance to the question of inadmissibility of placing weapons in outer space. If an outer space arms race begins, it will not only rule out any serious discussion on the limitation and reduction of strategic weapons but will inevitably act as a catalyst to the arms race in other spheres.

On all these problems the USSR is ready to seek and evolve the most radical solutions, solutions which would pave the way for the complete banning and, ultimately, the abolition of nuclear weapons.

What has given rise to a situation in which this can be made the basis for negotiations? The consent of the U.S. administration to negotiations may be attributed to a number of causes. Besides what has already been said about the consistent, principled policy of the socialist community, which has played a major role here, there are other important factors.

One crucial factor which has influenced the governments of the United States and other NATO countries has been the pressure exerted by the *mass anti-war movement*, the anti-nuclear feelings that have spread to include some sections of the public that cannot by any means be qualified as anti-imperialist. It is very important that despite the wavering which occurred as soon as the U.S. "Euromissiles" began to be deployed, there has been no slow-down, no dangerous habituation to the suicidal arms race in this movement. On the contrary, in a number of countries there are signs that the social democrats, the Greens, the religious figures, writers, lawyers, physicians, artists and athletes are taking a more active part. The movement is expanding in depth. The trade unions are gradually being drawn into the anti-war struggle; the range of demands is widening, they are becoming more clearly defined, more competent, they envisage an overall solution of the problems of nuclear disarmament (freezing nuclear arsenals, setting up

nuclear-free zones, preventing star wars, refusal to make first use of nuclear weapons, and so on). Not only certain types of armaments are being criticized, the whole military structure of NATO and its military doctrines are being questioned.

A month and a half ago there was a Week of Action for Disarmament. It showed that the anti-war protest has assumed new effective forms. These forms include popular plebiscites, solidarity with people in the Peace Camps, "human chains," "vigils", demonstrations against visits by U.S. nuclear-armed warships to foreign ports, the declaring of municipalities non-nuclear territory (there are now hundreds of them), the holding of public tribunals against those guilty of promoting war, and much else.

There are serious signs that the ruling circles of some European capitalist countries, seeing the arrogant brink-of-war policies adopted by the U.S. administration, and its aggressive actions against small countries such as Nicaragua, are beginning to grumble. Influential political leaders have voiced their disagreement and are discussing various measures to achieve a more independent foreign policy, a policy less dependent on the United States. It has begun to dawn on them that nuclear blackmail against the USSR is undermining the security of the Western countries themselves. Calls have been made for normalization of relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Even governments allied with the USA have expressed concern over U.S. plans for militarization of outer space. It is also significant that practically all the West European leaders have welcomed the Soviet-U.S. agreement to start new negotiations.

Many parties of the Socialist International have also played a notable role. This is to be seen in the adoption of anti-nuclear positions by many social democratic parties, including such influential parties as the SDPG. Most of these parties have refused to approve the deployment of the new U.S. missiles in Western Europe. The Finnish and Scandinavian social democrats are advocating a nuclear-free zone in northern Europe. Of substantial importance are the anti-military initiatives taken by the ruling Greek socialists, and also the position of the Labor Government of New Zealand, which has proposed reconsidering the ANZUS alliance, intends to keep U.S. nuclear-armed warships out of the country's ports and wants the South Pacific to be declared a non-nuclear zone. Such anti-military documents as the Palme Commission Report and the Appeal of the Socialist International Advisory Council on Disarmament recently adopted in Tokyo have captured world attention. Or take such a significant fact as this. The British Labour Party, which forms the official opposition to the government in one of the major NATO countries, has adopted a program for the renunciation of nuclear weapons and dismantling of all U.S. nuclear bases on UK territory. What is the Soviet Union's attitude to this program? During his meeting with Konstantin Chernenko in Moscow, Labour Party leader Kinnock received a clear and definite answer to this question, namely, that if the program is carried out, the Soviet Union will reduce the number of its missiles corres-

pondingly and guarantee not to target nuclear weapons at Great Britain and is ready to conclude an official agreement on this score.

Such actions are events of importance to the whole anti-war movement. This is a success in the practical struggle for nuclear disarmament. And it deserves good publicity.

Anti-war feelings are also reflected in the activities of parliaments. Denmark's Folketing has demanded that the government should disassociate itself from deployment of Pershing and Cruise missiles in Western Europe. Greenland's Landsting has passed a decision declaring the country a non-nuclear zone. The Social Democratic group in the Federal Republic's Bundestag has tabled a resolution calling for approval of the draft of an international treaty banning weapons in outer space.

In the United States itself understanding of the mortal danger of the policy of confrontation with the USSR and achieving military superiority, and the growing opposition to this policy in various social and political circles, including not only the rival Democratic Party but also certain sections of the ruling Republicans, have had some impact on the Washington administration. During his election campaign, Reagan realized that what American voters in the mass want is not a continuation of the arms race but a relaxation of tension in Soviet-U.S. relations. It is well known that 80 per cent of Americans favor a nuclear arms freeze.

The speeches made by Reagan himself and representatives of his government now resound with "peaceful notes" designed to dispel the image of Reagan as a "war president." We suddenly hear that "Nuclear war will be a disaster for all mankind," that "there can be no winners" in a nuclear conflict, that the United States does not seek military superiority, and so on.

The Soviet Union, and the CPSU have taken note of not only these new words and assurances emanating from the U.S. administration, which, incidentally, also mean something in themselves, but also of the *objective circumstances* which prompted them.

And the USSR came forward with the initiative I mentioned earlier. It expressed our fundamental line on reducing the danger of nuclear war, stopping the arms race, and improving the international situation. Of course, the future will show whether on this occasion, in contrast to previous occasions, the United States will adopt realistic positions that would make successful negotiations possible.

Our general view of the negotiations, and this is the view of the whole socialist community, has not changed. We are for equal, constructive and fruitful negotiations, negotiations that would bring about a real reduction in armaments. We have always been in favor of such negotiations and we still are.

Our fundamental proposals on reducing the war danger remain in force. The gist of them is expressed in the idea that the nuclear powers should accept the standards of relations that would ultimately lead to complete abolition of nuclear arms. In the view of the CPSU the most urgent and, objectively, most feasible measures leading to this goal would be agreements on prevention of the militarization of outer space; on freezing nuclear armaments quan-

tatively and qualitatively; and on complete and general banning of nuclear weapon tests. Our proposal to completely free Europe from nuclear weapons, both medium-range and tactical, remains in force.

To sum up, a gleam of light has shown through the towering clouds of international tension. But this is no reason for complacency. The world situation remains perilous. The aggressive nature of imperialism remains unchanged. The military-industrial complex is not only a huge economic force; it is also a powerful political force. In Washington a fight is going on between the "hawks" and those who are prepared to listen to the voice of reason. We cannot count on anyone there lightly giving up the policy of military superiority and the arms race, nor can we rule out various kinds of political and diplomatic maneuvers capable of wrecking negotiations. In our opinion it is the duty of the journal to cover efficiently and in good time all aspects of the current situation as it takes shape.

We cannot ignore the fact that neither the U.S. administration nor NATO as a whole are abandoning *material preparations for war*, or even slowing them down, that they continue to be oriented on military might as the main weapon of their foreign policy. The U.S. military budget in 1985 will soar to 313 billion dollars compared with 265 billion in 1984, and in the coming five-year period it will total the astronomical figure of more than two trillion.

Not a single military program has been cancelled or curtailed. The program of all-out building up of the strategic nuclear potential points to far-reaching military plans. The programs for the development and deployment of the MX and Midgetman intercontinental ballistic missiles, the BIB and ATB (Stealth) strategic bombers, the building of Ohio-class nuclear-powered submarines equipped with Trident-2 missiles, and of long-range Cruise missiles, are to be carried out in full. Under these programs the United States strategic potential will be substantially updated and brought up to a total of 20,000 nuclear warheads. By 1988-1989 572 medium-range missiles will have been deployed in Western Europe. The United States continues to test anti-satellite weapons.

NATO's Defense Planning Committee has approved the so-called Rogers Plan envisaging the manufacture of weapons designed to hit the territory of Warsaw Treaty countries to a depth of several hundred kilometers east of the present FRG border by means of laser weapons, missiles, warheads and projectiles of pinpoint accuracy. Apart from anything else, this gives rise to the danger of nuclear contamination of enormous areas in the event of the destruction of nuclear-power stations. The aim of the Rogers Plan is to enable the United States to conduct a "European" war whose consequences would differ little from those of a nuclear war, but would allegedly not affect the territory of the United States. This is a new version of "limited" war — limited to Europe.

The Council of the Western European Alliance has lifted the ban on the production of strategic bombers and long-range missiles in Federal Germany. In practice this can lead to only one thing

— a further strengthening of NATO's potential, and a spurt in the arms race on the European continent.

So we must try to see both sides of the coin. There is an obvious concern among the countries of Western Europe about the course of international events. At the same time the West is continuing, in fact, to pursue a policy that ignores the realities of the nuclear age, that boosts armaments and increases spending on their improvement.

In these circumstances it is important not to slacken but to intensify our actions against the arms race and the war danger, to force those who were responsible for ditching the Geneva negotiations to take a responsible, constructive, serious approach to new negotiations. The cause of peace demands that we go on tackling it, so to speak, from "both ends," from the "top" by means of diplomacy of the peace-loving countries, and from "below," through the mass anti-war movement.

It is important, therefore, to make active use of Reagan's electioneering statements and promises and those of his entourage, to step up the pressure on the White House in order to compel the U.S. administration to move on from words to deeds.

On this plane much can be done by the communists and their allies. Much can also be done by our international journal if it integrates its work more closely with the practical tasks of the anti-war movement, the tasks that are being tackled by the fraternal parties in organizing the class and general democratic struggle of the working people:

Evidently, there is no need to enumerate the very necessary and useful materials that have been published on this theme; there have been quite a lot of them. Particularly worthy of note are the publications connected with the fight against the false ideas which imperialist propaganda feeds into the anti-war movement. We cannot close our eyes to the fact that in certain circles of Western opinion this propaganda "works." It evokes feelings of hopelessness and pessimism, or even turns people's minds in the wrong direction.

In the present changing situation it is particularly important to react quickly and sharply to all kinds of spurious theses, for example, the alleged "sincere desire for peace" of the U.S. administration and what is said to be its initiatives on negotiations with the USSR. In effect, this is just another attempt, although in a different guise, to shield those who are really to blame for international tension and the arms race — U.S. imperialism and its allies.

This is a job for us, communists, for our commonly shared journal — to explain, to bring the truth home, to give the anti-war movement weighty and concrete arguments. Particularly since the talk about the "equal responsibility of the two super-powers" continues to circulate in the movement, weakening its effectiveness and depriving it of purpose. The lie about the "Soviet military threat" still has a grip on people's minds.

There are reasons and arguments in plenty with which to explode the allegations about the Soviet military threat. It is indicative, comrades, that the leaders of the NATO countries themselves do not believe it. Kohl, Thatcher, Mitterand, Craxi, Andreotti, and other Western statesmen make this

quite plain in conversations with representatives of the Soviet leadership, with our diplomats, when they are faced with the direct question: "Do you see any threat from the USSR?" They see no such threat, but they help to spread this slander, which is aimed at discrediting the Soviet Union and socialism in order to carry through military programs to meet the demands of the military-industrial complex and reactionary policy.

Another convincing argument with which to expose the demagoguery about the "Soviet threat" can be found in the fact that it is not the Soviet Union and the socialist countries that carry ideological contradictions into the sphere of international relations. This is practised by the U.S. administration, which has proclaimed a "crusade" against the socialist system.

An important and to some extent new theme on which, as it seems to us, the journal should focus more attention is the *thwarting of efforts to divide the parties in the anti-war movement, to undermine the established constructive dialogue between people in the socialist and non-socialist countries by exploiting ideological differences*. Such attempts were also made at the Perugia Convention last summer by the so-called Campaign for European Nuclear Disarmament. The bogus thesis used here runs as follows: the social organizations of the socialist countries support the policies of their governments, therefore, it is claimed, they do not express the real attitude of their peoples.

But public support for the peace initiatives of governments is a feature not only of socialist countries. Take Greece, Finland, India, Sweden, and other non-aligned countries. The anti-war movements in these countries also put forward many demands that accord with the foreign-policy positions of their governments. So the crux of the matter lies in the kind of policy that one or another government adopts.

Yes, the whole Soviet people does support the foreign policy of the CPSU and the government of the USSR because that policy is designed to strengthen international security. Bourgeois propaganda goes into all kinds of contortions to obscure this truth.

It seems to us that the journal could provide a fuller and clearer picture of the manifold forms and manifestations of the people's anti-war activities in the socialist countries. Some of them resemble and some of them bear little resemblance to those in the West. I can quote an example: 90 million Soviet people are making voluntary contributions to the Soviet Peace Fund. Probably not even all of us who are present here today know that the activities of 15 social organizations in our country, including the participation of their representatives in international events, are financed not from the state budget but by this fund.

The journal devotes a good deal of space to *demonstrating the role and place of communists in organizing the anti-war, anti-imperialist struggle*. This is quite understandable. After all, communists were among the founders of the peace movement. And today, when the mission of the communists has expanded beyond the traditional framework and organically

embraces the task of preserving life on earth, it is the communists who spur and unite as wide as possible a coalition of anti-war forces without claiming a position of leadership in it. By pointing out the source of the military threat, they help mass actions to be better targeted and more effective. They argue that with the present balance of forces a thermonuclear catastrophe can be averted. They propose well-grounded, purposeful methods of anti-war activity.

It is very important for the journal to assist in spreading the valuable experience of anti-war campaigning accumulated by the fraternal parties. It would also be worth giving more coverage to the activities of all participants in the anti-war struggle in various countries. This will make generally known the most effective forms of mass action and the forms of cooperation between different forces.

On the whole it must be said that generalization of such experience, explanation of such a new and important phenomenon in socio-political life as the contemporary anti-war movement has become, consideration of its specific features, its internal logic, its problems and difficulties are the common task of our parties, and here there should be no grudging of journal space, nor of effort.

III

Coverage of the *problems of the Asian, African and Latin American countries* occupies a prominent place in the work of the journal. This is all the more important because their confrontation with imperialism is assuming a new character and is gaining an ever growing meaning.

The African and Asian countries that have won independence face difficult social and economic problems while the aftermath of colonialism in their economy and in social life makes itself felt at every step, while the gap between them and the industrially developed countries increases and the expansion of transnationals continues. Some countries and peoples are still compelled to take up arms and defend their independence, their revolutionary gains, their right to shape life along new lines. This applies to Kampuchea, Angola, Nicaragua, Afghanistan, and the peoples of Namibia, Palestine, and Lebanon.

Practice has proved by now that the socialist-oriented countries picked the right and the most promising path. But they, too, have many problems, some with no precedent either in the past or present. All the same, they continue to hew their way forward resolutely to the lofty heights of social progress under the leadership of their vanguard parties that have grown into an influential political force. And that is a fact of truly international significance. Many of these parties have declared Marxism-Leninism their ideological and political basis, and display solidarity with the communist movement. We welcome their participation in functions held by communist parties, including our present meeting.

We are witnessing very important new developments in Latin America. The difficult period that followed the defeats in Chile and Uruguay is followed now by a new upswing of the anti-imperialist liberation struggle, of the communist movement. The symbol and catalyst of this upswing is the mounting international prestige of socialist Cuba,

the Nicaraguan revolution, and the revolutionary struggle in El Salvador. The increasing pressure of the popular masses, with the communists at their head, has brought about welcome changes in Argentina, and now also in Uruguay. The Pinochet regime is tottering. The communists of Colombia, Bolivia, Venezuela and Mexico are gaining greater weight in the political life of their countries. The Brazilian Communist Party, too, is regaining ground.

The growth of the class, democratic and liberation struggle is influencing the posture of the Latin American governments. Take the recent OAS session in Brazil. What happened there would have been practically inconceivable two or three years ago. Despite U.S. pressure, the session supported the proposals of the Contadora Group. Its participants condemned, and called for a stop to the violence and abuses against the people in countries with tyrannical regimes. A resolution was passed to revise the structure of inter-American relations, in which the United States had so far played the dominant part.

All these events and processes — liberative, progressive, inevitably anti-imperialist — have an objective and entirely legitimate basis that is perfectly clear to us communists. It is also recognized by sensible people in the bourgeois camp. But for the U.S. reactionary circles it is all the "hand of Moscow" — a bogey which is used to justify the policy of state terrorism, social revenge, and imperial, hegemonic claims of the latest style.

Facts of this kind literally hit the eye. They include attempts to "cut" the Middle East knot in imperialism's favor with the help of Israel, which stops at nothing, not even the bloodiest and vilest of ventures. They include the *New Jersey* shelling and massive air bombing of peaceful Lebanese villages and towns. They include rapid deployment units and sabotage groups that disrupt and suppress liberation movements in various corners of the world. They include the official doctrine of armed interference whenever there is "a chance and firm intention to win" (as Weinberger put it). They include the aggression against Grenada; support of the murderers in El Salvador, and the undeclared war against Nicaragua, where readiness is being demonstrated to repeat the "Grenada variant." They include threats hurled at Cuba. Those are the ways of the "world gendarme" spelling hardships not only for those against whom they are directed, but also constituting a threat to world peace.

International conflicts (such as the war between Iraq and Iran) and various separatist movements which, though rooted in the past, give imperialists a convenient pretext to encourage reactionary forces and regimes, to incite internecine strife, and to keep huge armed forces in these regions ready for action against progressive states, are a painful and destabilizing phenomenon in this part of the world.

Cumulatively, this leaves an imprint on the *current stage* of the national liberation and revolutionary liberation movements on the three continents. Consequently, there is a still greater need for a more deep-going Marxist-Leninist analysis of the situation in the Third World.

The search for ways of securing social progress in the newly-independent countries is gaining momen-

tum. There is a greater understanding of the diversity of these ways, and of the need to resolve such acute problems as hunger which affects millions of people, the social aftermath of neocolonialist exploitation, the new world economic order, and so on. Especially topical is the question of the organic connection of these social problems with the universal task of averting nuclear war.

In this connection we communists and revolutionary democrats must face up to the problems of the *non-aligned movement*, which arise in all their urgency and intricate complexity. The potentialities of that movement are tremendous — both as regards safeguarding peace and counteracting imperialist policy, and as regards social progress. After all, the population of the non-aligned countries exceeds 2 billion. Yet, I would say, there is still a lot unknown, not fully determined here, both from the theoretical and political points of view. There is a lot of work here for the collective mind of the fraternal parties, and an obvious need for thoroughly verified practical conclusions.

We would like to wish our journal to continue exposing imperialism's strategy and tactics in Africa, Asia and Latin America, showing the fundamental and tangible meaning of the diverse aid and support the socialist countries are rendering the newly-liberated peoples, demonstrating the solidarity of communists with their struggle. Highly welcome, too, would be a more profound and broader elaboration of the subject of their social and political development in the present stage. It would be useful, for example, if the journal should initiate a largescale collective discussion of the above-named topics at an inter-party level.

It is only natural that *questions relating to the class struggle of the proletariat in the capitalist countries* take up considerable space in the journal. Many topical issues of the working class movement were raised in articles contributed by leaders of fraternal parties and in surveys of party congresses. Some valuable ideas were expressed at international symposia held under the auspices of the journal.

At the same time, it seems to us that some new problems have not yet been studied sufficiently — those connected with the specificity of the crisis of capitalism in the 1980s and its impact on the condition of the masses, on their political and ideological attitudes. The reasons for the gap between the tremendous potential of the working class movement in the anti-war and social struggle and the obviously insufficient use of this potential, have not been examined as deeply as they should. Nor must we close our eyes to such things as, say, the votes cast for conservative-minded parties by a considerable section of workers, the decline in trade union membership in some countries, and so on.

In the first place, it seems essential to us to have a fundamental analysis of the new phenomena in the crisis of the capitalist economy, particularly in connection with the growth of aggressive militarist and anti-labor trends in the policies of imperialism.

Secondly, we shall have to go more deeply into what is happening to the structure of the working class at the present stage of development of capitalism, particularly in the context of the deepening scientific and technological revolution, which

has set in motion an ever growing snowball of unemployment. The anti-communist and anti-labor strategy of big capital concentrates on such things as extensive use (at factories owned by transnational companies) of cheap labor in the developing countries, which apart from the interests of profit is designed to curtail employment in the capitalist metropolis and to use the whip of mass unemployment for undermining trade unions and curbing strikes. The political aim of the policy of "production modernization" is also obvious. It is to weaken and demoralize, above all, those contingents of the working class (steelworkers, miners, shipbuilders, etc.), which form the backbone of the social basis of the Communist Party. And also worthy of our closest attention are the attempts to intensify differentiation in the working class, for example, to enlist allies for the aggressive policy and the arms race among workers employed at enterprises in the military-industrial complex, by deceiving them with the false slogan of "prosperity through armament." The issues connected with the specific features of the position and political role of the working class in the newly-independent countries are acquiring ever more relevance and significance.

And finally, the third point. An important subject for our collective deliberations is the contemporary so-called neo-conservatism, which has already gained influential positions in a number of countries and continues to spread, imposing its strategy of attack on the socio-political gains of the working people. This includes attempts to channel their protests onto the wrong path, the path of nationalism and racism.

In what ways can the new potential of the working class movement and particularly the contingents of hired labor that are most closely connected with the development of the scientific and technological revolution be mobilized? How can the international solidarity of the working people in the struggle against the strategy of the transnational monopolies be raised to the level of contemporary objectives? Research into such problems would seem to be of the greatest importance in a context when the world of capital is entering a period of new intensification of the class struggle, a symptom of which may be seen in the unprecedented scope and staunchness of the strike of the British miners.

It might be worthwhile to devote a special theoretical conference of the communist parties to the whole range of problems concerning the working class at the close of the 20th century.

IV

The journal quite justifiably devotes no little space to *internationalism and internationalist solidarity*. Apropos of this, I would like to share the following considerations with you.

The historical experience of the communist and workers' movement shows that the striving for internationalist solidarity, for mutual assistance and coordinated actions, a striving that has always been a feature of the fraternal parties, becomes stronger than ever at critical periods in world history; in periods when the influence of international factors on domestic political affairs and class contradictions sharply increases; when the forces of imperialism form a militaristic and counter-revolutionary al-

liance and operate aggressively on the world arena. History is now going through just such a time. As Konstantin Chernenko has emphasized, "the realities of what is called the nuclear age have led to a situation in which international factors acquire decisive significance and priority from the viewpoint of the internationalist interests of the communist movement."

The present times call for more frequent meetings to compare opinions and assessments and reach agreements on common actions. It should be noted that this imperative of the times is making itself increasingly felt in the communist movement. This is illustrated by the highly active bilateral inter-party contacts. This is shown by the periodic large-scale regional gatherings of the communist parties of Latin America, of the Arab countries, of northern Europe, and others. Moreover, at their regional meetings Latin American communist parties and Arab communist parties came up with the proposal to hold a worldwide gathering of revolutionary parties to discuss the issues of war and peace. Similar proposals are being put forward by many other parties at their congresses and Central Committee plenary meetings.

The success of a number of major international theoretical conferences bears out the striving for inter-party contacts and their effectiveness. Meetings of executives of the communist and revolutionary-democratic press are becoming regular events. Meetings such as the present gathering are also an important form of multilateral inter-party contacts.

However, one cannot really say that the present level and forms of multilateral cooperation measure up to the demands of the world situation or to the political potentials of the fraternal parties.

What strikes the eye is that other political trends are extensively developing their activity on an international basis. Take, for example, the Socialist International, which holds regular meetings and has planned a number of collective anti-war events for 1985.

Against the background of the broad international activity conducted by the Socialist International and other internationals—conservative, liberal, Black—the absence of initiatives of analogous scope and intensity in the communist movement stands out. In the present situation it is important that the united voice of the communist parties should ring out against the threat of war and the arms race. This would undoubtedly give a new impetus to the anti-war struggle and would enhance our movement's international prestige. All this shows that this question deserves the attention and consideration of the leaders of the communist and workers' parties.

Another problem that deserves our common attention is the need to step up resistance to *imperialism's* unprecedentedly intensive *anti-communist propaganda campaigns*. Imperialism is waging a rabid and shameless psychological war, real ideological aggression.

A gigantic brainwashing machine is functioning in the capitalist countries. It is one of the main pillars of capitalist rule. Just take the Voice of America. In the past four years its budget has been quadrupled to reach a sum of more than 160 million dollars. Thousands of employees in its scores of depart-

ments in the United States and abroad are fabricating subtle and dangerous misinformation in 42 languages. The most up-to-date technical equipment floods the air with all this misinformation for nearly a thousand hours weekly. The subversive Liberty and Radio Free Europe broadcasting stations connected with the CIA have a budget of 100 million dollars. Today the radio broadcasting networks of the capitalist countries beam more than 210 hours of programs daily at the socialist countries.

The main U.S. department for political propaganda abroad, the U.S. Information Agency (USIA), has a budget of millions of dollars and maintains 206 offices in 129 countries. The USIA finances the publication abroad of books and pamphlets in 25 languages in editions totalling millions of copies. All told, the United States alone appropriates about 5 billion dollars a year for propaganda abroad. This is practically the only item of federal budget expenditure which is growing faster than military spending. The allocations for the current fiscal year increased by 28 per cent.

Lately the United States has been using television more and more in its foreign political propaganda. About 2,000 TV programs in 62 languages are prepared annually under USIA sponsorship. Two-way TV satellite communication between USIA headquarters in Washington and the agency's offices abroad, as well as with U.S. embassies, was recently inaugurated. This, too, is a kind of militarization of outer space, along ideological lines.

The NATO guiding bodies also pay increasing attention to their propaganda service. They recently adopted plans for its reorganization, including the establishment of a NATO standing committee on information and cultural ties, the setting up of a NATO information office in each NATO country, stricter supervision by the NATO Council over the organization and content of propaganda, and maximum expansion of the network of so-called "social" organizations of NATO orientation.

The huge imperialist propaganda machine is opposed by the mass media of the socialist countries and also by the communist and revolutionary-democratic press. Of course, in the non-socialist countries the unequal financial and technical possibilities for propaganda in the domestic arena are obvious. This makes it all the more important for anti-imperialist propaganda to be on a high ideological level and to measure up to high standards. The ingredients of success are: truth, militancy, a correct choice of goals, a politically accurate approach, vividness, accessibility and consistent internationalism.

The honest and accurate pen of the communist journalist is a most effective weapon in the ideological arsenal. Communist journalists sound the alarm against the war danger. Their exposures rip away the warmongers' mask of peaceableness. The prestige and effectiveness of the party press depend on the accuracy with which it presents the class image of its party, on the spirit of commitment with which it counters the anti-communist and anti-socialist slander, on its stand in disseminating the truth about real, existing socialism and its role as the main bulwark of peace. In their columns the communist newspapers expose the vices of the capitalist system, expose the bankruptcy of all the reformist

remedies for treating it and generalize the experience of the class struggle. The communist press propagates the ideas of fraternal solidarity of the working class and of all working people. It carries to the masses a scientific understanding — in the spirit of the teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin — of the course of historical events and spreads faith in the success of the struggle for freedom, peace and socialism.

The newspapers of many fraternal parties have become truly people's newspapers. They reflect and mold the opinion of a considerable section of the working class and other strata of working people. The great success enjoyed by the festivals of the communist press also testifies to its role in the life of society. Now held by 35 fraternal parties, the festivals attract scores and hundreds of thousands of people. The fact that representatives of fraternal press organs, including those of socialist countries, participate in the festivals makes them an internationalist platform for defense of the working people's most vital interests and for the fight against anti-communism.

One of the most important avenues of communist press activity in the period ahead is connected with the 40th anniversary of victory over Hitlerite fascism and Japanese militarism. The communists should reveal the full measure of the greatness and world-historic significance of that victory, and the meaning of its lessons. The current international situation places into high relief our main propaganda targets.

First, the military preparations which U.S. imperialism is making, and, in particular, on German soil, that is, where the Second World War took its start.

Second, the attempts by aggressive circles to revise the results of the war and the post-war settlement, in particular, to question the inviolability of frontiers. Hitlerism showed how infectious the bacillus of revanchism is. It is necessary to consistently expose, on the basis of facts, the revanchist leanings of the European statesmen who, assuming a pose of injured innocence, take the revenge-seekers under their protection and patronage.

Third, the sundry falsifications of the history of the Second World War that are employed to glorify the U.S. contribution to the victory and to fan anti-communism and anti-Sovietism.

It is clear that the accuracy of our strikes at these targets will depend on how convincingly and interestingly we counterpose all these fabrications by an objective picture of the origin, course and results of the war, show the real contribution made by the world's first socialist state to delivering the nations from fascist slavery, and bring out the real role of the communists, who were in the front ranks of the anti-fascist Resistance as they are today in the front ranks of the anti-war movement.

The Central Committee of the CPSU has adopted a special resolution in which it sets forth the causes, results and lessons of the Second World War. The chief lesson is that *the fight against war must be conducted before it begins*. Cohesive, coordinated and active work by all peace-loving forces and a high level of popular vigilance are essential to uphold peace.

World Marxist Review is doing a good deal of work along all these lines. Our appraisal and recognition of the services rendered by its international staff were expressed in the greetings sent by the CPSU Central Committee on the occasion of the journal's 25th anniversary. The journal plays an irreplaceable role as an international tribune for an exchange of the findings of theoretical studies, and also for exchanging experience and information. Many fraternal parties, especially those functioning under difficult conditions, in a situation of repression and persecution, emphasize that *World Marxist Review* is for them often the only source of such news, and is a priceless aid in the Marxist-Leninist education of cadre.

Nowhere else but in *World Marxist Review* is there such a full picture of the state of affairs in the communist movement, to say nothing of the fact that not all the parties have their own newspapers and magazines. Furthermore, the journal is a stable form of relations among parties, of their internationalist contacts during joint work in the Editorial Council and at gatherings and conferences organized by the journal. It would be hard to exaggerate the importance of this.

We note that the journal functions on the basis of our movement's principles of internationalist solidarity, independence, equality and mutual respect.

Of course, each party independently determines its stand, but a comparison of methods, approaches and decisions is useful to all. By presenting such comparisons in its columns the journal fulfils an important and necessary function. Naturally, this is not a matter of discussing, let alone criticizing, a party's political line or concrete actions.

It is good that the editorial staff organizes discussions of various problems of the revolutionary process in such a way as to promote a convergence of stands and a growth of mutual understanding, accentuating the common aspects that make our movement an internationalist one. In our opinion, the discussion of these topics could be more intensive. It goes without saying that we do not mean the publication of anything that would place in question the foundations of the teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin, the foundation of our movement. The

publication of materials of that kind in the journal could only do harm; it would weaken the positions of our ideology in the struggle against the imperialist ideology.

We express our agreement with the proposals for improving the journal's work that were set forth in the Report of the Editorial Board and Editorial Council.

It is very important, in our opinion, for the journal to reach the broadest range of readers, including both rank and file communists as well as people who, although not members of the party, take an interest in the problems of our movement. For this reason, we are concerned about the hitches in publishing and distributing the journal, the fall in circulation and the suspension of publication of some language editions, all of which was noted in the report. We think the editorial staff is right when it appeals for concerned participation and maximum assistance from the fraternal parties. For its part, the CPSU will continue to give such assistance.

Taking into account the contemporary world situation and the prospects of its development, we believe the main avenues of the journal's efforts can be described as follows.

First, live, interesting and convincing coverage of the combined experience of the socialist countries in all its diversity and irrepressible forward movement. Today that is the main thing, that is the essence of the stage through which the socialist countries are passing. The ascending curve of the new society's history moves from the victory of the socialist revolution to the establishment of the socialist system and then onwards to new frontiers, to solution of the problems of developed socialism and its all-round perfection. That is the picture that should rise from the pages of the journal to give the champions of socialism throughout the world both food for thought and a militant political weapon.

Second, searching analysis of the contemporary world situation, an analysis leading to a realization of the need for a turnaround in its dangerous development. The journal's lofty aim is: to make a realistic and sober assessment of the mortal war danger emanating from the most aggressive forces of imperialism, and, at the same time, to give active and passionate support to the anti-war movement; to promote unity of all the peace-loving forces and full application of all the anti-war brakes to prevent a slide to catastrophe; to give broad coverage to, and generalize, the new experience of uniting the working people's social, class, struggle with the battle for peace.

Third, popularization of internationalist cooperation of the communists, of revolutionaries, of all fighters for peace and social progress. The communist movement bears a great responsibility for the destinies of humankind. To be equal to the demands of the times, the fraternal parties must find, and will find, ways and means of strengthening their cooperation on the most acute and most pressing issues of today. In promoting this in every way the journal will, we believe, continue to be a passionate propagandist of the development of the communist movement as an internationalist force.

Allow me, in conclusion, to wish the staff of the journal new success in their fruitful work for the triumph of the great ideals of peace and socialism.

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In the Vanguard of the Struggle for Peace and Progress

Speech by Gustav Husak at a Friendly Meeting in the Prague Castle

On December 6, Gustav Husak, CPCz CC General Secretary, President of the CSSR, received in the Prague Castle the leaders of the delegations of communist and workers' parties attending a meeting to discuss the work of *World Marxist Review*. Present were Vasil Bilak, member of the Presidium, Secretary of the CPCz CC, and Jan Foitik, alternate member of the Presidium, Secretary of the CPCz CC.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, all Czechoslovak communists and himself personally, Gustav Husak greeted the prominent representatives of the international communist and working class movement who had gathered to exchange opinions on the work of *World Marxist Review*.

The journal's authority has been growing from year to year, Husak continued. It popularizes the experience of the communist, working class and revolutionary movements, and is in the vanguard of the struggle for peace, against nuclear war and for disarmament. The journal explains the peace proposals of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and makes the theoretical and practical questions of socialist construction more understandable for its readers. It sums up the experience of the working class' struggle for political and social rights and the struggle of the progressive forces in the developing countries against neocolonialism, racism, Zionism and apartheid.

The discussion on the pages of the journal helps in the formulation of views on topical questions of the communist and working class movement. The journal makes an important contribution to the creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory, to the denunciation of all forms of anti-communism and to criticism of bourgeois and opportunist ideologies.

The communist movement, Husak noted, has always felt a great responsibility for the world's fate and prospects. But, through the fault of the most reactionary circles of imperialism, the world stands

again today at a dangerous crossroads, and once more questions of war and peace, on which humanity's future hinges, are looming in all their magnitude. Together with all peace supporters, the communists are exerting maximum effort to preserve a stable peace, avert the threat of nuclear war and achieve disarmament, considering this the main task of the present day. The struggle to preserve peace at the same time makes an important positive contribution to progressive development on our planet and to the peoples' fight for national liberation and social emancipation and a restructuring of the system of international relations.

A policy of confrontation is alien to socialism, Husak emphasized, which is why, in the present tense international situation, the Czechoslovak people, together with all peace-loving forces of the globe, highly assess the Soviet Union's principled policy of strengthening security and peace throughout the world. We hail the USSR's initiative on beginning new talks with the USA on a package of questions concerning nuclear and space weapons, which could eventually end the frantic arms race and bring about the prohibition and complete liquidation of nuclear weapons.

In conclusion Gustav Husak expressed confidence that the meeting will further strengthen the internationalist unity of the communist movement and raise its role in the struggle for peace and progress.

Rudé Pravo,
December 8, 1984

statements & speeches

Turkey: We Will Succeed because We Must Succeed

From a speech by Haydar Kutlu, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Turkey CC, on the 64th anniversary of the CPT's foundation.

We are celebrating the 64th anniversary of our party, the Communist Party of Turkey. We are marking this day with joy at being members of this militant party which since its foundation has been subjected to the most merciless, barbarous attacks but could not be wiped out, could not be suppressed. We have the honor of being members of a party that includes the most self-sacrificing, the most heroic sons of our people, of being in the same ranks with many self-sacrificing, determined, courageous comrades, from comrade Mustafa Subhi, founder of our party, comrade Bilen, Chairman of our party, to comrade Deniz, CC member.

Of course, we have a right to be proud of our party, which has been a true defender of our people's national interests, has not budged an inch from the ideals of the working class, Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and has been loyal to these principles even in the most difficult moments.

You are aware of the threats confronting our country, the painful life of our people and the main reasons for all that. The CPT will continue to tell our people about the policy of national betrayal of the fascist dictatorship, of the Evren-Ozal gang. This government is not even a government in the true

meaning of the word. This government is a government of neo-colonialist organizations such as the IMF, and the World Bank, a government of the international financial oligarchy. It is a consortium government made up of their paid dstraint officers.

In recent years, especially since the September 12 coup, the name of the IMF has been on everybody's lips. In countries like Turkey, whenever the IMF's voice becomes loud, the voice of the people, of democracy is lowered to the same extent . . .

The Ozal government repays its very high interest loans to the imperialists at the expense of the wages and incomes of the workers, other working people, peasants, public employees, and small shop-owners and even by seizing the capital of some businessmen, leading them to bankruptcy, by transferring state-owned enterprises to the control of international capital, by plundering the savings of workers abroad, and by robbing the young men abroad under cover of "paid" military service. These are the main lines of its whole policy, which can be called a policy of neocolonialist plunder by imperialism . . .

The economic crisis in our country is deepening further and acquiring a new character, which could end in economic collapse.

Despite the deep crisis and the constant bottlenecks in the reproduction process, the economy was able to survive. But that is almost impossible now. The economy is in a state of paralysis, chaos, total collapse.

However, this state has its objective and its logic. When the economy reaches this stage, it can only survive through capitalist integration, with more foreign capital. In other words, Turkey will be more dependent on imperialism, will fully become its open market, its farm. It will be paradise for the small collaborating oligarchy and hell for our people.

Evren and the militarist generals frequently say that "the enemy is inside." They use this sophistry about an "internal enemy" borrowed from the USA in an attempt to present the progressive forces to our people as an enemy. In reality, however, our people's chief enemy is imperialism. And today in our country imperialism has turned into an internal factor, that is, an "internal enemy" . . .

I have mentioned above one of the tentacles of imperialism in the country. That is the gang of IMF dstraint officers. They not only head bodies that direct and plan the economy and hold top management posts in big enterprises, banks, and state departments, but are directly in the government apparatus.

The second tentacle of imperialism is as dangerous as the first. They are the collaborators, paid officers, commissioners and agents of the U.S. military-industrial complex. They include some politicians, the big monopoly capitalists, military generals and technocrats. They are trying to equip our country with lethal weapons and to militarize our economy, directly or indirectly using money cut from the bread of our people. The only thing national about them is the identity cards in their pockets . . .

The military-industrial complex, representing the most sanguinary, the most aggressive sections of imperialism and its internal agents, and the IMF,

representing the most exploitative sections of the financial oligarchy, and its internal agents have formed an oligarchic structure by seizing the top of the state hierarchy . . .

Attention should be paid to the special role assigned to Turkey in the strategical plans of U.S. imperialism and NATO. The U.S. administration wants to give Turkey broader functions in the region. It tries to make Turkey play a key role in the "security belt" extending from Israel to Pakistan and Japan in an effort to encircle the Soviet Union, form reactionary military-political pacts in the region with Turkey's support and win the support of Western European imperialism on this issue as well.

Turkey is a country under an open military rule in which people whose only crime is that they defend peace and trade union rights are on trial. This picture does not, of course, mesh very well with the above-mentioned plots of imperialism. A NATO country under open military rule is a stain on the windows of NATO, which is presented as an example of freedom and democracy. Nevertheless, were it not for the powerful solidarity in the fight to release the leaders of the Peace Committee and of the Confederation of Revolutionary Workers' Trade Unions (DISK) and to expose the junta's torture and crimes, neither imperialism nor the fascist dictatorship would have resorted to the maneuver of pretending to support democracy. Now it is necessary to advance this achievement. It is necessary to increase the efforts to save all political prisoners.

The following should be recognized: fascist dictatorships are either "toppled" by a powerful resistance of the people or, under the impact of a limited opposition and inner contradictions of fascism, "disintegrate" or are "drawn back" or "taken away" because they are no longer needed by imperialism and its collaborators. The last form is radically different from the first two.

In Turkey today fascism is neither disintegrating nor being taken away. But if serious signs appear of preparations to "take it away," we must recognize that right away so as to fix a new line and avoid new confusion in the ranks of the opposition . . .

This insane policy of national betrayal pursued by the fascist dictatorship, which is dependent on imperialism, must be stopped. It is necessary to end the subordination to imperialism and overthrow the fascist dictatorship in order to halt this dangerous course.

The CPT represents not only the future of our people but is also linked to their present, to their actual struggle.

This is the most fundamental difference between ourselves and those who speak on behalf of the people, of the masses, of the working class, but are distant from them in practice. This is the gist of our concept of revolution and democracy, the gist of our party's actual political tactics.

The sympathy and confidence of the people, their support, and the role of vanguard cannot be won with words. Today and every day, if one does not share the people's sorrows, does not guide their daily struggle, does not work like ants, one cannot be the vanguard. The political army of the revolution is usually built step by step in such a struggle . . .

The CPT is together with all those who want to stop the present dangerous course, who want to remove the barriers inherited from the past and those raised in the present, and who are making efforts to achieve this. We believe in the need for dialogue with all forces opposed to imperialism and the dictatorship. Dialogue between all national democratic forces, among the left forces and between the left and other democratic forces is the only way to promote the process of unity.

Today economic matters are being intensively discussed in our country. We do not consider this useless. We think that the only way to come out of crisis is to pursue a policy in favor of labor. But today, as some progressive economists are also beginning to realize, we think that the goal of elaborating an alternative so as to prevent a total collapse appearing on the horizon is useful. In our opinion, the only way of doing so is to cancel the agreements made with the IMF, stop payments of external debts, restrict the activities of the monopolies that support the policy of plunder, renounce domestic and foreign trade based on illegal operations and large-scale smuggling and speculation, introduce an effective tax system for big capital and strengthen the state sector of the economy.

Only in this way can the national foundations of the economy be saved from destruction and collapse avoided. Even if such a policy is insufficient for radically solving the economic crisis, it will favor not only the working class and the other working people but also the non-collaborating capitalists whose economic activity serves to develop the country.

Prime Minister Ozal has been trying to instill this idea in the people: "First the economy will be improved and only then will democracy come." Some bourgeois authors are also champions of this idea.

First of all, let us place the issue right side up: without restoration of democracy, a serious recovery in the economy is out of the question . . .

There are different concepts of democracy. That is quite natural. Traditional political forces, some circles with new ideas, and new forces with brand-new ideas are seeking an answer to this question: "What kind of democracy? What kind of a regime?" On the other hand, the people's democratic consciousness develops out of their own experiences. If we are unable sufficiently to understand the historical development and the actual level of social thinking in our society, the differences and the historical, social and class reasons for these differences, we cannot play a guiding role . . .

The concept of national democracy put forward by the CPT is a concept of democracy which stems from historical and concrete facts, from our country's own social and class reality, and which takes into consideration the level of democratic consciousness in the society, develops it further and relies on the actually existing forces. Though in essence a concept of bourgeois democracy, this concept includes two aspects that go beyond bourgeois democracy. First, it has an anti-imperialist character. This determines its national and therefore its social character. Second, its class nature. It relies on the effectiveness, weight and leadership of the working class.

There are real forces to realize this goal. The heavy economic exploitation and political pressures are being met with increasingly loud voices of discontent from all strata, above all from the working class and the Kurdish people. The reaction of the people against the dictatorship, against the junta's parties and parliament has been clearly manifested in the local elections. More and more patriotic officers, non-commissioned officers and soldiers in the army now realize that they have been deceived and cheated by the generals and hounded at the working class, at the people and the progressives, and that they were forced to betray the national interests. Our workers abroad and all peace-loving and democratic forces of the world support our people's struggle.

On the other hand, the steps taken by the fascist dictatorship, which at present has a weak and narrow social base, are accelerating the differentiation within the ruling circles. Even some sections of the big bourgeoisie cannot give support to the regime as they used to do.

All this proves the breadth of the anti-dictatorship forces and the possibilities of overthrowing fascism. Although the concrete situation is such, the process of unity among the anti-dictatorship forces is unfortunately developing extremely slowly.

On the other hand, being well aware of the dangers facing it, the dictatorship is preparing for new maneuvers. The Ozal government is rapidly being worn out. But imperialism and the dictatorship pin great hopes on four more years of rule by this government. During this period, they intend to achieve their most important aims. We have explained what these aims are. Above all, they are trying to prepare the most convenient form of government for themselves for the time when they got into difficulties.

This ploy must be thwarted. This anti-popular government, the enemy of our motherland, must not be allowed to remain in power.

The beginning of a dialogue among the anti-dictatorship forces on the basis of an overthrow of this government can pave the way for further progress. It can narrow the dictatorship's room for maneuver. We are ready for a common struggle with everyone, irrespective of their concept of democracy, to push back imperialism from its positions and overthrow the fascist dictatorship.

In this respect, the CPT will support every initiative made by the democratic and left forces, including the bourgeois opposition.

. . . We want to remind them that so long as they do not start a constructive dialogue with the Left forces, do not understand why we wage a struggle under the illegal conditions, they cannot make a permanent contribution to the fight of our people for democracy. That is the only way to repel the dictatorship's new maneuvers and its efforts to divide the democratic forces. Fighting under different conditions is not an obstacle to dialogue. On the contrary, it is essential for the formation of a common platform of the democratic forces . . .

We will support the political forces who support democracy, those who call themselves progressives, Kemalists or social democrats as long as they

do not make compromises with the regime and are open to dialogue with the Left.

We shall be together with all the Left forces that take an active part in the people's struggle against the dictatorship and strive to increase the people's respect for the Left.

Obviously, in each case, the CPT will explain its views.

We believe that the process of unity will develop much more rapidly if some negative factors are overcome.

These are, first of all, anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, which have a destructive impact and create barriers to the unity of both the Left and all other democratic forces. First, the lie and impudent slander about the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and communists being behind "terrorism" and not being democratic, all of which creates serious confusion in the consciousness of the masses . . .

Another powerful weapon of reaction that causes disunity among the democratic forces and among the people is chauvinism. Today it is the task of every democrat to oppose the fascist-chauvinistic massacre carried out openly against the Kurdish people with the aim of erasing them from the pages of history. The liberation of the Turkish people cannot be separated from the liberation of the Kurdish people. Ignoring the existence of the Kurdish people weakens the possibility for voluntary unity of both peoples. One's opposition to the chauvinistic provocations aimed at turning the Turkish, Kurdish, Arab, Greek and Cypriot peoples against one another and to the expansionist aggression which serve imperialism is the strongest indication that one is a democrat, a patriot, a fighter for peace, and a resolute defender of national interests.

The CPT sharply rejects the methods of dictating views within the left forces and the use of individual terror. We regard as harmful for unity the positions among the anti-terrorism forces which, instead of trying to understand each other and differentiate right from wrong, make every event — big or small — a reason for confrontation.

It is not necessary to repeat that the state of our country, the dangers facing our working class and

our people set before us tasks that cannot be delayed.

These tasks are complex and difficult. Our party is celebrating its 64th anniversary in the hard conditions of continuous onslaughts, but it is still in the forefront of the fight for peace and democracy.

The police were not able to annihilate us organizationally and did not succeed in dividing us. This, however, does not mean that they will not attack us again. Moreover, if they do occur, the attacks will be more rabid, carried out with the hysteria of a foe that is unable to wipe us out. This onslaught will also fail. But they will not be able to weaken our morale or suppress our struggle.

Now, while not forgetting this threat and while taking preventive measures, we must focus our attention on the enemy's tactic of isolating us from the masses and from the democratic forces.

This tactic can be rebuffed and all our tasks fulfilled only if the CPT is further strengthened and its leadership enhanced in the political sphere and in practical actions . . .

The CPT is the vanguard party of the working class. Therefore, we must first of all win the most self-sacrificing and brave sons and daughters of the working class to our struggle and establish among the workers solid party units that are strong from the point of view of underground work. We must fight together with the workers, the peasants, the working people, the youth and with the most oppressed sections of society for the daily demands of the masses. We must foster among them a feeling of the need to revolt in order to regain the worthy achievements which they have lost.

What is necessary to do this? Much greater, cast-iron Leninist party discipline! That is essential for taking the cause of our working class and people to success and for strengthening our ties with the masses.

The CPT will fulfil all the responsible tasks that it has undertaken before our people. We will succeed because we must succeed.

September 10, 1984

Abridged from the *Information Bulletin*
of the Communist Party of Turkey CC

September 1984

Election Results and Some Tasks Facing the Communist Party of Canada

Statement by the Central Executive Committee,
Communist Party of Canada

With the election of a Conservative majority government the preferred party of monopoly and of the Reagan administration has won a majority. According to the *Financial Post*, 88 per cent of chief executive officers of Canadian corporations gave support to their preferred party. They not only supported but financed and worked for the realization of such a majority to implement the "tough decisions" they have in mind in the post-election period.

Does the vote for a Tory majority mean that the Canadian people in their majority have turned to the

right? No. The vote was not so much a vote for Toryism as it was a vote against the Liberals. The vote was a vote for change after 16 years and more of Liberal rule, a period in which that administration showed its inability to come to grips with recession, ever-rising unemployment and inflation, a period in which the rich became richer and the poor poorer, a period of ever growing concentration of power in the hands of the monopolies.

The Tories were able to achieve their victory by hiding their right-wing policies under a mantle of

limited reforms and "time for a change," as well as by an electoral alliance embracing Premier Lévesque, Liberal leader Bourassa, Union Nationale in Quebec, and Ontario Premier Davis and Alberta Premier Lougheed in English-speaking Canada. Smooth talk, deceptive phrases, promises to establish new relations with the provinces and Quebec and build a "new Canada," all helped to achieve the majority the Tories have been working for over the years. The key here was what appeared to be a change of attitude by Mulroney and the Tories toward Quebec and the national aspirations of the French Canadian people. Breaking into Quebec created the conditions for achieving the Tory majority. On the other hand the Parti nationaliste with its separatist option was rejected by the French Canadian people. In Ontario, extreme right-wing Tories such as former Toronto *Sun* editor Peter Worthington and York North incumbent John Gamble were likewise rejected.

Now that the Tories have won, the forces which financed and supported Mulroney and helped him achieve a majority, will expect their pound of flesh. Mulroney has already responded by saying "your faithful assistance will not be forgotten." These forces of corporate wealth are already putting forth their demands. These include: an end to government intervention in the economy; a reduction of the budget deficit; deregulation; increased military spending; withdrawal of minimum wage laws; abolition of the Foreign Investment Review Agency; attacks on social programs.

In total, these objectives can only lead in one direction — an all-out attack on living standards and on social welfare programs, the maintenance of high unemployment, active support to the corporations in their efforts to exact concessions from the trade unions, increased attacks on trade union and democratic rights, increased support to President Reagan's dangerous foreign policy course and to the U.S. multinationals' aims in Canada.

Tory times spell hard times for the people and good times for the corporations.

The Liberal Party by its turn to the right suffered total collapse. In an effort to avert electoral disaster, the Liberal strategists shifted slightly to left of center. But it was too little too late.

The New Democratic Party (NDP) vote declined and it lost two seats. The efforts of monopoly to weaken and indeed wipe it out as an electoral force did not succeed. Losses in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and British Columbia were offset by gains in Northern Ontario, Windsor, Ottawa.

Had the trade union movement been rallied in more effective political action it is possible that gains could have been achieved in this election. Instead, under pressure from the right wing who retreated before the cry of a labor "dominated" NDP, the trade unions were pushed into the background and limited to a telephone campaign.

It is also necessary to note that the leadership of the NDP pushed the NDP to the right with the aim of replacing the Liberal Party as the official opposition in Parliament. There is already talk of the NDP dropping its position on nationalization of banks and

in favor of Canada's withdrawal from NATO. This comes on top of leader Ed Broadbent's declaration that the NDP has finally gotten rid of its "socialist baggage" and orients on support for free enterprise and fiscal responsibility.

A new feature in this election was the active intervention of the peace movements, the women's movements, the ecological movements and sections of the churches in the election campaign.

Each in its own way made an impact on the election and helped to involve greater numbers of people in the struggle for real change.

The Communist Party of Canada, despite the media blackout nationally, was able to mount an effective political campaign around the demand for real change, against a turn to the right, for the demand to Put Canada First, for peace, jobs and Canadian independence.

The improved political work of the party and the Young Communist League in turn led to increased membership in Quebec, Saskatchewan, and in other parts of the country.

Our vote, while slightly increased, was negatively affected by a continuing media blackout around the false rationale of major and minor parties, the pretext used to exclude our party from the TV debates and in some cases from candidate meetings. Despite their democratic pretence the NDP never once opposed such acts of discrimination. Our vote was also negatively affected by anti-communism and anti-Sovietism. The positive side of our electoral tactic, that of the election of progressive candidates, also had its negative aspects in that it opened the door to votes for the NDP in those constituencies where our party ran candidates. This side of the question needs continuing study by our party. Basically what is involved is the strengthening of the links of our party in these constituencies, a task which cannot be left to election periods.

While the effort of our party to deny majority government to the Conservative or Liberal party was not achieved, what was achieved was the election of a large progressive group to Parliament. The claim by Broadbent that our critical support was a "kiss of death" was completely disproved. Our call for the formation of a progressive coalition and of critical support to the NDP where we did not run candidates was soundly based and will have its impact in the days ahead.

The election did not resolve the basic issues confronting the country and the Canadian people: high unemployment, a rise in inflation, a growing budget deficit, the likelihood of another downturn in the economy, Quebec-English relations, federal-provincial relations, U.S.-Canada relations (acid rain, free trade, high interest rates, protectionism, U.S. foreign policy). It did not resolve the issue of energy policy, Canadianization, equality for women, jobs for youth.

The market economy Mulroney supports will lead to a new recession irrespective of the measures his government will take. Indeed some of the measures pressed for by monopoly, including proposals for workers to reduce their wage demands and double their productivity, and more restrictive labor legis-

lation, will accelerate the processes leading to a new downturn.

... Thus the promise of "jobs, jobs, jobs" is turning into a mirage.

Similarly the promise not to tamper with the social welfare program may also become a mirage as the monopolies press for cutting the budget deficit by a drastic curtailment of the social welfare program.

Mulroney promises to improve federal-provincial relations — but the basic element of western alienation is left untouched, the structural imbalance which makes the West a source of natural resources and the East the center of manufacturing.

It can therefore be expected that the "grand alliance" with the provinces will be of a short-lived character and fall apart over the next period of time.

The idea that electing Mulroney and the Tories will eliminate the feeling of national oppression and inequality of French Canada is indeed an illusion. The refusal of Mulroney and the premiers of the English-speaking provinces to recognize the French Canadian people as a nation with complete equality with the English-speaking nation, will only deepen the antagonisms between English and French Canada.

The proposal to weaken and eliminate the National Energy Program and the Foreign Investment Review Agency marks an end to the process of Canadianization begun by the Trudeau government. In its place Mulroney has pledged to establish an open door to foreign investments which means more U.S. take-overs, sectoral and free trade agreements which lead to eventual political absorption of Canada by the USA, increased military expenditures including increases in the armed forces, active support to the Reagan nuclear first-strike strategy, a course of action which imperils Canada's sovereignty, its independence as well as its security.

This supine support to President Reagan's economic and foreign policies however, comes up against a number of contradictions. Protectionism, rejection of Canadian concerns regarding acid rain, high interest rates and their impact on the "fragile" recovery, sharpened differences with respect to U.S. economic sanctions against the USSR and increased U.S. military intervention in Central America — these and other factors will tend to accentuate latent antagonisms and contradictions in U.S.-Canada relations. These in turn will lead to a strengthening of the forces calling for Canadianization of the key sectors of the economy under public ownership.

The line of cold war which the right-wing Tories will pursue, and with it subordination of Canada to U.S. imperialist aims, will come up against the reality that Canada's security lies in pursuing policies which ease tensions in the world and which lead to disarmament, that Canada's security lies in developing and extending economic, scientific and cultural relations with the Soviet Union and the socialist countries, as it lies in extending relations of equality with the developing countries and in support of the peoples striving for national and social liberation.

Such a policy is essential both for the well-being of the Canadian people and as a counter-weight to the pressures of U.S. imperialism against Canadian

sovereignty and independence. The struggle for a made-in-Canada foreign policy of peace and disarmament will therefore grow in intensity.

This is why one can say that the temporary euphoria resulting from a Tory majority will, before long, give way to a growing gulf between the aims of those pushing Canada to the right, and the working class and working people who increasingly will be compelled to fight for real change.

The post-election period will see the unfolding of sharper confrontations between the forces of the people and those of monopoly and the multinationals. The forces behind the Mulroney government will seek to push politics more and more to the right. Unity of the progressive forces is therefore an urgent necessity to check and defeat this drive.

In these conditions the working class and people face a two-fold task: on one hand, compel the Mulroney government to implement those promises made to the people, and on the other, work to stop the implementation of its hidden agenda — the promises made to the corporations and the Reagan administration.

People's action is decisive here. The peace movements throughout the country played a significant role in compelling the political parties to declare themselves on the vital issue of peace and war. The women's movement played an equally significant role in compelling the political parties to declare themselves on the issue of equality for women. In its own way, by extending its struggle, the working class placed its imprint on the struggle for peace and jobs.

This struggle must be continued, extended and widened so as to constitute the nucleus of a growing movement of the people which could lead to the achievement of a progressive coalition to challenge the policies of monopoly and the multinationals.

Now more than ever there is need to develop movements of the working class and people around the demand for reduced hours of work with no reduction in pay, increased pensions and earlier voluntary retirement, combined with the demand for a massive public investment policy, a vast housing program and a crash program of jobs, democratic control over technological change, so as to begin the process leading to the achievement of a policy of full employment.

Now more than ever there is need to unite all the peace forces for a made-in-Canada foreign policy of peace and disarmament, with particular emphasis on the demand that Canada speak up for a nuclear freeze, for non-first use of nuclear weapons, for non-militarization of space, for the demands of the Peace Petition Caravan Campaign.

Now more than ever there is need to extend the movement for women's equality; for democratic tax reform; for a constitutional amendment to include the right to self-determination for Quebec, the rights of the Native peoples as well as a Bill of Rights for Labor.

Now more than ever there is need to mount an ever more effective fightback against the union-busting, wage-cutting drive of monopoly and its governments and in support of the organization of the unorganized.

Now more than ever there is need to give concentrated attention to two major lobbies — the lobby on Ottawa around the Peace Petition Caravan Campaign and the lobby for jobs and against unemployment. The Canadian Labour Congress pledged to undertake. These two lobbies could mark the beginning of a growing counter-offensive of the working class and democratic movement, of all peace forces for jobs and peace.

There may be tendencies in some quarters to say: leave it to the NDP in Parliament to do the job. With all due respect to the NDP, assuming it wants to do the job, it cannot do it by itself. Today more than ever there is need for a well-balanced combination of parliamentary and extra-parliamentary mass action with ever greater focus on extra-parliamentary people's action. It is this which will decide the course of events in the days to come.

Now more than ever there is need for a decisive strengthening of the Communist Party as part of the struggle for real change, the enhancement of its influence and prestige in the developing mass movements. The battle for real change cannot be achieved

without strengthening the influence and organized strength of the Communist Party in the organized labor movement, in the factories and in trade union locals.

One of the by-products of the election results is the need for democratic reform of the electoral system. Proportional representation would have resulted in a different composition of Parliament.

In listing some of the tasks we face in the post-election period, particular attention must be given to coming municipal elections as in British Columbia and the possibility of a provincial election in Ontario this year.

As the Communist Party warned, the federal elections will not provide solutions to the various problems facing the working people and the country. Their solution depends on the rise and power of the mass movement and on the united effort of the working people directed to curb the power of the monopolies and the multinational corporations and win the struggle for peace and jobs.

Abridged from *Communist Viewpoint*,
No. 3, 1984

India: the Present Situation in the Country and the Party's Tasks

Resolution of the Central Executive Committee of the National Council, Communist Party of India

The assassination of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi at the hands of some persons belonging to her own security guards, who were evidently acting as the tools of U.S. imperialists and their CIA and anti-national and dark forces operating inside the country, has shocked and grieved the entire country. All peace-loving and progressive forces in the world have been shaken by this outrageous crime and are deeply concerned at the great loss.

Imperialism, U.S. imperialism in particular, has always pursued a hostile policy toward our country. It has been resorting to political pressure and economic blackmail to deflect us from the foreign policy of peace, non-alignment and friendship with the Soviet Union, other socialist countries and newly-liberated countries.

It has been arming Pakistan and setting up a ring of bases around India. It has been systematically instigating and utilizing the divisive and separatist forces operating within the country. Indira Gandhi had invited the wrath of the imperialists by broadly pursuing an independent anti-imperialist foreign policy.

The dastardly assassination is a highpoint of the foul conspiracy hatched by imperialism and its subversive agencies, operating through the dark forces of communalism and separatism. Such conspiracies are continuing and are aimed at subverting the country's foreign policy and undermining the sovereignty, unity and integrity of the country.

Whatever may be the findings of the official in-

quiry, the political assessment mentioned above will remain valid and has to be emphasized over and over again. Imperialism and its conspiracies through the CIA and other agencies and aimed against our country, other developing countries, against socialism and world peace, have to be unmasked and fought. The masses have to be roused for this struggle.

With the not unexpected landslide victory of Reagan for a second term as the president of the United States, imperialism is adopting more brazen and aggressive tactics in all parts of the world. It has already stepped up its activities in and around our subcontinent. It is resorting to open provocation against Nicaragua, against whom the threat of an actual invasion is looming large. It is threatening Cuba.

As a result of these developments the national, as well as international scene has become more tense and complicated.

Within hours of the news of her death and while the country was plunged in mourning, communal frenzy was whipped up against the Sikh community in certain parts of India, and more particularly the capital city of Delhi.

Sober sections within the Congress(I) did try to intervene. However, many preferred to look away while all this was happening, washing their hands of any responsibility. Later, the central leaders not only disclaimed any connection and refused to discipline any of their men openly, but they also went so far as to throw the entire blame on certain opposition parties. The press has, however, played a big role in bringing the truth to the public gaze.

The Central Executive Committee of the CPI National Council met on November 13 and 14, 1984. — Ed.

It is a matter that should strengthen our self-confidence that the general population belonging to all communities not only did not participate in this pogrom, but at various places Hindu and Muslim neighbors, at great risk to their lives and property, sheltered and protected their Sikh brethren.

In certain mixed localities, the people of all communities, especially Hindus and Sikhs, came together, set up joint defense, organized barricades and patrols and prevented the bands of marauders from outside from entering their areas. But for this display of communal amity and humanism, of good-neighborliness and common sense, the consequences would have been incalculable.

In Delhi our party leaders, members and sympathizers, wherever they happened to be, rendered yeomen's service in maintaining peace, protecting the Sikhs, organizing self-defense and rescuing and escorting those who were in affected areas to the camps and shelters, in cooperation with other brave and selfless workers.

Similar intervention by our party units, along with other left and secular forces, helped extinguish the holocaust in other cities and even nipped the mischief in the bud in many places. Peace marches were organized at several places on the initiative of our local units, either by themselves or jointly with others.

In Calcutta, after the first day of vandalism by organized bands and the total inactivity of the police, Left Front volunteers took to the streets. A huge peace march of nearly 50,000 was taken out under the banner of the Left Front and it had immediate and salutary effect. The TV and AIR blacked out news of such positive intervention by the CPI and other left parties.

The party realized the gravity of the situation from the very beginning and tried to intervene at every turn. The statement of the Central Secretariat on October 31 pointed out that "the assassination of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi is a grim warning to our people that black forces of terrorism and murder politics have entered the political scene and are out to destroy the unity and integrity of our country and create chaos."

We took prompt initiative to contact other opposition parties, in the first place the CPI(M), for a joint meeting with the new Prime Minister and his Cabinet colleagues. A joint appeal by the Prime Minister and all the opposition leaders was issued to end the carnage in Delhi and elsewhere, and to build harmony and good will. Our insistence for deploying the army and taking stern measures helped to overcome the paralysis in the administration.

We decried the controversy raised by the Dravida Munnetra Kajemam Party and Bharatiya Janata Party leaders about the legality and constitutional propriety of the new Prime Minister's appointment. We pointed out that such a controversy over a "technicality" would only further complicate and worsen matters at a time when the country was in a grave crisis. In any case, it was an internal affair of the Congress(I) which had a majority in parliament. A similar approach was also taken by the CPI(M).

On November 6 once again the opposition, including the left parties, met the Prime Minister and pre-

sented to him a memorandum on the prevailing situation. The BJP and Janata Party kept away.

The memorandum, in drafting which the CPI and CPI(M) actively collaborated, drew attention to the dangerous role played by several Congress(I) men in stoking the communal fires and detailed the steps for restoring peace and normalcy and giving relief to those affected. During the talks our General Secretary drew pointed attention to the dangerous stand of the Akalis, initially expressed in their slogan of a "national government" or call for "transfer of population," or the query "whether the Sikhs have a place in the country" and so on.

The Sikh high priests are now increasingly intervening in political affairs. Recently they have dissolved the earlier Akali ad hoc committee and replaced it by another which appears to be nearer to the extremists.

Communal division and tension has greatly increased in Punjab. Terrorist actions continue here and there, as in the past, but no mob violence has taken place so far and this goes to the credit of the people. Besides the army patrolling, curfew and other administrative measures taken, it is more because of the strong traditional bonds of amity that peace has been maintained.

The activities of the secular forces in the state, and reports of Hindus acting to save Sikhs in other parts of the country have helped in this. But the situation continues to be very tense and explosive as harrowing tales are narrated.

The present situation makes it all the more necessary that a political solution be found for the Punjab problem, and the proposals put forth by the National Council implemented expeditiously.

The task of providing relief and rehabilitating the tens of thousands who have been deprived of home and livelihood, of women who have been widowed and children orphaned, is a stupendous and urgent one. The criminals responsible for the carnage have to be punished. Looted property has to be recovered and restored to the original owners.

Only this can restore confidence and help those who still have houses standing to return home. Others have to be settled anew.

A public inquiry has to be conducted into the causes of the holocaust and the elements responsible for it have to be identified.

We have to see that prompt and adequate compensation is paid, that the poor and destitute among the victims are not ignored, while the undeserving ones get the lion's share, that middlemen and officials do not feather their nests, and that the task is done on an impartial and non-partisan basis.

The recent outbursts have once again underlined how deeply our secular and democratic values have been eroded in recent years. For narrow partisan ends and election gains, secular principles and practices have been "given the go by," and all manner of religious revivalism and fundamentalism have been allowed to flourish and vie with each other, and adopt aggressive postures.

Communalism of the majority and minority communities have fuelled each other, with the result that the entire fabric of national unity is endangered and

the very basis of democracy is threatened. Communal riots in several centers have already scarred our social life.

The so-called "Ram Janaki Rath," after leaving a trail of communal tension and incidents all the way to Lucknow, was thereafter passing through the communally-prone areas of western Uttar Pradesh. It was nearing Delhi when the assassination of Indira Gandhi brought it to a halt.

Aggressive communal politics of the "Khalistanis" has cut deep into the traditional Hindu-Sikh brotherhood.

Jamaat-e-Islami and its student wing, the Students' Islamic Movement of India, have been poisoning the minds of Muslim youths with the thesis that it is the decline of religion which is at the root of present-day social and moral crisis, and hence we must go back to religion. The Student Islamic Movement has attacked secularism, socialism and democracy which are the very basis of our Republic.

Religious rituals at state functions have made a mockery of secular pretensions. We also cannot ignore the fact that the poison of communalism has infected certain sections of workers, which inhibited their capacity to intervene when anti-social elements are on the rampage. In Delhi itself, unorganized and backward workers played a part in the orgy.

What is therefore necessary, is to defend and propagate the principles of secularism and democracy, of separation of religion from the state, of humanism and protection of minorities, as a basic condition for consolidating national unity and integrity. It is only this that can rouse the best among our people, as against the worst that is aroused by communal passion.

Today a new government has taken over in a difficult situation. In addition to the immediate tensions arising out of Indira Gandhi's tragic and sudden death, many unsolved internal problems have been bequeathed to this new government, such as, for instance, the Punjab and Assam problems, the worsening economic situation and so on.

The new Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi, has in a policy statement on November 12 reiterated his government's commitment to international peace and friendship, and to the time-tested friendship and mutual cooperation with the Soviet Union. It is a matter of satisfaction that these nationally accepted policies are to be continued.

In the coming days imperialism and internal reaction are bound to step up their pressure so as to bring about shifts in their desired direction. We will, therefore, watch the practices of this government and take our stand on issues accordingly.

We will continue to uphold India's foreign policy of peace, non-alignment and friendship with the Soviet Union, socialist countries and national liberation movements. We will strive to make it more consistent and firm, and oppose all pressures to bring about any shift in this policy.

We will continue to oppose the anti-people and anti-democratic policies at home, which are a product of the capitalist path, and fight for the interests of all sections of the people. We shall continue to defend all the democratic institutions in our set-up. Our basic positions thus remain the same as before.

The dates of the general elections have been announced as December 24 and 27. Following from the above, our election tactics, as decided in the last National Council meeting, remain unchanged.

In the situation that has emerged, the importance of strengthening the CPI and mass organizations acquires greater significance. The central task today is to strengthen the left movement and the unity of the communists. The task is to rally all secular and democratic forces and build left and democratic unity.

The need is to build and strengthen the mass movements, as well as the anti-imperialist struggle and the struggle for the unity and integrity of the country, in every way so as to be able to face every situation and carry the country forward. These tasks have become more urgent than ever before.

Abridged from *New Age*,
November 18, 1984

The Aim is to Defend the Working People, Peace and Social Progress

Statement by an Enlarged Meeting of
the Lebanese Communist Party CC
on the LCP's 60th Anniversary

The LCP Central Committee held an enlarged ceremonial meeting in connection with the party's 60th anniversary. Also present at the meeting were members of the Central Auditing and Central Financial and Auditing Commissions, representatives of the party's regional and district committees, local organizations and leading bodies of the sectors of military action, comrades directing the work in the front of national resistance to the Israeli occupation, among the workers, peasants, young people, students, women and the intelligentsia, in the mass media and other social organizations.

Attending the ceremonial meeting as guests were representatives of a number of fraternal communist parties of Arab countries, including the Syrian, Jordanian, Iraqi and Palestinian Communist Parties and the National Liberation Front of Bahrain. They warmly congratulated the LCP on its 60th anniversary and declared their full support for the struggle of the communists and all Lebanese patriots to end the Israeli occupation, the U.S. interference and the tyranny of the local fascists, and to liberate and reunify Lebanon, reassert the country as part of the Arab world and realize its people's right to demo-

cratic development. They voiced a high assessment of and support for the Lebanese front of national resistance to the occupation and for the National Democratic Front.

The meeting, which was held in the hills of Lebanon, was opened by LCP CC General Secretary Georges Haoui. He hailed this region's heroic fighters, who steadfastly opposed the Israeli occupation and the Phalangists' fascist tyranny and won a splendid victory — the liberation of the hills of Lebanon, which was followed by an uprising in Beirut suburbs, restoration of the national patriotic forces' control over the western part of the city, cancellation of the May 17 agreement with Israel, expulsion of the U.S. Marines and a fierce blow at the Phalangists' fascist racist despotism.

Haoui hailed the alliance between the LCP and the Progressive Socialist Party of Lebanon, headed by comrade Walid Jumblat. He also hailed the heroes of the Lebanese national resistance front and all fighters against the Israeli occupation in the south of the country, in the western part of the Bekaa Valley and in Rasheiyia, and highly appreciated the creation of the National Democratic Front. The LCP CC General Secretary dwelt on the role of the party veterans and founders and the builders of its first cells — Jussef Ibrahim Yasbek, Fuad ash-Shimali, Nicolas Shaoui, Mustafa al-Aris, Saad ed-Din Moumin, Antoine Tabet and others — both those who had been untimely removed from the party ranks and those who continue to march in the vanguard of struggle. He recalled the services of the almost 700 fallen fighters, Faradjallah Helu above all, and asked for a minute's silence in honor of their memory and that of the participants in the national resistance front and the Lebanese patriotic and people's movement, its outstanding leader Kemal Jumblat in the first place, who had given their lives, and in honor of the memory of the fallen fighters of the Arab communist and national liberation movements, especially the participants in the Palestinian revolution and the joint struggle of the Lebanese national patriotic forces, the Palestinian resistance movement and Syria on the soil of Lebanon.

Karim Mroue, member of the CC Political Bureau, presented the Bureau's report at the anniversary meeting. This important document spoke of the creation of the party and some important stages of its history and of the fundamental prin-

ciples of its struggle. In the section on the present-day situation, the main task was put forward as that of carrying out the national democratic revolution, in particular assisting the heroic struggle of the Lebanese national resistance front so as to liberate the captured Lebanese territories and mobilize all forces in support of the National Democratic Front program proclaimed by Walid Jumblat.

After the party veterans' words of welcome, Ibrahim Bakri, member of the Syrian Communist Party CC Political Bureau, who, along with Zahir Abdel Samad, also a member of the SCP CC Political Bureau, composed the delegation of Syrian communists, warmly congratulated the meeting's participants on behalf of the SCP, which was born along with the LCP and together with it constitutes a single whole.

Following speeches by representatives of other fraternal parties and those responsible for the work of party organizations in various regions and spheres of activity, the LCP CC General Secretary made the closing remarks. He thanked the guests of the meeting for their greetings and reaffirmed the solidarity of the LCP and the Lebanese people with the struggle which they, the progressive forces of their countries, and the fraternal peoples have been waging for the Arab nation's common goals. Georges Haoui stressed the Lebanese communists' determination to continue in the front ranks of the Arab national liberation movement, acting in alliance with the vanguard forces of the Palestinian revolution, with Syria, Democratic Yemen, the Libyan Jamahiria, Algeria and the other progressive contingents and circles both within each individual Arab country and in the Arab world as a whole. He hailed the Soviet Union, reaffirming the LCP's unswerving desire to remain true to the traditions of alliance with the CPSU, the glorious party of Lenin. The speaker again touched briefly on the tasks outlined in the Political Bureau report of carrying out the national democratic revolution, primarily the liberation and reunification of Lebanon and its confirmation as part of the Arab world, and the need for democratic reform of the country's political, economic and social structure, and dwelt on the importance of completing the construction of the National Democratic Front, which includes all the patriotic, democratic and progressive forces, and of strengthening coordination of actions with the Amal movement. He underscored the enormous significance of the firm historical alliance between the LCP and the Progressive Socialist Party.

In conclusion the LCP CC General Secretary pointed to the significance of the meeting for the holding of mass ceremonies to mark the 60th anniversary and for the preparations for the party's fifth national congress. He laid emphasis on the organizational tasks of building a mass combatant Communist Party, enhancing its role in the Lebanese front of national resistance to the occupation, and increasing its ranks in every region and among all social strata interested in carrying out the national democratic tasks.

Beirut, October 19, 1984
Abridged from *Al-Nida*,
October 20, 1984

Lenin and the Bourgeois Press

Boris Balayev

paper 215 pp \$4.95

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Uruguay: For the Broad Front — and Advanced Democracy

Political Declaration of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Uruguay

On November 25, 1984, parliamentary elections were held in Uruguay for the first time in 13 years. They were highlighted by a resounding defeat of ultra-rightist groups and a major success of the Broad Front.

Dr. Julio Sanguinetti, the Colorado Party candidate, won 39 per cent of the votes and was elected President of the Republic. The Broad Front polled 33 per cent more votes than at the previous elections. Its candidates were backed by more than 20 per cent of the electorate across the country and nearly one-third in Montevideo, where a few thousand more votes (in comparison with Colorado) would have enabled the Front to take over.

The new President will take office on March 1, 1985.

Following is the text of the Political Declaration adopted by the CPU CC in September 1984, or shortly before the elections.

November 25, 1984 will see a historic victory of the Uruguayan people and the final defeat of the dictatorship. This triumph will be a fruit of 11 years of struggle by the working class and students, by all democratic forces, of Broad Front actions in which the Communist Party, the life and soul of resistance and a force illuminating the road to the liberation of our people, played a heroic role.

November 25 will witness the people's inevitable victory and the end of the dictatorship. Talks* carried on amid sustained and coordinated actions by large sections of our people became in the hands of these sections an instrument bringing the hour of restored democracy and freedom near. Popular actions supported by an international solidarity movement unlocked the doors of the prison cells for hundreds of our people's beloved fighters, including General Liber Seregni, Chairman and leader of the Broad Front, our comrades Alberto Altesor, José Luis Massera, Rita Ibarburu and Rosario Pietrarroia and patriotic members of the armed forces: General Victor Licandro, Col. Carlos Zufriategui and Col. Hugo Frigerio. The recent release of Jaime Pérez, a hero of our country and party, who immediately joined in the working class and popular struggle, led to a new upsurge in enthusiasm and the intensification of the common struggle to overthrow the dictatorial regime. His liberation is a symbol of the activity and solid unity of our party, of its ability to preserve its unity even in prison, in conditions of illegality and in exile.

The popular actions that formed the background of the talks predetermined the miscarriage of the policy of electoral "continuity" and created a new situation characterized by the legalization of the Broad Front and several of its member parties, the release of about 200 political prisoners and the emergence of the coalition For Advanced Democracy. Along with this, the people imposed the restoration of civil freedoms by taking to the streets. After the mammoth demonstration on November 27, 1983 — a result of cooperation among all political and social forces opposed to the dictatorship — the working people widely celebrated May Day 1984. The celebrations drew numerous people. There fol-

lowed the historic civil disobedience strike on June 27, which marked a step forward compared with the general strike on January 18, thanks to the involvement of the most diverse social forces; the mobilization of public opinion on the occasion of Wilson Ferreira Aldunate's return from exile; open Broad Front actions in the streets, particularly the mass rally on August 10; the enthusiastic welcome extended to Dr. Hugo Villar. During demonstrations by the Communist Youth League (CYL) and various actions in which the Communist Party was prominent, the red banners of our party, a party fighting for its legalization, flew in the streets of Montevideo.

November 25 will be the culmination of this stage of the struggle, the starting point for every effort to win a better future for our country, and part of the struggle of the workers and the people as a whole for their demands, for bread and wages, for jobs and improvements in social legislation. The elections are a strategic milestone on the road to advanced democracy with the prospect of establishing anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic rule as the threshold of socialism. The coming elections are a revolutionary task of paramount importance whose accomplishment will make it possible, first of all, to sweep away the remnants of fascist structures imposed in the years of tyranny, and will help achieve a new alignment of forces in the country. The elections will result in the transfer of power to a government elected by the people.

The left, anti-imperialist, popular and patriotic perspective in the nation's life will be represented in the elections by the Broad Front, by its program, candidates, traditions of struggle, courageous resistance to the dictatorship and competent action promoting the unity and coordinated effort of all democratic forces. The aim of the Front is to contest the Presidency and win control of the capital. The broad coalition of forces operating within the Front under the slogan "For Advanced Democracy" is an embodiment of the people's expectations that have accumulated over these past years. It is the most complete expression of the aspirations of the workers and the masses generally, of all who have worked for the triumph of democracy, who were tortured to death, found themselves among the "missing," lost their jobs, were stripped of political rights and banished. The coalition is a real spokesman of all

*The reference is to talks between the military regime and the legal opposition parties concerning the terms of Uruguay's return to constitutional government. —Ed.

whom the dictatorship had tried to silence. Such is the significance of the candidacies put forward under this slogan and symbolizing the struggle against the dictatorship and for freedom.

The victory of the most advanced democratic forces grouped in the Broad Front and the coalition For Advanced Democracy will guarantee the rejection of all trends toward "curtailed democracy" and all attempts at conciliation and agreement behind the backs of the workers and other working people on the pattern of the Moncloa pact. This victory will confirm the need for a broad national concord on the road to genuine advanced democracy and will be linked with multiple struggles for pressing social and economic demands.

The people will never forget the grim years of sacrifice and repression, any more than the role played by every one of the political forces. The purpose of all attempts to revive the bipartisan system by artificially polarizing the electorate around the traditional parties is to deprive the people of the will for the attainment of advanced democracy and bar the masses from the struggle for the future of Uruguay, against the outlawing of citizens and political parties, for a general and unrestricted amnesty, for a legal and powerful Communist Party, with its every leader fully enjoying legitimate civil rights, a party in the forefront of the struggle for national renewal.

The task of assuring the Left a major electoral victory binds us to bring home to the public the substance of the past 11 years of struggle, a substance which certain forces would like to delete from national history. This concerns primarily the fact that the communists were the backbone of resistance to the dictatorship. We must therefore answer three serious questions.

First, what did those 11 years of fascism mean? They were a period of terror, imprisonment, banishment, martyrdom, "missing" persons, deliberate persecution of the communists and exploitation of the people, a period of venality and of economic bankruptcy caused by financial capital, imperialism and foreign banks, a period of downturn in national industry, ruin for rural producers and small traders, declining wages and standards of living, unemployment, dislocation of the health services, education and culture, massive exile and attempts to destroy the finest national traditions.

Second, how did it happen that a terroristic dictatorship was established in Uruguay, a traditionally democratic country, and that corruption and unlawful deals were rampant? The coup was part of U.S. imperialism's offensive on the continent; its purpose was to curb the growing anti-imperialist movement, put an end to the socialist alternative in Chile and impose fascism in order to help the IMF, foreign banks and the domestic oligarchy plunder our riches more easily. By defining the dictatorship as fascist, we predetermined our effort for the broadest possible unification of the nation to fight imperialism and the oligarchy subservient to it as the forces responsible for the people's suffering.

Third, why do we affirm that the dictatorship will fall? Because ever since the general strike the people have been carrying on a sustained struggle without

giving the tyranny a minute of respite, and because they have been in the forefront of the heroic resistance in which our party has played a role of prime importance. Further reasons are the immense solidarity movement which has developed abroad, isolating the dictatorship, and the fact that the growing anti-dictatorial struggle has led to the coordinated participation of diverse parties in it. All this has shaken the pillars of the dictatorship and provided conditions for the people's victory. Nothing came as a gift. Whatever was gained is a direct result of the struggle of the working class, students, the lower orders, intellectuals and cultural workers guided by a correct orientation and having a clear vision of the perspective. The dictatorship is crumbling because the 1980 plebiscite frustrated its plan to bring political parties under its sway and because the anti-union law was undermined as a result of action by the Inter-Trade Union Plenum of Workers and the National Convention of Workers; it is crumbling as a result of active efforts by the Social and Cultural Association of Public Education and the Federation of University Students, the mass demonstrations held on May Day, the civil disobedience strike, and concerted efforts by the Broad Front, political parties and social forces; it is crumbling under the impact of international solidarity and the activity of the Communist Party of Uruguay and Communist Youth League at home and abroad. In short, a nation-wide united front has been formed against fascism.

As a result, we are advancing to the elections at a time when the Broad Front is operating legally, political prisoners are regaining freedom and the dictatorship is nearing its end; this means a qualitative change in the life of a country returning to democracy.

The November elections must demonstrate the people's active support for the Broad Front, the coalition For Advanced Democracy and the main provisions of the program for a democratic renewal of Uruguay. The Broad Front has again shown itself to be the only transforming alternative in the country. Any attempt at national renewal within the system of the traditional parties is doomed to failure, since the historical crisis of these parties makes them incapable of effecting far-reaching changes. As a result, leaders like Pacheco or Payssé, who have disgraced themselves by collaborating with the dictatorship, are now involved in the election campaign alongside democratic and anti-dictatorial forces and even under the electoral slogans of these forces. The program for renewal put forward by the coalition For Advanced Democracy includes the following: abolishing fascist government structures; repealing Act 19 and all earlier acts, the anti-union law and the law on political parties; re-establishing the working people's rights and restoring the trade unions' property and premises; legalizing the Communist Party and all other parties; repatriating Rodney Arismendi, Enrique Rodríguez and all other communist leaders and ending their proscription; recognizing the right of civil servants to strike; re-establishing social security; recognizing university autonomy in conformity with the 1958 law; autonomy for and a renewal of judicial authority; the

right of the workers to participate in the management of enterprises and of the working people, pensioners and invalids to be represented on the boards of social security funds; democratizing educational institutions and abolishing the National Education Board; abrogating the law against housing cooperatives.

Advanced democracy implies renunciation of IMF economic policy with its diktat in regard to paying the foreign debt. The new government must feed the people before paying six billion dollars in debt, including urgent repayment of enormous sums to foreign banks.

We want a new policy of national economic development aimed at strengthening industry, trade and agriculture; safeguarding national property against monopoly; transferring the banks to the state; carrying out an agrarian reform and meeting demands for higher wages and the transfer of land, credits and seed to agricultural producers; solving the problem of the debts of small and medium producers; taking effective steps to curb inflation; protecting and advancing the public sector of the economy. The country, which must restore democracy, is in urgent need of replacing the sinister "national security doctrine" by an ideology making it possible to commit the armed forces to the defense of national sovereignty and insist that they should display consistent Latin Americanism and loyalty to Artiguist traditions and rid themselves of fascist groups. Our program provides for an independent, peace-loving foreign policy of national sovereignty and consistent Latin Americanism, the promotion of trade with socialist and emergent countries, solidarity with fraternal peoples of our continent, primarily with those of Cuba, Nicaragua, El Salvador and Guatemala, and the restoration of relations with Cuba and Venezuela.

Advanced democracy requires an increased role of the Left, of the Broad Front as an anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist force, a broad policy for unity, the re-establishment of the whole system of popular organizations and the presence of a powerful Communist Party. The Broad Front is a most important instrument of the struggle against the dictatorship and for new democracy. Throughout the past years we communists have been working to preserve it as the basis for the strategy of winning real democracy. We did this even when forces that had lost their sense of perspective denied the significance of the Broad Front and proposed a different alternative.

In the name of our program for advanced democracy, in the name of our country's progress toward liberation, we call on the working class, youth, women, intellectuals and cultural workers, pensioners and rural working people to vote — and urge others to vote — on November 25 for the Broad Front and the coalition For Advanced Democracy operating within it. Being aware of the historic significance of the coming elections and the need to surmount existing difficulties, we appeal to party organizations and members at home and abroad to show their militancy and creative ability in order to assure the Broad Front and the coalition For Advanced Democracy an impressive victory.

The Communist Party, which has been the life and

soul of anti-dictatorial resistance throughout the past 11 years and has made the greatest sacrifices, its heroic underground fighters going through imprisonment, torture, kidnapping and deportation, is playing a more notable role than before in the new political situation, at the threshold of the inevitable downfall of the regime.

The party has in its ranks heroes of the country and the democratic cause, such as Jaime Pérez and José Luis Massera, martyrs like Gerardo Cuesta and Eduardo Bleier, and numerous other staunch fighters of the underground and prisons.

In the worst and hardest years of fascist repression, the communists persevered in underground resistance; they were in the forefront of workers' and students' organizations and took part in every form of struggle, paying for it an enormous price in blood and sacrifice.

The party made a decisive contribution to the broad international movement of solidarity with our people involving considerable forces all over the world.

To bring about the downfall of today's brutal dictatorship, the Communist Party used all its forces and its prestige and its organization, all its historical achievements and all its gains made since its 16th congress.

We owe all this to both the devotion of the communists and the fact that we are a real force having deep roots among the workers, students and middle strata, among the people as a whole.

Our party passed through the trials of the most difficult period in its history and strengthened the unity of its ranks. We have a united party and united leadership and a correct common policy; we are as loyal to our principles as we have always been on every front: underground, in prison and in exile.

The Central Committee of the CPU greeted at its meetings comrades released from prison who had shown exemplary staunchness during detention, and paid homage to the memory of martyrs who were tortured to death in the dictatorship's jails or are "missing."

By joining in street actions, the Communist Party and Communist Youth League won the right to be in the forefront of all popular demonstrations in defiance of the dictatorship's law banning both organizations and to play an active role in the coming elections.

The open participation of the CPU and CYL in popular actions and the actions which they themselves launch are doing away with the ban still formally maintained by the dictatorship.

This doomed regime cannot prevent our active participation in political decision-making, any more than it was able to isolate us communists for a moment from the people and all the democratic forces.

This is why our party now enjoys greater political and moral prestige than ever.

Victory over the dictatorship and the winning of advanced democracy are inseparable from building a powerful Communist Party generalizing at a higher level the experience of educational and organizing work among proletarians and the people at large gained over the past period.

Without such a party — a party forged in years of

struggle for the unity of the working class, the left forces and the Broad Front, a party drawing on the finest democratic traditions of the vast majority of the people — there would now be no prospect of defeating the dictatorship at the November elections or of winning advanced democracy. A contribution to this struggle was made, along with the party, by the best activists and leaders of the glorious CYL, which has always been the main force of resistance in factories, educational centers, the capital's neighborhoods and the provinces.

Our party, which enjoys high political and moral prestige, calls on all democrats in our country, on all men and women, primarily working people and young people, to join the CPU and CYL in order to participate vigorously in the great struggle for advanced democracy, national liberation and socialism.

The party and the CYL are faced with a new historical task that should enable us to make important headway. Its main aspect is the need to bring in and organize the thousands of new and old fighters who are joining in the struggle for democracy after prison or exile or are arising from the ranks of the people.

Building the CPU and CYL as both professional and mass organizations that will be stronger and better organized, have deeper roots among the working class and new generations and operate on the basis of the current mass movement is more important than ever for developing the revolutionary process in Uruguay.

First and foremost, it is necessary to continue increasing the powerful inflow of new fighters into our ranks, assign every one of them a fitting place in

the struggle, step up ideological and educational work on the creative principles of Marxism-Leninism and form party and CYL branches everywhere, primarily in factories.

We must combat the idea that the party's prestige is a factor sufficient in itself for attaining the above goals. Actually their attainment will require effort and enthusiasm on the part of every contingent and every member of the CPU.

As well as participating in the election campaign, the party must solve serious problems, such as re-establishing its centers, propaganda media and publishing facilities, all of which necessitates funds. We call on all communists and sympathizers at home and abroad to join in our fund-raising campaign as a requisite of carrying out all of the party's plans.

The party, which has gained ample experience of educational work, must at this stage undertake the ideological schooling of thousands of new members.

At a time when the task of achieving still broader unity of action by the democratic forces is particularly pressing, we communists attach great importance to the dissemination and defense of our ideas and principles as we carry on an uncompromising struggle against every form of anti-communism, that banner of the anti-popular dictatorship.

Historically, anti-communism has always been a fascist weapon. Anti-communist views among democrats are undoubtedly weakening their anti-dictatorial front.

The record of the past grim years, the thoroughly national character of our party and the experience of liberation struggle are evidence of the need for a scientific and creative ideology guiding the political vanguard.

This ideology is Marxism-Leninism.

We communists have forged an organization which did not lose its best qualities in the hardest conditions of underground work — its spirit of brotherhood and comradeship, its profound humanism and its staunchness in the face of the enemy — an organization which has made democratic centralism its dependable weapon.

Victory over the dictatorship offers a direct prospect of the repatriation of all Uruguayans.

We communists will do all in our power for the fulfillment of this urgent and highly important task by organizing and leading a massive repatriation of political exiles so that they can join in the election campaign and the national rehabilitation process as early as possible.

The end of the dictatorial regime confronts us with the urgent need to win the complete legalization of the Communist Party and secure the release of all political prisoners, the repatriation of all CPU leaders, primarily our First Secretary, Rodney Arismendi, and the restoration of their political rights.

In this hour of approaching victory, at the threshold of the imminent downfall of the dictatorship, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uruguay says again that our road is democracy and anti-imperialism and our destiny, liberation and socialism.

September 1984
Abridged

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USSR: The People's Vibrant Creativity

Report by Mikhail Gorbachev, member of the Political Bureau, Secretary of the CPSU CC, at an All-Union Scientific and Practical Conference on "Improvement of Developed Socialism and the Party's Ideological Work in the Light of the Decisions of the June 1983 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee."

The message of greetings to the conference participants from CPSU CC General Secretary comrade Konstantin Chernenko put forward profound and fundamental propositions on the key questions of improving developed socialism and, taking into account the current situation and the broad historical perspective, formulated the chief ideological tasks stemming from the decisions of the June 1983 plenary meeting of the CPSU CC. We must be strictly guided by these propositions and conclusions.

The past 18 months have shown conclusively that the June 1983 CC plenary meeting was a timely and very important event. Giving priority to ideological work and asserting a broad social view of ideology as a sphere of thought, action and education, the meeting elaborated an innovative long-term concept of ideological work and opened up a new page in the party's ideological life.

Today it is necessary to check once again whether ideological activity corresponds to the high social criteria of its effectiveness and to the country's general rhythm of work.

The Central Committee regards the holding of this conference as a definite stage in the work to implement the decisions of the June 1983 plenary meeting and as an important element in the preparations for the regular, 27th congress of the party.

Our society is in a very crucial period. Speaking about the main result of the past few years, it can be said with certainty that, undeviatingly following the course of the 26th CPSU congress, the party and the people are confidently marching forward along the road of improving every aspect of Soviet society's life, along the road of peace and progress.

The CC plenary meetings held in those years made concrete and creatively developed the strategy for our advance. The party's ideological arsenal has been enriched with new propositions and conclusions.

The Central Committee and its Political Bureau, headed by comrade Konstantin Chernenko have been doing many-sided theoretical, political and organizational work to further strengthen our homeland's economic and defense might. This work is permeated with the spirit of collectivity and high responsibility before the people.

A realistic, sober and creative approach to work, and intolerance of shortcomings are being more and more firmly established in the activities of party organizations and state, government and economic bodies. The drive launched by the party for order, organization and discipline everywhere, and for greater responsibility of personnel at every level of management has met with universal approval.

The realization of a number of important measures in the economic, social and ideological spheres has made it possible to overcome unfavorable tendencies in the economy and speed up its growth rates, and has had a beneficial effect on the moral

and political atmosphere in the country. As a result the party's prestige has been raised even higher, and its ties with the masses have grown stronger.

Guided by the directives of the June 1983 plenary meeting, the party Central Committee is making greater demands of party committees for the state of affairs on the ideological front, and has taken measures to improve the work of the mass media, intensify the communist education of young people and the patriotic and atheistic work among the working people, and has taken steps on a number of other urgent problems. The ideological work of party organizations and institutions is becoming more specific and is being increasingly tailored to the socio-economic tasks. Changes for the better have taken place in the training and education of cadre, and in the forms, methods and style of ideological work.

Very important and complicated tasks are ahead of us. The forthcoming 27th CPSU congress will open new historical vistas before our country. As is known, it will adopt a new edition of the party program — a program for the improvement of developed socialism, and will determine the tasks for the next five-year plan period.

The theoretical guidelines and propositions advanced by comrade Chernenko on the level of social maturity attained by Soviet society serve as the foundation of the party's strategic line and of all party and political work. The conclusion that we are at the beginning of the historically long period of developed socialism has been profoundly substantiated. On this basis the concept of developed socialist society elaborated by the party is being concretized.

The assessments and conclusions that have been made warn us not to go too fast and not to confuse what has been achieved and what is to be achieved. At the same time they clearly show that it is impermissible to be too slow in taking practical action, in solving pressing problems, and in overcoming shortcomings.

Profound transformations are to be made in the economy and the entire system of social relations, and the living standard of the Soviet people is to be raised to a qualitatively higher level. As a result, socialism will rise to a new stage of maturity.

The speakers stressed that enormous possibilities for accelerating the society's socio-economic development lie in the combination of the initiative of the masses with a scientifically sound and creative approach to pressing problems.

Following the June 1983 plenary meeting, the Central Committee took important measures to make the social sciences more effective. These measures are already yielding certain results. However, social scientists are still being slow and timid in

tackling the key theoretical problems of our development.

Economics is facing responsible tasks. The state of affairs in this field has been thoroughly and critically analyzed in the CPSU CC resolution on enhancing the role of the Institute of Economics of the USSR Academy of Sciences in the elaboration of the theoretical problems of the economy of developed socialism. Many useful works have appeared in the last few years. At the same time economics has not yet advanced a detailed concept of how to make the transition to a dynamic and highly efficient economy and create a better economic mechanism.

Let us take a fundamental and pressing problem like the interaction of modern productive forces and socialist production relations. Dogmatic ideas, which at times do a disservice to our theory and practice, have by no means been fully overcome in its interpretation.

Life teaches us to consider with utmost responsibility the objective dialectics of the development of the productive forces and production relations as a very important source for speeding up a society's socio-economic development. This makes it obligatory to detect and resolve in good time the contradictions emerging in this sphere.

The requirements for improving developed socialism dictate the need to enrich greatly our ideas on many other major problems of the social sciences.

Let us turn to the development of our society's political system. For example, the profound idea of the founders of Marxism-Leninism on self-government is well-known. They saw the gist of it in the real, practical participation of ever larger masses of the working people in management and in the elaboration, discussion, adoption and implementation of socio-economic decisions. Lenin never counterposed Soviet state power and the people's self-government. He had a high regard for the Soviets because they combine both these qualities, are bodies of the power of the workers and peasants, and ensure their unity and cohesion.

Now that much is being done to increase the role and prestige of the Soviets and improve our political system and all forms and means of involving the masses in state and public affairs, we are especially in need of a serious elaboration of the theoretical problems of the development of socialist self-government of the people. Such studies would help the party to tackle more successfully the practical tasks along this road.

Mikhail Gorbachev then dealt with the problem of considering the interests of the various social groups in our political system and the scientific elaboration of the principle of democratic centralism in present-day conditions.

The CPSU pays unremitting attention to the development of Marxist-Leninist theory in close cooperation with the communist and workers' parties of other states, above all, socialist countries, he said. Party documents — materials of the congresses and CC plenary meetings and speeches by party leaders — raise key theoretical problems and contain new conclusions and propositions that generalize the experience of historical development.

The economy has always been a very important target of ideological work, as of all the efforts of the party and the people, the speaker said. The experience of the past two years has shown convincingly once again that important results can be attained through the intensification of political, organizational and ideological work among the masses.

In a speech at the November 15, 1984 meeting of the CPSU CC Political Bureau comrade Konstantin Chernenko emphasized that the positive changes in the economy must not only be consolidated but also multiplied. Everything possible will have to be done in the time remaining before the end of the five-year plan period to tie up the loose ends and complete the 11th five-year plan period in a worthy fashion.

At the same time, we must think about the prospects for the country's development. Life is setting for us a task of enormous political significance — that of raising the national economy to a qualitatively new scientific, technical and organizational level, of effecting a major advance in the intensification of social production and making it more efficient.

The course toward intensification is dictated by objective conditions, by the country's entire progress. There is no alternative to it. Only an intensive economy that develops on the basis of the latest scientific and technological achievements can be a reliable material basis for raising the working people's well-being, can strengthen the country's positions internationally and allow it to enter the next millennium as a great and prosperous power.

The speaker stressed that the process of intensification of the economy should be made a concern of the whole people and be regarded as politically important as was the industrialization of the country.

A substantial acceleration of scientific and technological progress is today the principal means for effecting a decisive change in the intensification of the economy and for increasing the rates of the country's economic and social development. This task is extremely important and has many aspects.

Acceleration of scientific and technological progress, as is well known, will be discussed at the next plenary meeting of the CPSU CC. The strategy of further developing the scientific, technological and production potential is of prime importance. Priority should be given to fundamentally new and truly revolutionary scientific and technological solutions capable of raising labor productivity many times over.

There are many enterprises and scientific institutions in the country where scientific and technological problems are tackled at the level of the world's greatest achievements. But there are also collectives which are content to repeat what world practice has long left behind. This situation must be critically analyzed by the State Committee for Science and Technology, the USSR State Planning Committee, the USSR Academy of Sciences and, of course, top managers in the industries.

Scientific and technological progress requires that closer attention be paid to the cultural and technical level of the working class and the peasantry, that the training and improvement of society's main pro-

ductive force be radically improved. This raises the task of radically restructuring the system of personnel training — from the general educational schools and vocational training schools to the institutions of higher learning. Such work is already under way, and it should be pursued on a larger scale. We will soon have to implement measures to create better moral and material prerequisites for considerably raising the creative returns from technical experts and for enhancing the role and prestige of the engineer.

We must take a new and fresh look at the many aspects of socialist emulation and drop the obsolete approaches and methods. The main goals of emulation today are a smooth working rhythm, timely fulfillment of contractual obligations, high quality of products, introduction and application of new technology, and sparing use of every minute of working time, every ton of raw material, every rouble. It is important for all the ideological media to support the mass movement in the country to work two days a year on the raw and other materials and fuel saved.

Next year we will mark the 50th anniversary of the Stakanovite movement, which played a signal role in the history of socialist construction. Carrying on the traditions of the Stakanovites means directing the energy and initiative of the masses toward solving the key problems of greater economic efficiency.

One of the main questions on the agenda today is reorganization of the forms and methods of economic management. The aim of this work is to create an economic mechanism that meets the requirements of developed socialism. An important milestone along this road is the large-scale economic experiment in industry. Still more energy needs to be devoted to the search for the most suitable forms and methods of combining the economic interests of society, the work collectives and each worker. Much can be done in this regard by all our ideological media.

Concern for the welfare of the people and fuller application of the principles of social justice, has always been the supreme purpose of the party's activities, the speaker said. Consistent realization of these objectives strengthens the confidence of the broadest masses of the people in the party and helps to increase their labor and political activity.

Great prospects for enhancing man's social role are to be found in the improvement of the Soviet political system, in the further development of socialist democracy. Naturally, promotion of all aspects of the Soviets' activities is the priority here. It is necessary for the working people to be well informed about how their particular Soviet functions, how it fulfils electors' mandates, reflects and protects their interests. It is also important for the constitutional principles of accountability of all executive bodies to be strictly observed as an effective means of the whole people's control over the state of affairs in the various sections of state, economic and cultural construction. Of special significance is the Soviets, state bodies of people's control and the public seeing to it that all officials and citizens abide strictly by Soviet law.

It is important to involve further the working people in the daily discussion and solution of prob-

lems facing enterprises, construction projects, and collective and state farms. The Law on Work Collectives offers wide scope for that. Its efficient application will make it possible really to activate people's energy and will promote better use of all production reserves — technical, economic and social. Organizational and educational work should everywhere be carried out in such a way as to ensure that every collective exerts an active influence on the development of the individual's creative force. The work of party, trade union and YCL organizations must be aimed at this goal.

Publicity' is an inalienable aspect of socialist democracy, a norm of all social life. Broad, timely and frank information is evidence of confidence in people, respect for their intelligence and feelings, for their ability to get to the bottom of an event themselves. It raises the working people's activity. Publicity about the work of party and state bodies is an effective means of combating bureaucratic distortions and makes one take a more thoughtful approach to decision-making and to the organization of control over how decisions are fulfilled, and to the correcting of shortcomings and omissions. The persuasiveness of propoganda, the efficiency of education, and the matching of word and deed largely depend on that.

Distribution relations are of tremendous significance in the realization of the principles of social justice. Much has been done in recent years to put things in proper order in this sphere but many problems remain and they have to be solved through the joint efforts of state and economic bodies and the public at large. Comrade Chernenko spoke about this at the All-Union Conference of People's Controllers.

Life has taught us that any departure from the socialist principles of distribution and economic management can and do breed such alarming phenomena as labor and social passivity, parasitism, moral nihilism, and hidden forms of redistribution of incomes and possessions. The inexorable arm of the law must bar the way of those who do not respond to reasonable arguments and the voice of conscience and civic duty. And, the speaker noted, the problem of distribution relations concerns not only one's earnings, but the entire system of satisfying people's requirements, a system which is to a great extent supplied from social consumption funds.

The health service, for example, affects everybody's interests. We have created a truly democratic health care system. At the same time one cannot fail to see that the medical services do not meet all present-day demands. Party and government bodies should pay more attention to the work of the health care institutions.

The services sphere has in recent years acquired a great social weight. The party will be increasing its efforts to bring this sphere in line with the demands of the day. To this end the drafting of the comprehensive program for the development of consumer goods production and of services is nearing completion.

Man develops not only in production and everyday life, but also in his leisure hours. I think the time

has come to enhance the responsibility of local bodies for social and cultural development. They have been given extensive rights. However, when analyzing the working people's letters that come to the CC, one sees that there are some people who, far from knowing how to exercise these rights, do not even want to do so. Things must be put right here.

The party's Central Committee believes that unflagging attention to social questions, whatever aspects of life they concern, must be a law for all state, economic, and public organizations and for central and local bodies. No pleas of objective circumstances can justify inattention to people's needs. This is a matter of principle for us communists.

The speaker then noted that socialism has been exerting its main impact on world developments through its economic policy, through its successes in the socio-economic area. Each new step forward along this road is the most convincing argument in favor of the socialist system and the Soviet way of life. Socialist ideology carries with it the truly humanistic ideals of social progress, development of the human personality, of a world without arms and wars, without exploitation and oppression.

It is capitalism, not socialism, that is compelled to maneuver and disguise itself, to resort to wars and terror, falsification and subversion in order to check the relentless impact of time. The general crisis of capitalism is not just an aggravation of its economic, social and political contradictions. It is also an intellectual crisis, an ideological and moral one.

At the same time, the ideological activity of the monopoly bourgeoisie has sharply intensified in the past few years. Our opponents have set up a huge propaganda machine for the ideological struggle and are using highly sophisticated technical means, and subversive and psychological methods. In intensity, content and methods, the psychological war now being waged by imperialism is a particular variety of aggression which infringes on the sovereignty of other countries.

In these conditions, more than ever before, we need party principledness, a consistent class approach to the assessment of current events and phenomena, political vigilance to and intolerance of views alien to us, creative vigorous ideological work, efficiency, boldness and persistence.

The thrustful character of our ideology consists not only in the debunking of bourgeois ideological myths and stereotypes. It is above all the assertion of our ideals, of the socialist standards of social life, of genuine freedom and democracy, and the popularization of the historic achievements of existing socialism.

The thrustful character of our ideology lies in the most active popularization of the peaceable foreign policies of the CPSU and the Soviet state and the countries of the socialist community.

In the struggle for the cause of peace and social progress, the CPSU pursues a consistent course of rallying in every way the forces of the international communist and working class movement. We uphold the historical truth of the great ideas of Marxism-Leninism and, along with all revolutionary and peace-loving forces of humanity, advocate social

progress, the cause of peace and the security of all peoples.

Finally, the thrustful character of our ideology means the party's adherence to principle, and prompt information. We must give timely and substantive answers to the questions raised by world development by the course of the struggle and competition between the two opposing systems, and amend our ideas and practices in good time when life requires it.

In view of the acute and complicated nature of today's ideological struggle, the June 1983 plenary meeting set the task of improving counter-propaganda both inside the country and among foreign audiences. Party committees and the mass media will have to go on deepening the content of that work and making it more prompt.

The report dealt at length with the raising of the level of party leadership in all spheres of social life and with radical improvement of the style of work in the light of the decisions of the June 1983 CPSU CC plenary meeting.

The Central Committee, the speaker said, attaches enormous significance to all our cadre learning the Leninist style of work. Only with a political approach, a critical comparison of the efforts made and practical results, and a constant creative search can questions be resolved, as Lenin said, not "as officials do," but in a statesmanlike way.

The facts indicate that it is by no means everywhere that enough skill and sometimes even perseverance are shown in organizing things practically. Formalism has always been the sworn enemy of vibrant thought and vibrant deeds. There are various manifestations of it. Its essence is incompetence, indifference, substitution of an official and bureaucratic approach for a party and political one, when the main thing is now how to do something but how to look better.

Certainly, there are no prescriptions for combating formalism. But the party has always had an unshakable Bolshevik principle: people should be judged not by what they say but by what they do, by their work — results and not by "showmanship." We will follow this tried and tested principle in the future as well.

The overwhelming majority of our cadre honestly discharge their party and professional duties and enjoy well-deserved respect and prestige among the working people for their selflessness in work, personal modesty, justice and attention to people.

Unfortunately, one still encounters facts of a different sort. Complaints continue to come in from working people about a bureaucratic attitude to their needs and requests, about the haughtiness of some executives and officials, about nepotism and patronage.

The mass media have a great role to play in all the matters that we are now discussing. The party highly values journalists' work, which calls for deep knowledge, creative effort, principledness and sometimes courage. I could name many constructive and effective contributions made by the press, television and radio on pressing questions of the economy, education and culture. But there are also many publications and programs that are still

monotonous and uniform and suffer from superficiality. The party expects that the mass media will make an even more considerable contribution to the implementation of plans for socio-economic progress and improvement of communist education.

The CPSU Central Committee values the work and efforts of our entire ideological corps — agitators and propagandists, lecturers, people's teachers, and cultural education workers. The scientific and artistic intelligentsia have performed great services in the formation of a Marxist-Leninist world outlook, a lofty civic attitude, and patriotic pride in the socialist homeland, and in the enrichment of the people's life with new intellectual values. Our intelligentsia can rest assured that everything significant, honest and truthful which its talent creates will be supported by the party and evoke a grateful response in the hearts of Soviet people.

We are approaching the 40th anniversary of the Soviet people's victory in the Great Patriotic War. As it enters life, each new generation turns its gaze toward the sources of that victory, for civic and political maturity is inseparable from the country's history, from its heroic pages. Soviet patriotism has always been one of the greatest spiritual gains of our system. And we must preserve and multiply this feature with particular care and party attention, for there is no loftier sentiment than love of one's homeland and loyalty to internationalist duty.

It is the people's vibrant creativity, Mikhail Gorbachev said in conclusion, that guarantees the success of all our undertakings. We have very much to do to raise our socialist society to a new and higher stage and meet the 27th congress of the Leninist party in a fitting manner.

Pravda, December 11, 1984

from the press

In Spite of the Fascist Dictatorship's Repression

Meeting of the CC Political Commission, Paraguayan Communist Party

A recent meeting of the PCP CC Political Commission noted that the political situation in the country is developing in line with the party's assessments and forecasts, and that the democratic and revolutionary movement continues to grow despite the repression of the fascist dictatorship of General Alfredo Stroessner. It was emphasized that the situation in the world continues to deteriorate and that this makes it particularly necessary to oppose resolutely the aggressive, war-mongering and reactionary policy of U.S. imperialism and its NATO allies. Analyzing the party's work, the Political Commission highly assessed the successes achieved, pointed to shortcomings and weaknesses, and formulated the most important tasks: to strengthen the party ranks, tighten its links with the masses and firmly apply its course of uniting all anti-dictatorial forces without exception so as to put an end to the dictatorship and open the road toward national liberation and social emancipation.

The Political Commission considered the new aspects of domestic situation and the significance of the street demonstrations, in which the masses, irrespective of party affiliation, put forward very radical slogans, such as: "End the Military Dictatorship!", "Down with the Dictator Stroessner", "Bread, Jobs, Freedom, and the Return of Those in Exile!" These actions indicate that subjective conditions are forming for democratic change. These conditions are also being promoted by the acute worsening of the economic crisis, the greater dissatisfaction with the low earnings, and the rise in unemployment, all of which results from the country's dependence on imperialism and a backward socio-

economic structure which needs to be profoundly transformed.

The recent broadening of the National Concord* program to include economic and political demands of the workers, peasants, students, national bourgeoisie and other strata creates more favorable conditions for unity of action toward common goals by the progressive forces that want to see the country democratized. At the same time, the participants in the National Concord have made no progress in expanding the social composition of their coalition, and stubbornly persist in their exclusive sectarian position, thereby weakening resistance to the pressure of the dictatorship and U.S. imperialism.

Though deep underground, our party has been stepping up its activity. Many new cells, regional commissions and sections have been set up, and the work in other areas is developing. But the party's growing influence makes it necessary to overcome certain organizational weaknesses, strengthen its contacts with the masses and its allies, make firmer its contacts with the revolutionary youth, and intensify the work to increase its ranks primarily at the large industrial enterprises and in places where the peasant population is concentrated. The communists must constantly expand the distribution of *Adelante* newspaper, study and assimilate the party line with a firm resolve to win, launch a campaign to recruit members to the PCP, and unswervingly continue to struggle to find out what has happened to the

*A union set up in 1978 by Paraguay's legal opposition forces and including the Revolutionary Febrerist, Authentic Liberal Radical and Christian-Democratic parties and the Colorado Popular Movement. — Ed.

"disappeared" and to attain the release of all political detainees and the return of the political exiles. There is a need to prepare the party for new major

and organized battles to bring down the dictatorship and replace it with a democratic government.

Adelante, October 20, 1984

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