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Mikhail Gorbachev's Replies to Questions from *Time Magazine*

The U.S. *Time* magazine asked the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev to reply to a number of questions and also to receive Henry A. Grunwald, the editor-in-chief of Time Inc., Ray Cave, the managing editor of *Time* magazine, Richard Duncan, the chief of correspondents, and James O. Jackson, the magazine's Moscow Bureau chief. The conversation took place on August 28.

Below are Mikhail Gorbachev's replies and his conversation with the American journalists:

Question: How would you characterize U.S.-Soviet relations at this juncture, and what are the primary events that are defining that relationship?

Answer: Had you asked me this question some two months ago, I would have said the situation in our relations was becoming somewhat better and that some hopes of positive shifts were appearing.

To my deep regret, I could not say that today.

The truth should be faced squarely. Despite the negotiations that have begun in Geneva and the agreement to hold a summit meeting, relations between our two countries are continuing to deteriorate, the arms race is intensifying and the war threat is not subsiding. What is the matter? Why is all this happening? My colleagues and I are quite exacting and self-critical when it comes to our own activities not only in this country but also outside it and we are asking ourselves again and again if that is somehow connected with our actions.

But what is there that we can reproach ourselves with in this context? In this critical situation Moscow is trying to practice restraint in its pronouncements about the United States; it is not resorting to anti-American campaigns, nor is it fomenting hatred for your country. We believe it very important that even in times of political aggravation the feeling of traditional respect harbored by Soviet people for the American people should not be injured, and, as far as I can judge, that feeling is largely a mutual one.

And is it bad that when the disarmament negotiations have resumed and preparations are underway for a first summit in six years, we are persistently seeking ways to break the vicious circle and bring the process of arms limitation out of the dead end? In particular, that is precisely the objective of our moratorium on nuclear explosions and of our proposals to the United States to join it and to resume the negotiations on a complete ban on nuclear tests as well as of the proposals regarding peaceful cooperation and the prevention of an arms race in space. We are convinced that we should look for a way out of the current difficult situation together.

It is hard therefore to understand why our proposals have provoked such outspoken displeasure on the part of responsible U.S. statesmen. Attempts have been made to portray them as nothing but pure propaganda.

Anyone even slightly familiar with the matter would easily see that behind our proposals there are most serious intentions and not just an attempt to influence public opinion. All real efforts to limit nuclear weapons began with a ban on tests — just recall the 1963 treaty that was a first major step in that direction. A complete end to nuclear tests would halt

the nuclear arms race in the most dangerous area, that of qualitative improvement, and it would also seriously contribute to maintaining and strengthening the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

If all that we are doing is indeed viewed as mere propaganda, why not respond to it according to the principle of "an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth?" We have stopped nuclear explosions. Then you Americans could take revenge by doing likewise. You could deal us yet another propaganda blow, say, by suspending the development of one of your new strategic missiles. And we would respond with the same kind of "propaganda." And so on and so forth. Would anyone be harmed by competition in such "propaganda?" Of course, it could not be a substitute for a comprehensive arms limitation agreement but it would, no doubt, be a significant step leading to such an agreement.

The U.S. administration has regrettably taken a different road. In response to our moratorium it defiantly hastened to set off yet another nuclear explosion, as if to spite everyone. And to our proposals concerning a peaceful space, it responded with a decision to conduct a first operational test of an anti-satellite weapon. As if that were not enough, it has also launched another "campaign of hatred" against the USSR.

What kind of impression does all this make? On the one hand, that of some kind of confusion and uncertainty in Washington. The only way I can explain this is anxiety lest our initiatives should wreck the version of the Soviet Union being the "focus of evil" and the source of universal danger which in fact underlies the entire arms race policy. On the other hand, there is an impression of a shortage of responsibility for the destinies of the world. And this, frankly speaking, gives rise again and again to the question whether it is at all possible in such an atmosphere to conduct business in a normal way and to build rational relations between countries.

You asked me what is the primary thing that defines Soviet-U.S. relations. I think it is the immutable fact that whether we like one another or not, we can either survive or perish only together. The principal question which we must answer is whether we are at last ready to recognize that there is no other way but to live at peace with each other and whether we are prepared to switch our mentality and our mode of acting from a warlike to a peaceful track. As you say, live and let live. We call it peaceful co-existence. As for the Soviet Union, we answer that question in the affirmative.

Question: What do you think will be the results of your Geneva meeting with President Reagan in November?

What specific actions should the U.S. and the Soviet Union take to improve their bilateral relations?

Answer: In fact, I have already set forth the reasons why today I look at the prospects of the Geneva meeting with more caution than I did at the time we agreed to hold that meeting. Its outcome, after all, will depend to a great extent upon what is taking place now.

Everyone would probably agree that the political atmosphere for talks takes shape well in advance. Neither the President nor I will be able to ignore the mood in our respective countries or that of our allies. In other words, actions today largely determine the "scenario" for our November discussions.

I will not hide from you my disappointment and concern about what is happening now. We cannot but be troubled by the approach which, as I see it, has begun to emerge in Washington — both from its practical policy and from the statements made by responsible White House staffers. That is a scenario of pressure, of attempts to drive us into a corner, to ascribe to us, as so many times in the past, every mortal sin — from unleashing an arms race to "aggression" in the Middle East, from violations of human rights to some scheming or other even in South Africa. This is not a state policy, it is a feverish search for "forces of evil."

We are prepared to have a meaningful and businesslike talk. We can also present claims: I wish to assure the readers of this magazine that we have something to say about the United States being responsible for the nuclear arms race, and about its conduct in various regions of the world, and support to those who in effect engage in terrorism, and about violations of human rights in America itself, as well as in many countries close to it. But here is what I am thinking about: Is it worthwhile for the sake of that to set up a summit meeting with which our nations and people on all continents associate their hopes for peace, and for a secure and tranquil life? Abusive words are no help in a good cause.

I see the concept of such an important meeting differently. We in Moscow, naturally, are well aware of how profound is all that divides us. Looking at what U.S. political leaders have been saying in recent years, we could not disregard statements we do not agree with and which, frankly speaking, in many cases we are indignant about, but at the same time we have not lost hope that, after all, points of contact, areas of common or parallel interests can be found. Indeed, there are reasons for this. Take, for example, the statements to the effect that nuclear war must not be waged and that it cannot be won, or that the United States is not seeking military superiority. In other words, I have been reckoning on having an honest and unbiased conversation imbued with a desire to find a way leading back from the edge of the nuclear precipice. To discuss not myths and stereotypes of which we have had enough, but the real problems, the real interests of our countries, our future and the future of the entire world community.

But there is every indication that the other side is now preparing for something quite different. It looks as if the stage is being set for a bout between some

kind of political "supergladiators" with the only thought in mind being how best to deal a deft blow at the opponent and score an extra point in this "bout." What is striking about this is both the form and the content of some statements. The recent "lecture" of Mr. McFarlane is a case in point. It contains not only the full "set of accusations" we are to be charged with in Geneva but also what I would call a very peculiar interpretation of the upcoming negotiations. It appears that even the slightest headway depends exclusively upon concessions by the Soviet Union, concessions on all questions — on armaments, on regional problems and even on our own domestic affairs.

If all this is meant seriously, then manifestly Washington is preparing not for the event we have agreed upon. The summit meeting is designed for negotiations, for negotiations on the basis of equality, and not for signing an act of someone's capitulation. This is all the more true since we have not lost a war to the United States, or even a battle, and we owe it absolutely nothing. Nor, for that matter, does the United States owe us.

But if the bellicose outcries are not meant seriously, then they are all the more inappropriate. Why flex muscles needlessly? Why stage noisy shows and transfer the methods of domestic political struggles to the relations between two nuclear powers? In them the language of strength is useless and dangerous. There is still time before the summit meeting and quite a lot can be done to make it constructive and useful. But this, as you will understand, depends on both sides.

Question: What is your view of the Strategic Defense Initiative research program in the context of U.S.-Soviet relations? Can you envisage a mutual agreement prohibiting the development of such systems, and what kinds of verification would the Soviet Union agree to in such a case? If an agreement cannot be reached what do you foresee in other aspects of arms control?

Answer: Responding to the critics of the so-called Strategic Defense Initiative, official Washington likes to advance an argument it believes to be a clincher — it is after all the Russians that oppose Star Wars. If this is so, then it has to be a good and proper program. But if this logic is followed in the nuclear age, a rather gloomy future awaits us.

Our approach, and I hope that of many Americans, to this question is different. There are, we believe, situations in which both sides are losers. They are nuclear war, the arms race and international tensions. And, accordingly, there are situations in which both sides are winners. These are peace and cooperation, equal security and elimination of fear of a nuclear catastrophe.

As to the evaluation of the Star Wars program, we cannot take in earnest the assertions that SDI would guarantee invulnerability from nuclear attack weapons, thus leading to the elimination of nuclear weapons. In the opinion of our experts (and, to my knowledge, of many of yours), this is sheer fantasy. However, even on a much more modest scale at which the Strategic Defense Initiative, according to experts, can be implemented as an anti-missile defense system of limited capabilities, SDI is very

dangerous. This project will, no doubt, whip up the arms race in all areas, which means that the threat of war will increase. That is why this project is bad for us and for you and for everybody in general.

From the same point of view we approach what is called the SDI research program. First of all, we do not consider it to be a research program. In our view, it is the first stage of the project to develop a new ABM system prohibited under the relevant treaty of 1972. Just think of the scale of it alone — \$70 billion to be earmarked for the next few years. That is an incredible amount for pure research, as emphasized even by U.S. scientists as well. The point is that in today's prices those appropriations are more than four times the cost of the Manhattan project (the program for development of nuclear weapons) and more than double the cost of the Apollo program that provided for the development of space research for a whole decade — up to the landing of man on the moon. That this is far from being a pure research program is also confirmed by other facts, including tests scheduled for space strike weapons systems.

That is why the entire SDI program and its so-called research component are a new and even more dangerous round of the arms race which will inevitably lead to a further aggravation of Soviet-U.S. relations. To preclude this it is necessary, as was agreed in January 1985 by the USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs and the U.S. Secretary of State, to prevent an arms race in space. We are confident that such an agreement is possible and verifiable. (I have to point out that we trust the Americans no more than they trust us and that is why we are interested in reliable verification of any agreement as much as they are.)

Without such an agreement it will not be possible to reach an agreement on the limitation and reduction of nuclear weapons either. The interrelationship between defensive and offensive arms is so obvious as to require no proof. Thus, if the present U.S. position on space weapons is its last word, the Geneva negotiations, and one has to be forthright about it, will lose any meaning.

Question: Since the time you have become General Secretary you have made several steps to improve the Soviet economy. Couldn't you tell us about the further steps you propose to take? What in your view are the main problems of the Soviet economy? What changes in the world economy could be beneficial to the Soviet Union?

Answer: Let me start with history. There are problems whose origin was beyond our control. The old regime left the Soviet government with a grim legacy: a backward economy, strong vestiges of feudalism, millions of illiterate people.

Add to this two devastating wars which ravaged a major part of our country, leaving in ashes and ruin much of what the work of the people had created. There were irreparable losses: twenty million perished during the years of the Great Patriotic War, with millions wounded and maimed. Forty years have passed but our people still preserve the sorrowful memories of the past, and of the bereavement they suffered. To heal the wounds inflicted upon human hearts and upon the land the Soviet people needed peace and nothing but peace.

It was often asserted in the West that it would take the USSR some fifty to one hundred years to restore all that had been destroyed as a result of the fascist invasion. Having restored their national economy in the shortest possible time, the Soviet people did what would have seemed the impossible. But the fact remains that after the Revolution we were forced to spend almost two decades, if not more, on wars and reconstruction.

Under those arduous conditions, using our system's potential, we have succeeded in making the Soviet Union a major economic world power. This has attested to the strength and the immense capabilities of socialism.

There are also difficulties of a different nature due to our own shortcomings and deficiencies. We make no secret of this. Sometimes we do not work well enough. We have not yet learned proper managerial skills as is required by a modern economy and warranted by our enormous capabilities, i.e., raw materials and skilled manpower resources, advanced science (especially fundamental science), the support and, as we can now see, the readiness and willingness of people to work better, to improve quality and efficiency.

The imperative of our time is to decisively improve the state of things. Hence the concept of accelerated social and economic development. Today it is our most important, top-priority task. Ways to accomplish the task have been determined following comprehensive discussion. We are planning to make better use of capital investments, to give priority to the development of such major industries as engineering, electrical engineering and electronics, energy production, transport and others. Attention remains focused also on the agro-industrial complex, especially as regards processing and storage of agricultural produce. In short, we will do all that is necessary to better meet demand in high-quality food products.

To improve the functioning of the national economy it will be necessary to further strengthen centralization in strategic areas of the economy through making individual branches, regions and elements of the economy more responsive to the needs of economic development. But at the same time we are seeking to strengthen democratic principles in management, to broaden the autonomy of production associations, enterprises, collective and state farms, to develop local economic self-management and to encourage initiative and a spirit of enterprise, naturally, in the interests of society and not to its detriment.

In short, we seek the most rational methods of managing the economy. Large-scale economic experiments are under way, that are aimed essentially at developing a more efficient mechanism of management that would dramatically accelerate the rate of scientific and technological progress, and make better use of all resources. Our objective is that in solving this task, all levers of material and moral incentives and such tools as profit, pricing, credit and self-sufficiency of enterprises should be put to work. That is the thrust of our work for radical

improvement in the entire system of management and planning.

In addition, we are bringing into play other potentials for speeding up economic development. I mean greater discipline and order, demanding more from everyone, from worker to minister, a drive against irresponsibility and red-tape, instilling labor ethics, ensuring greater social justice throughout the whole of society.

So we have enough economic problems and things to attend to, and indeed what country doesn't? We are aware of our problems and we are confident of the capabilities inherent in our social system and our country. I have recently visited various regions, had meetings with many people — workers and farmers, engineers and scientists. And what was common to all those meetings? Need for a drastic change, the necessity to radically improve performance are not only supported by the people, but are becoming their demands, the real imperative of our time.

I want to emphasize this: the attention we have recently been devoting to the economy is not due to an intention to set new records in producing metals, oil, cement, machine-tools or other products. The main thing is to make life better for people. There is no goal more important to us. This year alone the decision was made to raise the salaries of several categories of employees in public health and science, and of engineers and technicians, to improve the material status of a considerable number of retired people, to allocate annually free of charge about one million plots of land for planting orchards, for people to have what you call a "second home." We are planning many other steps as well. Their scope will, naturally, depend on progress in the economy. Of late, positive changes have become evident: the rates of industrial production and labor productivity have increased.

You ask what changes in the world economy could be of benefit to the Soviet Union. First of all, although this belongs more to politics than economics, an end to the arms race. We would prefer to use every ruble that today goes for defense in order to meet civilian, peaceful needs. As I understand, you in the United States could also make better use of the money consumed nowadays by arms production. This is not to speak of the problems generated by the budget deficit and public debt. The problems of other countries should also be taken into account. Insisting on cessation of the arms race, we also proceed from the belief that it is immoral to waste hundreds of billions on developing means of annihilation, while hundreds of millions of people go hungry and are deprived of elementary essentials. We, all of us, just have no right to ignore this situation.

As to the world economy, we are of the opinion that the Soviet Union, and other countries too, I believe, would benefit from a more stable general economic, monetary and financial situation, from an equitable solution to the problem of indebtedness, from progress toward a new economic order. And, of course, the removal of discriminatory restrictions, of all other obstacles to development of world trade, and further development of the international division of labor in which we and our friends and

allies intend to play a more active role. All nations of our planet would stand to gain from such changes. By way of example, the establishment of broad trade and economic relations between the Soviet Union and the United States would help create hundreds of thousands of new jobs in your country.

Question: The Soviet Union is anxious to gain better access to advanced technology developed in the U.S. How badly is this needed by the Soviet Union, and primarily for what purpose? If the U.S. does not provide greater access, where do you intend to turn to obtain this technology?

Answer: The very way you are framing the question gives food for thought. Indeed, is there anyone who is not anxious nowadays to gain access to advanced technology? Everyone is, including the U.S. — even primarily the U.S. I mean not only the legal purchase of licenses and science-intensive products or illegal industrial espionage. The U.S. practices its own specific methods as well. The brain drain, for example, and not only from Western Europe but also from the developing countries. Or take the activities of transnational corporations which through their subsidiaries are laying their hands on scientific and technological achievements of other countries. Now they are trying to use the so-called Star Wars research program for the same purpose.

As for the Soviet Union, it uses the achievements of foreign science and technology in a much more modest way. But we have never concealed our desire to participate on a broader scale in the international division of labor and to develop scientific and technological cooperation, all the more so since we are going to this "market" not as supplicants, not empty-handed.

Those selling the idea of the USSR allegedly being consumed with a thirst for U.S. technology forget who they are dealing with and what the Soviet Union is today. Having won technological independence after the Revolution, it has long been enjoying the status of a great scientific and technological power. This enabled us to make it through World War Two, to blaze the trail in space and to undertake space research on a large scale, to acquire a reliable defense potential, and on the whole, to successfully develop the country's productive forces. Incidentally, how are we to understand the following inconsistency in the U.S. reasoning? To substantiate increased military spending, all they do in the U.S. is talk about the fantastic achievements of the USSR in the field of technology. When, on the other hand, they need an excuse for prohibitive measures, they portray us as a backward country of yokels with which to trade and to cooperate would mean undermining one's own "national security." So where is the truth? What is one to believe?

We speak openly about our dissatisfaction with the scientific and technological level of this or that type of product. Yet we are counting on accelerating scientific and technological progress not through "a transfer of technology" from the U.S. to the USSR, but through "transfusions" of the most advanced ideas, discoveries and innovations from Soviet science to Soviet industry and agriculture, through more effective use of our own scientific and tech-

nological potential. That is the thrust of our plans and programs. At the same time, we would, naturally, not like to forego those additional advantages which are provided by reciprocal scientific and technological cooperation with other countries including the United States.

The 1970s have seen fairly broad development of such cooperation in the energy field, including nuclear power, in chemistry, space research, cardiology, oncology, and other fields. The benefit was mutual and U.S. scientists are well aware of it. This cooperation has by now come to naught. We regret it, but let me assure you that we will manage because we have first-class science of our own, and because the United States is far from having a monopoly on scientific and technological achievements.

By the way, the U.S., being aware of this, is trying to apply growing pressure on its allies so that they should not trade with us in science-intensive products either. What is more, the United States, under the very same "national security" pretext, places a ban on deliveries of some types of such products to Western Europe, too, and ever more frequently denies access to U.S. laboratories and scientific symposiums to representatives of Western Europe.

This is, of course, intended to cause damage to us. But it is not the only objective. The bogey of a "Soviet threat" is also used more and more broadly by the United States in its competitive struggle with its allies to slow down their scientific and technological progress and thus to undermine their competitiveness in the world market. Those designs are becoming increasingly clear. But I do not think that others will put up with the status of non-equal partners who would serve as a source of technology while being restricted to a subsistence diet themselves. Overall, this is a short-sighted and futile practice.

Yet I would not wish to end our interview on a negative note. It is quite obvious that should such two countries as the United States and the USSR, with their immense scientific and technological potentials, cooperate in this area on an equitable basis, this would benefit, beside our two peoples, the whole world.

I should like to take this opportunity to convey to the readers of your magazine wishes of good endeavor, happiness and a peaceful future. On behalf of the Soviet leadership and the Soviet people, I would like once again to tell all Americans the most important thing they must know: war will not come from the Soviet Union. We will never start war.

MIKHAIL GORBACHEV: I would like to express some views which, I believe, are of much importance for a correct understanding of the problems dealt with in the written answers.

I must say that lately I have got quite a number of requests for statements and interviews from the mass media of various countries. Why was the decision taken to respond to the request put in by *Time* magazine?

When I read your questions I felt that the very wording of these questions reflected a concern about the nature of relations that are now taking shape

between our two countries. It is not often that representatives of U.S. political and other circles express alarm on this score. I thought that this aspect of the questions that were presented to me (if I understood it correctly) is a very important element.

Then there is yet another reason, a no less important one. It is connected with our assessment of the present-day situation in the world. This situation is complex and tense, and I would even say explosive. Besides, it has a tendency toward further deterioration. I will not speak here about the causes of this process. You know very well our viewpoint on this matter. I would rather reply to the question of where we all are at present, in what kind of a world we are living. I would not like to overdramatize the situation. But I intend to be frank with you because much depends on the assessment of the situation by both sides. We hold that when we deal with leaders of such powers as the United States and the USSR, their analyses of the situation and their practical policy should be permeated with an awareness of the tremendous responsibility that rests upon them before their own peoples and the whole of mankind.

Today it is a reality that the level of development of science and technology can lead to an entirely new situation, the beginning of an entirely new stage in the arms race. I tried frankly to reply to your questions and I ask you not to treat my replies as a new portion of "propaganda." For it is a fact that already now it is very difficult for the United States and the Soviet Union to come to terms, to take some steps toward each other — so great is mutual mistrust. And if the arms race enters a new stage, if the latest achievements of science and technology are utilized for these aims, will not one of the sides feel tempted to use the imagined superiority over the other side in order to get a free reign and make the fatal step? A very responsible stage.

But however acute our bilateral relations are, some restraints nevertheless continue to operate today — the existence of military-strategic parity that ensures for both sides a certain degree of security, the ABM Treaty, the SALT II Treaty that is being observed in practice, the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, the treaty banning nuclear weapons tests in three environments. These restraints are in operation and exert their influence. But, as is known, attempts to undermine them are already being made: forces have been brought into play that strive to remove these restraints that impede a further escalation of the arms race.

Were all these restraining factors to vanish, the competition in the development of ever newer types of weapons would proceed on an unprecedented scale, since all the steps taken here by one side would be countered by steps taken by the other side. The appearance of a poison is followed by the appearance of an antidote — that is the lesson of history that must not be ignored.

What then will we arrive at?

I would put it this way: time is running out, the train might leave the station if we do not act fast enough. And this is the second reason for my consent to reply to the questions of *Time* magazine.

All people want to live, nobody wants to die. So it

is necessary to muster political courage and stop the development of this sinister process. It is necessary to stop the arms race, to start disarmament and the improvement of relations.

I have already had the opportunity to state, during the conversation with the delegation of the United States Congress headed by speaker O'Neill in Moscow, that we are emphatically for an improvement of Soviet-U.S. relations. Such is the viewpoint of our leadership. We draw sober realistic conclusions from the obtaining situation. It is an indisputable fact that we not merely call for an improvement of the situation, for an improvement of relations, but we also make concrete proposals and also take, on our part, practical steps in that direction. It is only natural that in doing so we count on an appropriate response of the American side.

Regrettably, in response to all our attempts to escape the vicious circle of the arms race and mutual suspicion we hear only a negative answer: "No! No! No! It's Propaganda, Propaganda, Propaganda!" But that really is not the way serious politicians conduct themselves in respect to their opposite numbers.

Nevertheless we hold that all that we have heard from Washington about the latest steps of the Soviet Union, including our proposals designed to get off the mark the talks on the non-militarization of space, on strategic nuclear arms and on medium-range arms, our decision to end nuclear explosions, etc., is not the final say of the U.S. administration. We hope for this.

Gentlemen, I regard this part of our conversation, when we are talking here looking each other in the eyes, as the most important one. We hope that the American public will be clearly and conscientiously informed of our understanding of the situation obtaining in the world and in Soviet-U.S. relations, our understanding of how one must act in this situation.

Our countries simply cannot afford to allow matters to reach a confrontation. Herein lies the genuine interest of both the Soviet and American peoples. And this must be expressed in the language of effective politics. It is necessary to stop the arms race, to tackle disarmament, to switch Soviet-U.S. relations onto a normal track. Honestly, it is time to make these relations between the two great peoples worthy of their historic role. For the destiny of the world, the destiny of world civilization really depends on their relations. We for our part are prepared to work in this direction.

The situation is acquiring special acuteness also because the political atmosphere in Washington, judging by the information that reaches us, is being fanned up further every day. Statements are being made that cannot but give rise to surprise and indignation.

The White House and some representatives of the U.S. administration are intimating that any accords with the Soviet Union on the limitation of the arms race are out of the question. The most on what one can count, they declare, is the mutual acquaintance of the leaders of the two countries and the drafting of an agenda for discussion in the coming years and

even decades. For example, an interview by such representatives of the U.S. administration as Michael Armacost and John Tower published a couple of days ago, is couched in this spirit. In short, everything is being done to ward off in advance any possibility of accords between the United States and the USSR on ending the arms race and preventing the militarization of outer space. It is stated in Washington with utter frankness: whatever the Soviet Union does, the United States under all circumstances will create strike space weapons and anti-satellite systems. That's what I call nailing something. First they break off the nailheads and then want somebody to pull them out with his teeth!

What is to be done in such a situation? It is necessary to stop this process. That will be in the interests of both the Soviet Union and the United States.

Countless attempts have been made in the past to bring the Soviet Union to its knees, to exhaust it. All that failed and all such attempts will fail in the future as well.

As to us, we are not declaring the United States an "evil empire." We know what the United States is, what the American people are, and what their role is in the world. We stand for a new, better stage in our relations. But if it comes to a qualitatively new stage of the arms race, which I have referred to, this goal will be all the harder to achieve, if it is possible at all. That is why we are calling upon the United States seriously to reach an agreement with us on strategic nuclear arms, on medium-range arms and on problems of outer space.

Well, it seems I have said what was most important. I would like now to hand over to you the signed text of my replies to the questions of *Time* magazine so that nobody could accuse you of printing anonymous replies. (Laughter) Please note: the cover is green so there is not even a hint of the export of revolution! (Laughter)

HENRY GRUNWALD: Mr. General Secretary, we are extremely happy to be here to get this interview and specifically for the reasons you have stated why you chose to convey these thoughts to the American public. You have given us your time generously. We are concerned about U.S.-Soviet relations, very much so, but we are not alone in that concern.

You have spoken just now about "certain people" in Washington who seem to you to be trying to undermine the progress of U.S.-Soviet relations, but President Reagan himself has said on a number of occasions that he feels no hostility toward the Soviet Union, that he is striving for better relations with the USSR and that he is not seeking unilateral advantage or superiority over the Soviet Union. How do you take these assurances from the President? Do you accept them? More broadly, what are your impressions so far of President Reagan?

MIKHAIL GORBACHEV: To a certain extent I have already mentioned this in the written replies. We took note of a number of the President's positive pronouncements in 1983 and 1984, including in his speech at the United Nations. We took note of his remarks that nuclear war is impermissible and that there will be no victors in it. This is very important.

We also paid due attention to his statement that the United States was not seeking military superiority over the USSR. These and other positive elements in the President's remarks, as it appears to us, offer the possibility jointly to cast a glance on the future, to overcome the present negative phase in our relations. We believe that it is still possible to set many things right by meeting each other half way. That is why we consented to hold the meeting with the President in Geneva. That, again is why we react so acutely to what is being said today in Washington in connection with that meeting. As an American woman journalist put it, it is intended to work up the American public to such a state that even if the only thing to come out of the summit was an agreement to exchange ballet troupes, then even so people will be gleeful and happy.

We are in a serious mood and are preparing serious proposals for that meeting regardless of what is said by right-wingers and other personalities around President Reagan. We would not have agreed to the meeting if we did not believe in the possibility of its positive outcome. That is our position.

You have also asked about my personal opinion of the President. I have not met with him and it is hard for me to give you any human impressions, but politically we proceed from the premise that the President was elected by the U.S. people, which is respected by our people, and we are prepared to do business with him.

HENRY GRUNWALD: I would like to ask a question concerning space weapons. In your written replies to our questions and in the conversation with us you said the Soviet Union wished to reach accords in three areas — strategic offensive arms, medium-range nuclear arms and space arms. Yet, from the commentary that one reads coming from Moscow there seems to be really no room for talks on the problem of space weapons because the only thing you want with regard to them is to stop them, even to stop all research. So I want to ask if the Soviet Union is prepared to conduct talks on space weapons? For it is known that you too have conducted and are conducting extensive research in this field and, therefore, evidently realize that it is impossible to stop this activity entirely on the strength of talks. One can only reach accord on some agreed-upon levels or limits.

MIKHAIL GORBACHEV: A very fundamental question. If there is no ban on the militarization of space, if an arms race in space is not prevented, nothing else will be at all. That is our firm position, and it is based on our highly responsible assessment that takes into account both our interests and those of the United States. We are prepared to negotiate but not about space weapons, or about what specific types of these weapons could be deployed in space. We are prepared to negotiate on preventing an arms race in outer space.

In Geneva the Soviet Union proposed that agreement be reached to ban the development, including research, testing and deployment, of strike space weapons. It is necessary for a ban to embrace all stages of the birth of this new class of armaments. Research, indeed, is a part of the program to develop

space weapons. So when we see that the United States appropriates tens of billions of dollars for this research, it is absolutely clear to us what the real plans of the authors of these programs are, and what is the eventual goal of the policy on the deployment of weapons in space that stems from these programs.

When we speak about research and the need to ban it, we naturally do not mean fundamental science. This research is going on and, obviously, will continue. What we mean are projects in the USA carried out under assignments and contracts of the Pentagon, particularly those which have reached a point when there are bound to appear models and experimental prototypes and when out-of-laboratory, field experiments and tests are to be conducted — in short, when everything necessary for the subsequent stage of designing and producing respective systems is being done. When the United States asks us if it is possible to verify compliance with an appropriate ban, we say it is. Verification through national technical means is possible at the stage I have just described. If we now can discern car number plates from space, we will most certainly be able to monitor out-of-laboratory, field tests. The main point here is that if the process is stopped as early as in the initial phase of the so-called research, any interest in the subsequent stages of the development of space weapons will evaporate. Who will then be willing to squander resources?

However, if tens of billions of dollars are spent on research, no one, naturally, would like to stop half way. And when weapons are ultimately placed in space, the process will get out of hand altogether and we will reach, as I have already said, a situation the consequences of which it is even impossible to predict.

And you can be certain that the other side will not be sitting on its hands.

Talk about a purely research character of the SDI is basically meant to conceal the extensive process of the development of space-based weapons systems.

The very fact that the United States is now planning to test already second-generation ASAT systems is fraught with serious consequences. We will have to react to this adequately. In fact, what it amounts to is the testing of certain components of a space-based ABM system. Moreover, we have to reckon with Washington's negative response to our proposal that the USA join our moratorium on nuclear explosions.

The U.S. government refuses to stop tests also because it needs them to develop the nuclear element for laser-based ABM systems. But these are components of a future space-based ABM system. And what if the program is put into top gear? Let America think seriously about the consequences of this.

Perhaps, someone in the USA thinks that there has appeared a possibility to forge ahead of us, to bring pressure to bear on the Soviet Union. But this is an illusion. It has not been achieved in the past, and it will not be achieved now. We will find a response, and quite an adequate one at that. But then all the talks will be buried and I do not know

when it will be possible to return to them. Perhaps, this prospect is to the liking of the U.S. military-industrial complex but we, anyway, are not going to play into its hands.

Our proposals are meeting the interests of both the Soviet people and the people of the USA. And this is precisely what rile representatives of the military-industrial complex most of all. And, one must say, there are many of them in the USA, quite a few in the government, too, and we feel that, of course. But I must say that we have a huge reserve of constructiveness. We will continue to invite the U.S. government to take a different approach. Great opportunities would then be opened in the field of strategic nuclear arms and medium-range systems alike and the way would be clear for a serious process of improving relations between our countries and for resolving other international problems.

When I was in Dnepropetrovsk recently, a worker asked me: Now, what are these Star Wars plans made by President Reagan? Won't the USA deceive us? I replied: Don't worry, we will not let ourselves be deceived. But if our partners in the talks show readiness to look for mutually acceptable solutions, we will make every effort to reciprocate.

I think our position is humane and unselfish: it fully meets the interests of the Soviet Union, the USA, and all other peoples as well.

Don't you Americans have any better use for your money? We know that you have your own problems which must be solved. Perhaps, we do not know them as well as we do ours — but we do know them.

RAY CAVE: I would like to ask two questions. I have sensed in your words concern over certain events related to U.S. statements and actions during the past few weeks. I have in mind, specifically, the announcement of the forthcoming ASAT tests and also the very strange case of chemicals with which Americans were supposedly dusted in Moscow. Apparently, these two events could hardly be considered helpful in terms of intensive preparations for the forthcoming Soviet-U.S. summit. Have these two events come as a surprise to you and have they seriously damaged summit preparations?

MIKHAIL GORBACHEV: As for preparations for the Geneva summit, I can assure you that we are seriously preparing for it, attaching immense importance to that meeting, and pinning serious hopes on it. True, we happen to hear pronouncements of our counterparts which show that Washington attaches a more modest importance to the summit, characterizes it as a mere "get acquainted" meeting and a possibility to draw up an agenda for some future, remote talks. But it is too great a luxury for the leaders of two such states as the Soviet Union and the USA to go to Geneva merely to get acquainted and then admire Lake Geneva and the Swiss Alps. When the international situation is so tense, it would be an unpardonable luxury.

In short, we are seriously preparing for the meeting and will do everything possible for it to yield tangible results for the improvement of relations between the Soviet Union and the USA.

RAY CAVE: In a magazine article to be released this weekend, former President Nixon says that an

agreement limiting or reducing arms, but not linked to restraints on political conduct, would not contribute to peace. In effect he is saying that the first priority of a summit should not be arms control, but potential flash points and pressure points between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. Do you share that view?

MIKHAIL GORBACHEV: It was interesting to hear from you about Mr. Nixon's viewpoint. As for specific issues we will discuss with President Reagan in Geneva, we are working on them in contact with the U.S. Department of State and the White House. This is an ongoing process and I would not like at this point to go into details.

But I have associations of a different nature with Nixon's name. There was a time when, despite a complex situation, we managed to find possibilities and ways for developing cooperation with the U.S. government under Nixon. Very important decisions were taken at that time.

Recall the 1960s. The international situation was not relaxed at that time either. But it was in 1963 that a very important treaty banning nuclear tests in the three environments, still effective today, was concluded.

All this belongs to history. But history is good when its lessons are not wasted. So now we must look at the situation from responsible positions of statesmanship and find ways to improve the situation and to put right Soviet-U.S. relations.

HENRY GRUNWALD: I wonder if we could venture one or two personal questions. You have started a quite new style of politics in the Soviet Union. You have gone out and met many people, mingled with workers, and been very visible. Do you enjoy this kind of activity? What benefits do you see deriving from it?

MIKHAIL GORBACHEV: First, it was not I who invented this style. V.I. Lenin taught us this style. He spoke on quite a few occasions about the need to live in the midst of the masses, to lend an ear to them, sense their sentiments and reflect their aspirations in practical policy. So the priority in this belongs to V.I. Lenin, and such personalities appear once in a century.

Second, this practice is nothing new to me. I did that when I was working in the Stavropol Territory, and here, in Moscow, before I was elected to my present post. Many people among us work in the same way. Perhaps, the press is now giving more publicity to it, is giving a wider covering of my trips and meetings with people.

On the whole, we have a need for precisely such a style of activity. We are faced with problems, and rather big ones, too. They should be solved in a new way. In the course of recent years we have been analyzing the present stage of our development, and there is a need to familiarize the working people with the conclusions at which we arrived, to see the people's attitude to them, and then submit them to the up-coming congress of our Party.

So the point is not whether I like this style or not, but rather that it is impossible to work in a different way now if we wish to achieve practical results in the policy we have worked out.

HENRY GRUNWALD: A very frank question. You have proposed very deep changes in Soviet society and have already replaced quite a number of officials. One assumes you will replace quite a number more. Are people afraid of you?

MIKHAIL GORBACHEV: I don't think so. What is being done in our country now has not been conceived by me alone. This reflects a common view of our entire leadership. We are convinced that we are doing the right thing. These problems are ripe for a solution and must be resolved. The main conclusion at which one arrives as a result of talking with people is that our proposals and practical steps are ardently supported. What is more, in the Party and among the population at large, there is the desire to act at a still faster pace. We hold that it is necessary to show courage and resolution, but at the same time also caution. We will continue acting in the spirit of high responsibility to our people. And people demand from us a firm policy, so that words should not differ from deeds. So we are under strict control in this sense. And the fact that we are now acting in an atmosphere of greater openness emphasizes our democracy still more. So it is not a matter of people being afraid. Quite the contrary, they welcome our approach.

I don't want you, however, to think that I am

trying to present everything in a rosy light. A profound process is taking place in the country. It requires much readjustment from all of us. Naturally, this affects people, personnel, has a bearing on the work methods of everyone. So the replacement of some workers does not mean that we have an extraordinary situation. This is a natural process and it is bad when this process stops.

So the matter is not that some or other personnel changes reflect some kind of political struggle around the questions we are solving now. We believe that readjustment is required from everyone and everywhere — from us, in the republics, in the regions, in every work collective. This will, naturally, require vast efforts from the Party. But since the line we took reflects the ripe needs, it is resolutely supported by our people. This gives us confidence that we are acting correctly.

In conclusion I would like to express an idea which can be regarded as cardinal to our entire conversation. It was said justly that the foreign policy is a continuation of the home policy. If that is so, I would ask you to ponder the following: since we are making such challenging domestic plans, what external conditions must we be interested in? I leave the answer to that question with you.

Pravda, September 2, 1985

Unfading Traditions of Labor Exploit

Speech by Mikhail Gorbachev at a Meeting with Veterans of the Stakhanov Movement and Winners of the All-Union Socialist Emulation Held at the CPSU CC on September 20, 1985

The Stakhanov movement is a glorious chapter in the chronicle of the Soviet state. It vividly embodied the immense constructive possibilities of socialism, the revolutionary, innovatory spirit of the working class who, having mastered the advanced technology of that time, effected a breakthrough on the entire front of scientific and technological progress. The half-century which has passed since Alexei Stakhanov's history-making record has proved the abiding significance of the patriotic movement initiated by him.

The traditions of the heroes of the first five-year plan periods are befittingly developed by their heirs — the front-rank workers and innovators in all the spheres of the socialist economy who, in response to the party's call, spare no effort to effect a labor breakthrough, equally mass but on a larger scale, in the sphere of intensification of the national economy and acceleration of scientific and technological progress.

On September 20, a large group of veterans of the Stakhanov movement and of winners of the nation-wide socialist emulation was invited to the CPSU Central Committee.

The meeting was addressed by Mikhail Gorbachev. His speech is printed below.

Dear comrades,

On behalf of the Central Committee of the party, let me wholeheartedly greet you, the veteran workers who stood at the source of the Stakhanov movement which embodied the valor, honor and heroism of the working person, and also front-rankers and innovators of production who have been worthily keeping up the unfading traditions of that labor exploit.

We have a good occasion for this meeting. Half a century has passed since Stakhanov's pioneering effort sparked off a movement of millions of working people. I think it will be proper for us not only to recall the exciting events of those days but also to take counsel about how best to use the mobilizing

potential of socialist emulation for resolving the current problems that brook no delay.

The Stakhanov movement has been one of great and abiding significance. It was a clear demonstration, as V.I. Lenin sagaciously saw in the experience of the early Communist subbotniks, of "... the conscious and voluntary initiative of the workers in developing the productivity of labor, in adopting a new labor discipline, in creating socialist conditions of economy and life."

What a profound and ample definition, comrades, and how consonant it is with the priorities we face at this turning point we have reached!

The Stakhanov movement got underway in unforgettable years. The new born Soviet state, lit-

erally racing ahead of time, was carrying through its industrialization program by leaps and bounds. It had to be quick in raising the efficiency of work, finding new forms of its organization, and making full use of the opportunities arising from technical reconstruction and from the renovation of the material base of production.

The Stakhanov movement reflected the new attitude to work which Maxim Gorky described as a fiery explosion of mass energy. That was a sweeping outburst of the creative powers of a young nation, its working class and peasantry. It did not come as a surprise, of course, it had been prepared by the entire evolution of a new type of social relations and by the purposeful work of the party.

To be a Stakhanovite, to work like Stakhanov — these are the symbols of initiative, of the struggle for progress and against everything that has become outdated and obsolete. The Stakhanov movement was both a social and a moral phenomenon which revealed the spiritual beauty of the new man. Pioneers of this movement became national heroes. They were a model for workers, farmers, intellectuals and young people to emulate, a guiding light to be followed.

I am saying this not only because I want to pay tribute to the past. When I look at the veteran Stakhanovites and the front-rank workers of today who are sitting in this hall, I can't help thinking of an organic continuity of our history and of socialist traditions. Today, people as well as technology are not what they were half a century ago, but the traditions of the Stakhanov movement have not become a thing of the past. The indomitable spirit of innovation and the traditions of the Stakhanovite trailblazers with their determination to use technology to maximum effect and their daring in breaking down antiquated practices and established psychological attitudes are particularly consonant with our times.

The party has now embarked upon a policy of speeding up the country's social and economic development and scientific and technological progress, of steadily enhancing discipline and order in everything we do. We are to make our economy more dynamic, intensify its development and ensure maximum growth of production efficiency. This policy fully meets or, to be more exact, reflects the aspirations and sentiments of our working people.

Our plans and our short- and long-term policy will be determined definitely by the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. However, we already have a general conception of the principal ways our overall economic development is to take in the twelfth five-year plan period and up to the beginning of the third millennium. We know what elements are decisive and where and how we should exert the biggest effort. During the next three five-year plan periods we are to ensure growth in industrial capacity equal to the potential built during all the preceding post-revolutionary years. Moreover, the kernel of the matter is that this should be accomplished through intensification of the economy.

Life itself has set this pace. It is prompted by the need to raise the Soviet people's standard of living

and maintain the country's defense at a level that absolutely guarantees the security of this country and its allies. In short, following the policy formulated by Lenin, we had to make a decisive historic choice; and the party has made it. It has set the task of bringing about a qualitatively new state of society through a considerable acceleration of social and economic progress. We shall go this way and we shall follow it unswervingly and consistently. Attention should now focus on practical follow-up of the measures outlined, on concrete work, on hard day-to-day work of everyone and all, from worker and farmer to expert, scientist and plant or industry manager.

I recently visited an oil- and gas-bearing region of Western Siberia and the virgin land areas of Kazakhstan. My conversations with workers and experts were serious and frank. The main conclusion one can draw from them is that Soviet workers, farmers, engineers and scientists are profoundly aware of their responsibility to the country in tackling the problems that face it. There is obvious understanding of the need not merely to go ahead but to make a real breakthrough along the entire frontline of scientific and technological progress and attain a turning-point in the development of the economy.

Against the background of these new tasks, people are becoming more active and keen about the need for change. They are looking for novel solutions to problems and for more effective methods of organizing socialist emulation. The mass initiatives launched by working people in recent years bear this out.

For example, work collectives in Moscow and Leningrad are striving to make the entire increase of the output a result of technical progress and maximum use of equipment. Machine-builders in the Ukraine have pledged to secure all output growth in the 12th five-year plan period without increasing either ferrous rolled stock consumption or the number of the workers employed. The steelworkers of the cities of Lipetsk, Nizni Taghil and Cherepovets are increasing output through improved use of the facilities and secondary resources, and through raising the quality of the product. Quite a few enterprises are obtaining high end results through improvements in the issuing of competence certificates and streamlining of work areas. The initiative of the work collectives that have decided to work for no less than two days this year on saved materials has generated support all over the country.

I would like to make special mention of the important initiative advanced by the Volzhskoye Auto Industry Association and approved by the CPSU Central Committee. In a nutshell, that work collective has drafted concrete proposals on raising the production efficiency and product quality figures much higher than envisaged in the targets for the 12th five-year plan period set by the ministry. It has been decided to drastically increase labor productivity and reduce the expenditure of metal per car and the amount of the fuel used. Meanwhile the guaranteed run of new makes of cars is to be increased by 50 percent. The work collective has asked for the incorporation of its proposals into the state plan.

As we can see, front-rank work collectives are now oriented above all on improving their performance. This means introducing new techniques and technologies, saving resources, fully meeting all contract obligations, and raising the production efficiency. You realize, of course, that I am listing only some of the aspects of emulation, since its experience is as rich and diversified as life itself.

Naturally, the emergence of the worker as a master of production, and his readiness to cope with the scale and novelty of the tasks of the day are another factor of paramount importance. For emulation is a major sphere in which the workers' creative activity develops, a major way for the Soviet citizen to self-fulfillment, to attain new heights and to display and gain social recognition of personal abilities, talents, and civic qualities.

In short, we have made headway, and the early results are already in evidence. But this is only the beginning of a major endeavor. Lying ahead of us are tasks of an enormous scale, to be fulfilled consistently and undeviatingly. They concern all spheres of life and call for a very high degree of responsibility on the part of all sectors of management. We shall keep firmly and unwaveringly to the course of reorienting economic managers in the spirit of the new approaches and demands put forward by the party.

But in the final analysis, comrades, success depends on the performance of work collectives — in production associations, industrial enterprises, workshops, teams, and at workplaces. The energy, intelligence and, I would say, integrity, honor and dedication of every worker are decisive here. Conscientious work for the common weal, strict observance of discipline, a sense of responsibility, initiative, and concern for the interests of the state as though they were one's own — these, in fact, are the demands everyone must meet.

For these purposes, all levers — economic and social — and all incentives — material and moral — should be brought into play. At the same time, I would like to specially stress the importance of the kind of incentives that cannot be measured in terms of money. Past and present experience shows how important it is to promptly notice, support and commend the conscientious work done by workers, collective farmers, experts and scientists — all who add to the glory of our homeland.

Those marching in the front ranks are at times hard put to carry the load. The wind, so to speak, is not always fair: they have to break down established traditions, to overcome inertness and lack of understanding. But every innovator is the glory and pride of the nation, a great asset of socialist society. Such people must be supported. Their names and deeds should be made known to the nation, to every work collective.

While encouraging initiative and highly productive work in every way possible, it is imperative to be strict and exacting toward those who bungle their jobs, who violate labor discipline and technological norms, who turn out shoddy goods. In the letters they send to the Central Committee, working people suggest that more effective legal, material, admin-

istrative and other penalties should be used against those who do not want to work honestly. This will be only fair, and that's the way we must act. And, indeed, this is what the new mechanism of economic management to which ever more enterprises and sectors are switching is aimed at.

The Central Committee expects industrial workers, farmers, technicians, engineers, office workers and intellectuals to show creativity and vigor and spare no effort to ensure that the impetus to accelerate national socio-economic development become a reality and that the life of the Soviet people become materially and spiritually richer, fuller and more meaningful.

Comrades, Lenin set great store by the ability to "induce both the competition and initiative of the masses so that they get down to the task at once." Practically all working people are now involved in socialist emulation. But I think that the effects of this labor competition are not always what they should be. The reasons vary. One major reason is that the forms and methods of emulation are far from fully geared to the character of the current stage of economic development. In many collectives socialist emulation resembles a self-contained process, lacking any firm or deep connection with the job of shifting the economy onto the track of intensive development, boosting scientific and technological progress, restructuring the economic mechanism and introducing collective forms of labor organization on a large scale.

This situation calls for a drastic change. If we really have taken up the identification of reserves and the best use of everything we have, let us take a fresh look from this angle at emulation itself as well. On the whole, it still lacks a more clearly defined orientation on the priority aims of higher productivity, better product quality and thrifty use of our resources.

Swift work, quality, thrift and organization are the main slogans of the day.

Using the opportunity offered by our meeting, I would like to reiterate the need for significant improvements in product quality. This issue comprises a whole range of questions relating to economics, politics and ethics. Low product quality is a blatant case of waste of public funds and manpower. Take, for example, consumer goods. One can understand the buyer who wonders why we know how to make spaceships and nuclear-powered ships, but the modern household goods, shoes and clothes we produce often turn out shoddy. And this involves not just financial, but also moral and political losses.

There is no secret about why this occurs. One of the main reasons involves weak technological discipline, as well as the fact that those responsible for product quality are not taken to account strictly enough. And this is where a lot depends on the work collectives themselves. We are sure that workers, collective farmers, scientists, experts, engineers, technicians and economic managers will launch a drive to ensure that all domestic products meet or even surpass the world's best standards.

Speaking of quality, I am far from implying that

the quantitative indicators have lost their significance. Today we still need to produce more grain, vegetables, meat, coal, oil and consumer goods. In some industries output growth will remain an important target of labor competition. But it is equally obvious that we cannot build up the production of, say, energy and raw material resources infinitely. We must learn to use thriftily each ton of steel, oil, fertilizer, each kilowatt-hour of electricity, each cubic meter of timber.

This is why competition should be also aimed at thrifty and efficient use of labor, material and financial resources. I have already had occasion to touch upon this subject, but, considering that the change for the better is coming around slowly, I want once again to stress that thrift, frugality and efficient use of the production capability we have amassed are our immediate reserve of decisive importance for raising the efficiency of the national economy.

We must value each practical step in this direction and bring the squanderers to strict account. Comrades,

The role of trade unions in coping with the task facing our society can hardly be overstressed. Their paramount mission is care — care for social and cultural needs, working and living conditions, rest and recreation of the people. Yet these problems cannot be coped with unless there is a continuous, persistent drive for the highest possible productivity, discipline and proper organization of production. Efficient work is the only way to prosperity. That is why protection of working people's interests through increased productivity is a crucial duty of trade unions and all work collectives.

To this end, the Law on Work Collectives must be applied more vigorously than it is now. They are the focus of all problems we face in our life. Work collectives implement plans, test new ideas and produce cadres. It is not a casual look from above but a thorough study of and consideration for the situation at the grassroots level that can help, say, to be more vigorous in introducing the practice of team work based on the principle of economic self-sufficiency — particularly economic self-sufficiency. For there are many work teams, but only 20 percent of them work by the economic self-sufficiency principle in industry, for example.

In a team — and you are no doubt well aware of this — everyone is likely to be in the public eye, and it is members of the collective themselves who evaluate the degree of everyone's involvement in joint work. In a team, principles of social justice are better translated into reality in terms of both earnings and other material and moral incentives. One would be hard put to take a short cut, to hide behind others; the connection between pledges undertaken and the end results of production stands out with greater clarity.

And so the emergence of an atmosphere conducive to a daily and thorough search for reserves within collectives, an atmosphere that is exacting both "horizontally" and "vertically", as they say, depends to a great degree, on the unions. However, frequently the impression is that the trade union

committee seems to have a hand in everything and yet has failed to identify the chief areas where efforts should be concentrated. As a result, as it often happens in organizing an emulation campaign, a good deal of enthusiasm is simply wasted on paperwork, on "thinking up" public events and making them look good.

Things done "for appearances' sake" are the sworn enemy of emulation as a genuine creative effort of the masses. It is no secret that some pledges are "carbon-copied" and handed to the entrants ready for signing. Competition targets are fixed without regard for the specific conditions of this or that enterprise or industry. Or take the personal pledges of the entrants. It is a good idea in itself, but why should a worker or engineer copy the list of his official duties and pledge himself to discharge them? That is a travesty of the very concept of competition.

There is another point to think over: aren't there too many kinds of competitions and initiatives? That is not always good. The most valuable thing about emulation is that it produces high-performance results, advanced know-how, and novel techniques and methods of work. Now, if we compare the numerous initiatives with their actual effect, we are found to conclude that far from all of them are sufficiently well-grounded.

I believe it is in this respect that the work of trade unions and economic bodies should be stepped up. It is wrong for resounding slogans to replace actual work and for numerous and far-fetched activities to fill in for efforts geared to real life.

There are some other urgent issues to be dealt with — the responsibility for the organization of emulation campaigns and the technical arrangements involved, for the economic substantiation of the pledges and their extent; an end to identical incentives for all winners; and the build-up of a front-ranker's prestige. There must be precise standards of reference by which to judge both success and failure. I trust you will have something to say on this and other matters.

Today, permit me also to touch on the complex problem of combating excessive drinking. The measures now in effect have been enthusiastically supported by working people, although some are displeased. Encouraging results are already in evidence. The consumption of alcohol has dropped. People have become more intolerant of drunkenness, and there is better order in the streets of cities and villages and on the job. Let me tell you that the number of accidents has diminished sharply over the past three months. And that has made it possible to preserve the health of thousands of people, the dearest asset of all.

That means it is not for nothing that such a big effort has been made. We shall unflinchingly carry through what we have outlined. We understand very well that we have yet a long and hard job to do to make temperance a norm of life in our society. We have enough patience for that. All the more so since in following this line, the Central Committee of the CPSU relies for support on all people, on the maturity and power of public opinion.

Comrades,

The Stakhanov movement has a special distinguishing feature — it was started by young people: none of them were over 30. And that is natural, for no historic task of any magnitude can be accomplished without young people's vigorous, effective and all-round involvement. And today it is more important than ever before to make full use of the energies of the younger generation for tackling the sweeping trail-blazing tasks our society has before it.

Sometimes one hears that civic maturing is slow in coming to young people these days. And some among the older generation even grumble on this score. But taking a broader view of today's Soviet youth, we can feel satisfaction. Our young men and women are children and grandchildren of those who set previously unheard-of labor-productivity records in the years of industrialization, who rose first in attacks, covered gun-ports with their bodies and rammed enemy warplanes and tanks in the harsh years of the war. They are children and grandchildren of those who developed the virgin lands and drilled for oil and gas in the sub-Polar tundra and Siberian taiga. They are our children and grandchildren, our comrades-in-arms who are showing to the whole world the loftiest examples of honest work, service and devotion to the Motherland today, too. They are building the Baikal-Amur railway and new cities, growing grain and loyally defending our country's frontiers.

The party and the people set great store by Soviet youth's contribution to the building of socialism and communism. We trust our young people wholly and take care to ensure that wide opportunities are open to them for asserting their abilities and showing their mettle in all spheres of production and civic affairs.

Our socialist cause will only benefit from a situation in which the party committees and the economic bodies, together with the Komsomol, will find ways and forms of putting to fuller use the energies, talent, interest in everything new, intolerance of routine and conservatism, and good, healthy ambition of young workers committed to innovation, of young engineers and scientists. Emulation will also be useful here. It is also necessary to promote, without undue delay, promising experts to command posts in production, science, management, administration and culture. It always pays to do so.

We must use every means at our disposal to open up broad opportunities for young people's technical creative pursuits, and not only that, but also create all necessary conditions for channelling the constructive potential of young people into accomplishing the tasks connected with the acceleration of our society's socio-economic development. Work is now under way to prepare relevant proposals to be considered by the party's Central Committee.

A year ago the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union adopted a resolution "On Further Improvement in Party Guidance of the Komsomol and the Enhancement of Its Role in Communist Education of Youth." That resolution was seriously discussed in party and Komsomol organization and no doubt helped the Komsomol to

step up and invigorate its work. The Komsomol has begun to take more interest in current problems; the formal approach is on the wane. However, a great deal more has to be done.

What exactly? The Komsomol must persistently implement Lenin's idea that one should learn communism every day — at one's plant, in the field, in the classroom, in one's laboratory, and be able to perform everyday tasks without losing sight of a communist future. The Komsomol must be involved in everything that interests and concerns young people. The style and methods of its work must appeal to youth, inspire it and preclude, in form as well as in essence, excessive regard for form, ceremony and other trumpery on which so much effort and resources are still being wasted.

Comrades, a period of particularly great responsibility has come in the life of our country. It is the decisive stage in the plans of this year and in the five-year plan as a whole. Preparations for the forthcoming party congress are broadening, and this determines the pace of life and activity of party organizations and work collectives and shapes the overall social atmosphere.

Now that the party is taking stock of what has been accomplished and working on the details of a policy for the future it is important for us to know your views and proposals on the most topical issues. The Central Committee constantly lends an ear to what workers, collective farmers, experts and scientists have to say and checks its policies against the experience of the masses. This cannot be otherwise, for the cause of the people is the cause of the party.

The party is confident that the problems facing our society will be solved successfully — confident because it has a clear-cut program of action and draws upon the creative potential of the people, on the efficiency, discipline, political consciousness and professional skills of the working class, the collective farm workers and the intellectuals. The implementation of the party's policy will make our Motherland richer and stronger, our people's life better and our development more dynamic.

These lofty ideals are worth living, working and fighting for.

Abridged from *Pravda*, September 21, 1985

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A World Without Arms and Wars is the Ideal of all Communists

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

A meeting was held on September 2 between General Secretary of the CPSU CC Mikhail Gorbachev and General Secretary of the French Communist Party Georges Marchais.

Their conversation was held in an atmosphere of sincere friendship and comradely mutual understanding and was characterized by a mutual striving to promote the further development of cooperation and solidarity between the two parties. The leaders of the CPSU and the FCP exchanged information on the activity of their parties and discussed the key problem of the world situation.

As a result of their meeting, they adopted a joint statement, which is published below.

Ours is an epoch of immense progress, the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism. The advances of the peoples' movement for social emancipation and national liberation, the progress of science and technology open up possibilities for putting an end to such age-old scourges as hunger, epidemics, poverty and backwardness.

For the first time in human history it has become possible to realize the long-standing aspirations of the peoples and of all the oppressed: a world of peace, justice, freedom, independence and cooperation in which every human being can live a full life in dignity.

The socialist society is the highest form of social organization that accords with this leap in mankind's development. Capitalism cannot assume this historic responsibility because its aim is to increase wealth and capital by any means and because this fundamental law results in a squandering of the immense potentialities of development. By contrast, socialism is guided by a totally different principle: mankind's liberation and progress. The aim of socialism is to make the creators of the society's material and spiritual wealth its masters and beneficiaries.

That is why socialism can exist only in the freedom of its citizens, their creative activity, their responsibility and their initiative. Its evolution demands and creates the conditions for the growing self-governance of collectives of working people and the working people themselves. It gradually forms a new man with free access to knowledge, to activity, to social administration so ensuring the possibility of the full flowering of the individual.

It is the creation of this new society that is the main aim of the Soviet and French communists although they have to work in totally different conditions. Thanks to the October Revolution, the CPSU was the first to embark on the road of building a socialist society. It strives to make the fullest use of the immense potentialities created by this new social system for the benefit of the Soviet Union and its peoples. The FCP is fighting capitalist oppression that is plunging France into ever deeper crisis. It

seeks to build an original socialist society embodying the realities of France.

As other countries in other parts of the world chose to build such a society, and as socialism matured through its own experience, it was diversified and so enriched. Each of these countries chose new ways of carrying out social transformations, ways rooted in their history and concrete reality. So the progress, successes and growing might of this new social system open up a new perspective and give great hope for the liberation and independent development of nations and peoples.

The freeing of the society from exploitation and the building of socialism are, of course, long-term and difficult tasks. The peoples that have embarked on this road are trail-blazers. They must find new answers to the arising questions as they face the requirements and contradictions produced by the development of socialism itself and are confronted with hostility from the capitalist system and its policy. Like any other process of creativity, the building of socialism has not been free of difficulties, miscalculations and mistakes now and again dramatic. But in contrast to capitalism, whose crisis demands the overcoming of the system itself, the solution of problems typical of the socialist society implies the fullest use of all the advantages and potentialities inherent in socialism.

Deploying gigantic propaganda efforts to distort the experience of the socialist countries, the forces of capitalism seek to cover up the depth of the crisis of their own system and its crimes in the world, and are waging campaigns against the ideas of mankind's liberation. Confronted with these campaigns, the revolutionary and progressive forces are called upon to demonstrate the scope of the accomplishments of world importance that have been achieved within a historically short period of time by the new social system in the economic, social, political and cultural fields, and also its role in world development and the preservation of peace.

At the time of these profound transformations and immense scientific and technological progress many peoples continue to live in conditions of misery,

malnutrition and underdevelopment. They are oppressed by transnational corporations whose sole aim is to keep increasing their influence and wealth through the use of international financial agencies. The capitalist powers plunder the human and material resources of these countries. They are intensifying the exploitation of the young states and trying to impede their independent development and the attainment of their aspirations.

That has generated a mighty demand of the peoples on all the continents: they want to exercise their right to a different, decent life. They want freely to choose their future. That is why the need to replace the present relations of dominance with a new international economic order based on justice, democracy, cooperation and independence is now one of the most important issues. It is a demand that is justly expressed by the non-aligned movement, which is supported by all the progressive forces of the world. The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, linked in fundamentally new and equitable relations, have backed their demand.

The capitalist countries are in deep crisis. It affects every sphere of the society: social, political, economic, cultural and moral. The growth of capitalist profits is ensured at the price of mass unemployment, deepening social inequality and worsening living conditions for ordinary people, cutbacks in production, monetary problems, a systematic offensive against the social and democratic gains of the working people, and a worsening environment.

In the face of this crisis and the peoples' liberation movement, the forces of capitalism are not laying down their arms. They are doing everything to slow down, contain and, if they could, reverse this movement. Such is the essence of the counter-offensive launched by imperialism, which has become even more aggressive with the coming to power of the present U.S. administration.

For imperialism, all means are good in trying to change the balance of forces in the world in its favor. Blackmail by world war, economic war and ideological war — all these are components of its counter-offensive. It strives for military superiority, expands its intervention even with the use of armed force, and resorts to diktat and sanctions against the peoples rising to freedom. It has thrown the enormous propaganda media at its disposal into its campaign against the communists and the countries building and perfecting a socialist society, against all the progressive, democratic forces, the forces of national and social liberation. This aggressive policy seriously aggravates the international situation. It poses a grave threat to peace and security on the Earth.

The CPSU and the FCP have invariably voiced their solidarity with all the peoples fighting for independence, freedom and democracy. In the face of the danger of aggression they find it necessary to reaffirm their wholehearted solidarity with the people of Nicaragua, who are heroically upholding their freedom and independence.

Despite all its efforts, imperialism cannot achieve its aims. The balance of socio-political forces in the

world arena on the whole remains in favor of the forces of progress.

The modern world is a changing and dynamic one. It defies the status-quo. The peoples of all continents are looking into the future and want to have a better life. Every people has the right to choose its own system of views and values, uphold its own way of life, and build and perfect it in its own way. Observance of the principles of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems is an imperative of the time. In our age, there is no reasonable alternative to this policy.

Socialism needs peace for its development and the ever fuller satisfaction of the people's new and diverse requirements.

A world without arms and wars is the ideal of all communists. That is why they carry on a sustained struggle everywhere for peace and disarmament.

They are not alone by any means. The growth on each continent of the most diverse and innumerable peace forces is an important factor of recent years. Their activity has not gone without a trace. It has largely contributed to the resumption of the talks in Geneva. This is a positive fact. But in view of Reagan's plans to militarize space, it is necessary for all supporters of peace and disarmament to redouble their efforts.

Respect for the accord on the subject and aims of the Geneva talks is of decisive importance. There the following fundamental questions, now the most essential ones for the whole world, are being raised with all firmness: not to start an arms race in outer space, to stop it on the Earth, to get down to a radical reduction of nuclear weapons and press for their total liquidation as the ultimate aim.

That is why, the FCP and the CPSU are concerned over the declarations of support for the U.S. stand which blocks the negotiations that were made at the Bonn summit of the seven most industrialized capitalist countries. Our two parties condemn the decision of the leaders of the Atlantic Alliance to continue the deployment of U.S. missiles in Europe.

The stakes are high: either the arms race will continue and the danger of an outbreak of war will grow, or we shall take the way of strengthening general security and peace all over the world.

The U.S. Star Wars project, far from ending the arms race, spreads it to outer space. This project is being implemented and new weapons systems are being built up. Billions of dollars are being additionally appropriated for military budgets. At a time when people instinctively sense the danger of the "star wars" plans, it would be criminal irresponsibility or deception to portray things as if the point at issue were innocent research with technological benefits allegedly in store. In actual fact, these are attempts to camouflage extremely dangerous plans by any possible means.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the French Communist Party declare and work in favor of prohibiting any militarization of outer space, for an immediate freeze on the deployment of missiles in the West and in the East, for a constructive dialog with the aim of ensuring a reduction in arms to the lowest possible level, for the success of the ongoing

talks and all initiatives, whatever their origin, so long as they contribute to the process of détente, and for a peaceful settlement of the existing conflicts through negotiations.

The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are tirelessly working for peace and the security of the peoples.

The French Communist Party expresses satisfaction with the fact that the proposals put forward by Mikhail Gorbachev on behalf of the Soviet Union to establish — for the whole period of negotiations — a moratorium on the development, research, testing and deployment of strike space weapons, and to freeze strategic offensive weapons, have evoked a lively response in many countries, from many heads of state and leaders of political, trade union and religious organizations. It is the way of common sense and reason. The same applies to the USSR's moratorium until November 1985 on the deployment of its medium-range missiles and the implementation of counter-measures in Europe undertaken after the start of the deployment of the new U.S. missiles.

Of great importance is the Soviet Union's new initiative — the decision to halt all nuclear blasts unilaterally as of August 6 this year. It opens up the possibility of erecting an effective barrier in the way of the nuclear arms race.

The liberation of Europe from nuclear weapons, both medium-range and tactical, and the creation of nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world would help to prevent war. Of exceptional importance would be the adoption by all the nuclear powers of the commitment not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, already undertaken by the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China.

The Final Act of the Helsinki Conference was adopted ten years ago. Its principles and all of its provisions remain highly meaningful for security in Europe, for the recognition of sovereign rights of every state, for economic, scientific, technological and cultural cooperation, for protection of the environment and respect for human rights.

The French Communist Party and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union reaffirm their will to work for a broad consolidation of the various forces working for peace and disarmament, of all those who, irrespective of their political, philosophical and religious views, do not wish the flames of war to engulf the Earth and space.

Both parties point out that the peace initiatives of the socialist states, of the non-aligned countries, of the heads of some other states and governments, of major political, public and ideological forces, accord with the demands of the mass movement for peace and disarmament. The initiative of the leaders of the six countries — India, Argentina, Greece, Mexico, Tanzania and Sweden — is highly positive.

The French Communist Party points out the importance of France taking a stand against the militarization of space, for constructive proposals in the field of disarmament. The French Communist Party is working to have France, along with such countries as the USSR, China, the other socialist states, the non-aligned movement and some other states, put its whole weight to help thwart the Star Wars projects.

The arms race has already brought about grim consequences for the world, in particular for the most deprived peoples. Colossal funds are being swallowed up by the armaments industry, while millions of women, men and children in the capitalist countries live in distress. This is intolerable. A part of these funds must immediately be used to improve the condition of these people. The struggle for peace and disarmament is also the struggle for life itself.

Cooperation between the Soviet Union and France is an important element of peace and security in Europe and in the world. It also accords with the requirements of economic development and social progress, which assumes different forms and character in each of our countries.

Historical experience has shown that Soviet-French cooperation has solid and long-standing traditions. These were most strikingly manifested in the joint struggle against Nazism. This cooperation was further developed in the 1960s, when one could speak of good relations between the Soviet Union and France. Cooperation between the two countries had a remarkable development in the 1970s. In that period, enterprises and the working people of both countries learned to cooperate with each other. Lately, these considerable achievements have not been used in full measure, and it is urgently necessary to ensure their fruition.

It is both necessary and possible to raise these relations to the level of the requirements of our peoples and of our epoch. Our countries have powerful and diverse resources that are mutually complementary in many respects. Developing these resources through cooperation based on mutual interest means jointly using them for increasing employment and ensuring social progress, for modernizing the economy and ensuring better use of the technological advances for human development. Giving a fitting rebuff to anti-communist and anti-Soviet campaigns means contributing to the development of this cooperation and friendship between our peoples.

In this year of the 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism, both parties pay tribute to the years of struggle for freedom and democracy.

Millions of men, women and young people fought and gave their lives to that war and barbarity should never return.

Nazi Germany was routed through joint efforts by the countries of the anti-Hitler coalition, in the context of a broad consolidation of the anti-fascist forces. The Soviet people, who lost twenty million lives, paid a heavy price. Their courage played the decisive role in the routing of the aggressor. Along with the other patriots, the French communists made an eminent contribution to their country's liberation.

We, Soviet and French communists, have drawn lessons from history. It is necessary to fight for peace before war breaks out. It is necessary to remain vigilant in the face of all the revanchist attempts to undermine the principle that borders established as a result of the Second World War are inviolable. To give a reminder of this does not mean

looking back: on the contrary, it means showing that peace is man's greatest boon.

Peace is, indeed, the greatest value. The Soviet and French communists are expressing confidence that preservation of peace is now the main task of our day. They have stressed the need for putting international relations back on the path of détente and cooperation, for putting an end to the arms race, for reducing and eventually scrapping all nuclear weapons all over the world.

Mikhail Gorbachev and Georges Marchais reaffirmed the common stand of both parties on the question of relations between communist parties.

Each party determines its analysis, its policy and its way of building a socialist society absolutely independently and proceeding from the situation in its own country.

The communist parties work in different conditions. These distinctions keep growing and may sometimes lead to different approaches and positions on some issues, and, at times, to differences.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the

French Communist Party hold that this reality can by no means be an obstacle to maintaining and strengthening relations, to developing cooperation and solidarity between the communist parties. This is precisely what they reaffirmed in 1980, and on this basis both parties continue building and broadening their bilateral relations.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the French Communist Party pointed out the constructive character of this approach, which has found its expression in new forms of inter-party cooperation.

Mikhail Gorbachev and Georges Marchais express the conviction that the existing level of relations between the two parties, as this meeting has again confirmed, is a factor contributing to the development of cooperation in the interests of the Soviet and French peoples and both countries, in the struggle for peace, democracy, freedom and socialism.

Pravda, September 4, 1985

l'Humanité, September 4, 1985

Compel the Reagan Administration to Respond Positively to the Soviet Appeal

Statement by the Communist Party of India Central Secretariat

The Central Secretariat of the Communist Party of India warmly hails the latest peace initiative put forward by Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Central Committee, that the Soviet Union would unilaterally stop all nuclear explosions starting from August 6, 1985, forty years after the tragedy of Hiroshima. The Soviet Union has appealed to the Reagan administration to respond and issue a similar declaration. The Soviet moratorium would extend till January 1, 1986, and continue further if the USA also refrains from conducting nuclear explosions.

The step taken by the Soviet Union is a historic international action that would render possible a breakthrough in curbing the vicious nuclear arms race at a time when it threatens to invade outer space and become irreversible.

While the Soviet initiative has been universally welcomed by peace-loving forces all over the world, including India, U.S. imperialism has so far refused to respond to it.

The cessation of nuclear tests proposed by the Soviet Union has historic significance at the present juncture. It is by means of such tests that new types of nuclear weapons are made and existing types modernized. Cessation would put an end to this destructive process. Continuation of nuclear tests is considered indispensable by U.S. imperialism for its Star Wars program, for creating some types of space weapons that would threaten the very existence of mankind, for example, the nuclear-based X-ray laser. Cessation of tests would render impossible the modernization of existing nuclear weapons and thus

would be a real step toward the gradual liquidation of nuclear arms and prevention of nuclear war. It would be an effective check on proliferation of nuclear weapons.

The reasons given by the Reagan administration for rejecting the Soviet appeal are false and hypocritical. It has alleged that the Soviet Union has military superiority and that it has conducted a series of nuclear tests this year. As a matter of fact, there exists parity between the USA and the USSR in the sphere of nuclear armaments. Regarding nuclear tests, the USA has conducted more nuclear explosions than the USSR and, in the first half of 1985, as many as the USSR.

The argument put forward by U.S. imperialism about the impossibility of control over the cessation of the tests is equally false. Existing national technical means of control are sufficient and the USA has itself admitted this in the past. The procedure worked out in the 1974 and 1976 treaties regarding underground nuclear tests provides for adequate system of controls. The USA has refused to ratify these treaties and in 1980 they unilaterally walked out of the talks aimed at working out a general and complete nuclear test ban treaty.

The real motive for the Reagan administration's rejection of the Soviet appeal is that it wants to continue its plan to attain military superiority as a means of achieving its aim of world domination. The military program approved by the U.S. Congress envisages making of several thousands of additional nuclear warheads and their deployment in all parts

of the world. It plans continuation of the Star Wars program and militarization of outer space.

A world-wide mass movement to compel the Reagan administration to respond to the Soviet appeal and cease nuclear tests immediately has become the urgent need of the hour.

The Communist Party of India appeals to all democratic political parties and mass organizations in our country to unleash such a movement. This has become necessary in the interests of safeguarding

the safety and security of our own subcontinent. All anti-imperialist forces in the country can, and should, act together on this issue.

The Communist Party of India calls upon the Indian government to take all initiatives to mobilize the non-aligned movement and world public opinion to compel the Reagan administration to respond positively to the Soviet appeal.

August 1985
Abridged

Create a Chemical Weapons-free Zone in Central Europe

Identical Letters from Erich Honecker and Lubomir Strougal to Chancellor Helmut Kohl of the FRG

The German Democratic Republic and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic have jointly taken an initiative aimed at preventing the proliferation of chemical weapons. Following is the text of identical letters from Erich Honecker, Chairman of the State Council of the GDR, and Lubomir Strougal, Chairman of the Government of the CSSR, to Helmut Kohl, Chancellor of the FRG, inviting him to enter into talks on the creation of a zone free from chemical weapons in Central Europe.

Prompted by their responsibility for peace and détente in Central Europe and by the interests of the security of both their own peoples and all the other peoples of Europe, the governments of the GDR and CSSR propose to the government of the Federal Republic of Germany to make a joint contribution to disarmament and arms limitation.

The issue of banning and eliminating chemical weapons has long been a topic of international debate. The Warsaw Treaty member-states, like other states, have made relevant proposals.

The governments of the GDR and CSSR have held appropriate consultations and decided to approach the government of the FRG with the following:

"The governments of the GDR and CSSR consider that there exist real possibilities of eliminating chemical weapons, particularly of creating a zone free from chemical weapons in Europe. Thus one could bring about the elimination of the chemical weapons stockpiled in the region and rule out the deployment of new, exceedingly dangerous weapons of this kind, primarily binary ones, on European soil. This was also shown by the talks between the SUPG and the SDP on the creation of a zone free from chemical weapons which ended in the political initiative familiar to you.

"Next to nuclear weapons, chemical weapons are the most dangerous means of mass destruction. Their banning and complete removal are extremely urgent. Vigorous efforts are needed on a global as well as regional level. The governments of the GDR and CSSR declare consistently for a comprehensive convention banning the development, manufacture and stockpiling of chemical weapons and providing for their destruction. At the same time, they are convinced that regional accords on the creation of zones free from chemical weapons would amount to

concrete steps toward building confidence and banning these weapons all over the world. Accordingly, the governments of the GDR and CSSR are prepared to conclude with the government of the FRG an agreement leading to the removal of chemical weapons from the territories of the countries situated directly on the dividing line between the two military-political alliances.

"As states neighboring on the FRG, they want this proposal to help bring about concrete steps in Central Europe toward safeguarding peace and security by reducing armaments.

"We are convinced that the proposal submitted by the two governments can lead to a relevant agreement. Such an agreement would be an important contribution to greater security in Europe and to joint efforts toward delivering Europe from the dangers of the use of chemical weapons.

"The governments of the GDR and CSSR propose to the government of the FRG to enter into negotiations on the creation of a zone free from chemical weapons that would first cover the territories of these three states. The GDR and CSSR are prepared to submit their proposals on this set of problems at these negotiations. They proceed from the assumption that the FRG, for its part, will also put forward concrete proposals and that the agreement on the creation of a zone free from chemical weapons will be open to all the other states concerned."

The governments of the GDR and CSSR hope for a positive response from the government of the FRG and propose to enter into negotiations on this issue. The necessary arrangements could be made through diplomatic channels.

Neues Deutschland, Rudé Právo,
September 16, 1985

Toward an Independent Policy of Peace and Security

From a Statement by the Communist Party of Canada
Central Executive Committee

Labor Day is being held this year in conditions of a growing threat of a nuclear holocaust, a direct result of the aggressive aims of U.S. imperialism. The new dangers with U.S. deployment of Euromissiles in Western Europe has been taken to a new stage with the U.S. government decision to proceed with Star Wars and to twist Canada's arm and the arm of other NATO countries to get them involved in this dangerous program. And now, when the international peace movement has forced the U.S. administration to negotiate in Geneva and participate in a summit meeting of U.S. President Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev of the USSR, the Reaganites have opened up their box of dirty tricks to either prevent or undermine the summit.

Great efforts will be required to prevent President Reagan and the military-industrial complex from escalating an arms race which could become uncontrollable, and instead to pressure the USA to sit down to negotiate with the Soviet Union on the basis of equality and equal security.

The Communist Party of Canada welcomes the opposition of the New Democratic Party and the Liberal group in parliament to Star Wars. It welcomes the position taken by the Canadian Labor Congress and by the peace movements against Canadian involvement in Star Wars.

It welcomes the Soviet Union's unilateral decision to stop nuclear testing from August 6 (Hiroshima Day) to January 1, 1986, and longer if the USA follows suit. Were the U.S. to respond positively this could open the door to arms control and eventually to complete destruction of all nuclear weapons.

Unfortunately President Reagan's response is to accelerate the arms race.

In this time of decision the Communist Party of Canada calls on the Mulroney government to say "No" to Canada's involvement in the U.S. Star Wars program and to support the Soviet Union's moratorium on nuclear testing and urge the U.S. government to act likewise. This would open the door to disarmament. This would, at the same time, be a major step toward an independent foreign policy for Canada, a blow for peace, a blow for Canada's security.

It is all the more important to take such steps when Canada's sovereignty and independence are at stake due to the dangerous course of U.S. military strategy including pressures to support a policy of free or freer trade.

Such a policy could lead to even greater unemployment, to the destruction of Canadian history. Canada needs a policy of extensive trade with all countries based on mutual interest. It needs multi-lateral trade with the world, not bilateral trade with the crisis-prone U.S.

On this Labor Day workers need to strengthen the bonds of unity and solidarity not only in our own country but on a worldwide scale.

The cause of the workers and people in South Africa fighting apartheid, of the workers and people in Chile fighting for democracy, of the workers and working people of Nicaragua fighting for their chosen course, are the cause of workers in Canada.

Abridged from *Canadian Tribune*,
September 2, 1985

Test of an Anti-satellite Weapon is a Dangerous Escalation of the Arms Race

Statement by the CPUSA Central Committee

The Reagan administration's announcement that it will conduct a test of an anti-satellite weapon in early September is a dangerous escalation of the arms race and a serious obstacle to agreement on disarmament at the Geneva talks and at the November U.S.-USSR summit meeting between President Reagan and General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev.

This is the latest in a series of recent actions that indicate the administration's unwillingness to work with the Soviet Union to stop the arms race and reduce the risk of nuclear confrontation. Only immediate, determined mass action by the working people of the U.S. in concert with international public opinion, can force the Reagan administration to negotiate seriously at Geneva and guarantee the

success of the November summit.

In the last year, the Soviet government has announced a unilateral moratorium on anti-satellite research and on all nuclear weapons tests. It has also proposed the convening of an international conference under the auspices of the UN on the peaceful use of outer space.

Every concrete step toward peace offered by the Soviet Union has been summarily rejected by the Reagan administration as "bluff" and "propaganda." Not only has the Reagan administration not offered any alternative disarmament proposals, it has continued its futile preparations for nuclear first-strike capability over the USSR. Its reply to the Soviet moratorium on nuclear testing was to con-

duct such a test in Nevada. Its reply to the Soviet proposal for a ban on space weapons was to use the space shuttle to test a component of Reagan's Star Wars weapons system, and now to schedule a series of anti-satellite weapon tests.

Reagan's militarization of outer space, through his Star Wars plan, is adding a new and more dangerous dimension to the arms race. The administration's attempt to develop and deploy an anti-satellite weapon is part of the Reaganites' effort to create a "shield" from behind which it can launch a nuclear first strike against the Soviet Union.

The fanatical anti-communism and anti-Sovietism that underlies Reagan's foreign policy must be rejected as suicidal mythology if the world is to be spared the agony of nuclear annihilation. Reagan must be forced to reply to the Soviet peace proposals with concrete disarmament initiatives, not with continued militarization masked with anti-Sovietism.

Thirty-five million people live in poverty in the U.S. and 20 million are unemployed; the trade deficit

is \$130 billion and the Federal deficit is \$2 trillion. Yet the Reagan administration uses anti-Sovietism to justify transferring hundreds of billions of dollars from needed social programs to already bloated military budgets.

Unity and mass action can force the Reagan administration to negotiate seriously with the Soviets at Geneva and at the November summit.

The White House and Congress should be flooded with calls, telegrams, letters, and delegations of trade unions, community organizations, churches and individuals demanding cancellation of the announced Star Wars test. The peace majority in the U.S. should petition Congress to demand passage of the Simultaneous Nuclear Test Ban Act, which calls for a U.S. moratorium on nuclear weapons tests as a step toward a permanent comprehensive test ban treaty.

The Reagan administration can be forced to stop all Star Wars testing and development.

Daily World, September 5, 1985

congresses & plenary meetings

Plenary Meetings in Brief

Bolivia

The Communist Party of Bolivia CC, which met in La Paz, resolved to hold an extraordinary party congress from January 14 to 17, 1986. The congress will hear a political report and a report on organizational matters, discuss and adopt new program theses, and hold by-elections to the CPB CC.

The meeting decided to invite delegations of fraternal communist and workers' parties to the congress.

Ethiopia

The Workers' Party of Ethiopia (WPE) CC opened its Third Plenary Meeting in Addis Ababa on September 2, 1985. Mengistu Haile Mariam, General Secretary of the WPE CC, Chairman of the Provisional Military Administrative Council, stressed the importance of strengthening the party's ideological and organizational unity, reinforcing its ranks and increasing its leading role in society. He announced the establishment of a commission to draft the constitution of the future People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. The draft is to be worked out with the active participation of large sections of the working population.

The constitution will define the political, economic and social principles of the republic, the fundamental rights and duties of its citizens, the procedure for forming executive, administrative and judicial bodies, and their functions.

The Ethiopian leader pointed out that the past year has seen some advances in the national economy; he called on the working people of the countryside to maintain the tempo adopted by them and to grow staple crops irrespective of weather conditions. The successful execution of the program drawn up by the WPE CC Political Bureau to overcome the after-effects of the latest drought, in particular the resettlement of 510,000 inhabitants, who were moved from arid to fertile areas, demonstrated the party's ability to efficiently lead the people and guide the economy.

Speaking of the WPE work plan for next year, Mengistu Haile Mariam said that the problem of eliminating the effects of the drought and ways of making Ethiopia self-sufficient in food supplies will remain in the focus of attention.

Mexico

The United Socialist Party of Mexico CC held a regular plenary meeting in Mexico City.

The meeting analyzed the alignment of political forces in the country in the wake of the recent general elections and discussed the economic situation of the country.

It resolved to hold the Third Party Congress from July 16 to 20, 1985 in Mexico City.

The meeting elected Pablo Gómez Alvarez, Arnoldo Martínez Verdugo, Gilberto Rincon Gallardo, Sabino Hernandez Telles and Adolfo Sanchez Rebolledo members of the CC Secretariat.

Panama

The People's Party of Panama CC met in plenary session in Panama. The meeting discussed the preparations for the next party congress, to be convened late in January 1986. The date will be specified by the CC Political Bureau with due regard to the evolution of the situation. The congress will examine the international and domestic political

situation and work out the party's strategy accordingly. It will also concern itself with amendments to the Rules and elect leading bodies.

The meeting instructed the CC Political Bureau to invite fraternal parties' representatives to attend the coming congress. It discussed and approved specific plans for organizing work and propaganda in the pre-congress period.

statements & speeches

Sixty Years of Struggle under the Banner of Marxism-Leninism

Raul Castro's Speech at a Ceremony in Havana

A rally was held in Havana on August 16, 1985 to commemorate the 60th anniversary of Cuba's Marxist-Leninist organization, the first Communist Party of Cuba. Attending the rally were representatives of working people, party and government figures and leaders of the country's mass organizations. A speech was delivered by Raul Castro, Second Secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba Central Committee, First Deputy Chairman of the State Council and Council of Ministers, General of the Army and Minister of the Revolutionary Armed Forces.

Following is a summary of Raul Castro's speech.

Sixty years have passed since the historic event we are commemorating; today the banner of the first state of workers and peasants in the Western Hemisphere is waving triumphantly over Cuba.

The dissemination of socialist ideas among Cuban working people and the attempts to create class-rooted party organizations were undertaken in the late nineteenth century. These efforts were initiated by Carlos Balino, at that time in exile, and Enrique Roig San Martin who expounded the basic ideas of Marx and Engels in his newspaper *El Productor*. With the advent of the neocolonial republic the first Marxist organizations were created, beginning with the Socialist Propaganda Club established in 1903. Prominent among them were the Workers' Socialist Party, the Havana Socialist Group, the Socialist Party of Manzanillo and the Socialist Party of Cuba with its own press.

However, it was only in the early 1920s that conditions began to mature for the creation of a party of the new type, based on Marxist ideals and enriched with Leninist theory and practice. This was made possible above all thanks to the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia which proved to the oppressed the world over that socialism was no utopia but the only scientifically substantiated way to full liberation.

Those were also the years that produced important changes in the Cuban economy. Big sugar mills sprang up, and railroads spread throughout the island. However, economic development failed to improve the living and working conditions of workers and peasants. On the contrary, the sugar monopoly ruined peasants. Unemployment was rising; mass poverty was growing. Strikes were sup-

pressed by force. The weight of the crisis fell on the shoulders of workers, peasants, craftsmen, the middle and petty bourgeoisie.

All these factors promoted the militant spirit of the proletariat, helped to raise its ideological and organizational level and made an impact on the consciousness of the various sectors of the population hit by the crisis, primarily of students and progressive intellectuals.

In 1922 the Havana Socialist Group joined the Third International; in 1923 the Havana Communist Group was formed and similar organizations emerged in other parts of the country. In 1925, the Communist Party of Cuba was created. From that moment on, Cuba's working class, peasants and all working people had a vanguard capable of leading their struggle and changing the political scene of the nation.

The Communist Party put propaganda of Marxist-Leninist principles on a systematic basis, raised the struggle of the Cuban proletariat for these principles to a new high and drew on them in the tackling of the historic tasks facing the Cuban revolution. Prominent revolutionaries such as Carlos Balino and Julio Antonio Mella played a decisive part in these efforts. Mella effectively expounded the anti-imperialist content of José Martí's legacy and linked it with the struggle of the Cuban and all other Latin American peoples for genuine independence and sovereignty.

Mella, 22 at that time, took part in the work of the founding congress of the first Communist Party of Cuba and in the discussion concerning basic issues of the party's activities and program and the question of its affiliation with the Communist Inter-

national founded by Lenin, the leader of the world's proletariat. In 1929 Machado's criminal dictatorship moved against the young and gifted leader of Cuban communists. Julio Antonio Mella was murdered.

It was a manifestation of the new party's proletarian essence and close links with the poorer sectors of the population, Raul Castro went on, that five of the nine Central Committee members elected at the founding congress were workers; three of them were well-known trade union leaders. The other four members of the Central Committee were a teacher, an office worker, a journalist and a student. Soon after its formation, the party spread its influence to rural areas too and added peasants to its ranks.

The creation of a Marxist-Leninist party in Cuba coincided with the advent of Machado's brutal dictatorship that unleashed a reign of terror and persecution of communists. A few days after the founding congress, party members were charged with "treason" and put on trial. Some 40 communists were accused, including the ardent patriot Carlos Balino. José Miguel Perez, the party's general secretary, was also arrested and exiled from the country. Julio Antonio Mella, too, was forced to leave Cuba.

Despite the terrorism and persecution, however, the vigorous struggle launched by the party and the revolutionary working class movement against Machado's pro-imperialist tyranny shook the regime to its foundations. The first political general strike against the dictatorship, organized by the Communist Party jointly with the National Labor Confederation of Cuba, was held on March 20, 1930 and brought together some 200,000 people, demonstrating the power of the working class and opening a new period of major battles that the masses fought against tyranny; this period culminated in the overthrow of the Machado regime in August 1933.

The names of many Communists are on the impressive martyrology of those years of acute confrontation.

With the fall of Machado, continued Raul Castro, a semi-legal period began for the Communist Party. That was when the party's Central Committee advanced the slogan of struggle for a government of workers and peasants. Responding to the communists' appeal, workers of several sugar mills proclaimed the establishment of "soviets". Although this move was out of step with the then realities of Cuba, it was no doubt a reflection of the party's capacity to mobilize.

The acute situation in Cuba was aggravated drastically in the latter half of the 1930s. Acting on instructions from the U.S. embassy, the Batista-Mendieta regime displayed unprecedented brutality in the suppression of the March 1935 general strike, dealing a heavy blow to the revolutionary working class movement. In May of that year Antonio Guiterras Holmes a fiery anti-imperialist leader, fell in the fighting. More than 3,000 political prisoners were languishing in jail, trade unions were persecuted, opposition parties were outlawed, and communists were subjected to barbaric reprisals.

In those conditions the party applied itself to the

task of recouping losses and strengthening its organization to continue moving ahead under the slogan of joint action against the Batista tyranny and against imperialism, for regaining the rights and liberties stolen from the people.

A major accomplishment of Cuba's first Marxist party was the powerful campaign of solidarity in defense of the Spanish Republic, launched against great odds. Some one thousand Cuban volunteers — more than any other Latin American country sent — joined the International Brigades.

It was the first time that Cubans left for another country to offer their generous and selfless assistance — something that has become a shining example of internationalism and a fine tradition of our people. The name of Pablo de la Torriente Brau, a Cuban member of the International Brigades, author and journalist, became synonymous with the image of an international fighter.

The unity of working people and the entire nation in the struggle for their rights, as well as the changes in the international situation caused first by the imminence and then by the direct results of World War II enabled the Communist Party to attain significant gains between 1938 and 1944. In 1938, after 13 years of clandestine work, the party achieved a legal status and extended the scope of its influence. It launched its own newspaper, *Noticias de Hoy*, *Fundamentos*, a theoretical journal, and *Mil Diez*, a radio program. Suffice it to recall that from 1936 to 1939 the party's ranks increased more than eightfold. Another major development of those years was the establishment, in 1939, of the Confederation of Cuban Workers and the election of Lazaro Pena, prominent communist leader, as its secretary general.

In the course of the democratization of Cuban society, a new constitution was adopted in 1940; the Communist Party, acting in alliance with other forces, took part in the shaping of the constitution, thereby helping greatly to imbue it with a character that was, to a degree, progressive.

Nevertheless, the Communist Party had to operate in complex and contradictory conditions. This must be taken into account in evaluating its record. The communists upheld the interests of the Cuban working class and all people loyally, consistently and by every means at their disposal; they helped in the attainment of the foremost task facing progressive humanity at that time — the task of defeating fascism.

With the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union and the beginning of the Great Patriotic War, Cuba's communists launched a vigorous effort to mobilize the public to the campaign of solidarity with the country of Lenin and with the other European countries that fell victim to the criminal fascist aggression.

The postwar period and the cold war gave rise to radical changes both in our country and on the international scene. A new period of brutal persecution and reprisals against the communists and the working class movement began. From 1947 on, trade unions were subjected to systematic attacks, persecution of communists and labor leaders started anew, and organized crime became a feature of

everyday life. That was when the country was shaken by the assassination of Jesus Menendez in Manzanillo on January 22, 1948. It was no accident that Fidel Castro affixed his signature to the student manifesto denouncing this crime. In order to perpetrate it, U.S. financiers and the tycoons of the sugar industry recruited a mercenary from an army of henchmen. (Not many people know that ten years after this infamous assassination the murderer of the sugar workers' leader Jesus Menendez was tried and executed by our Rebel Army.) The situation in the country became particularly grave and dramatic after the reactionary coup of March 10, 1952. Aside from Fidel Castro who exposed, in one of his articles, the criminal nature of the coup and the part it played in a sharp exacerbation of the political and socio-economic situation, this development was denounced by Cuba's Popular Socialist Party (PSP).* It was the first political organization to publicly condemn the coup and describe it as an integral part of imperialist strategy in Latin America.

The Communists, Raul Castro went on, were also active in the new stage of the struggle that began on July 26, 1953. The initial lack of understanding and tactical differences were overcome thanks to the course that Fidel Castro proposed and that proved historically justified and superior. As the Batista regime stepped up its campaign of terror after the Moncada Garrison attack, the party had to go underground. But, prepared in advance for this eventuality, it continued its confrontation with Batista's tyranny. Besides fighting to solve basic issues — the overthrow of the dictatorship and the formation of a representative popular government capable of effecting the transformations the country needed — the communists upheld the immediate economic and political demands advanced by working people. One example of the way these two types of activities were skilfully combined was the sugar industry general strike of December 1955, staged by the PSP jointly with other organizations and supported by broad sections of the population. The strike dealt a painful blow to the pro-imperialist dictatorship.

One should also remember, the speaker stressed, that at the time of trial that followed the *Granma* landing, the communists called on other opposition parties for joint and independent action to paralyze the regime's moves aimed at exterminating the members of the expedition, at that time scattered and hunted by government troops.

The war of liberation helped to rally together all those who really fought against the tyranny; it was the crucible of this struggle that forged our unity. The communists were part of the revolutionary mainstream spearheaded by the Rebel Army under Fidel Castro. The political and ideological cooperation that paved the way for the subsequent merger can be graphically illustrated by the formation of a communist guerrilla unit in the area of Yaguajay in 1958; this unit unconditionally accepted

the command of Camilo Cienfuegos who arrived in the former province of Las Villas after the heroic march from the eastern to the central provinces. There were many communists, Raul Castro emphasized, among those who gave their lives to attain our country's genuine and definitive independence.

Over the 36 years of history, the party has played an important part in stepping up the ideological struggle and disseminating Marxist ideas in our country. It did not retreat before campaigns of slander, before prejudice or attacks. The communists' efforts have borne fruit. This is clear from the undeniable fact that we of the group which led the armed struggle against the Batista tyranny were fervent adherents of the ideas expounded by the founders of scientific socialism. We were fully aware that this was the only way to a radical and definitive solution of the problem in the interests of our people. It was with this profound inner conviction that Fidel Castro directed the struggle that triumphed 26 years ago. Today we can assert with pride that since the establishment of the Communist Party in 1925 not a single battle in the life of our country and in the struggle of our people has been fought without communist participation.

Referring to the historical role of the Communist Party of Cuba, Fidel has noted that "the party played an extremely important part in promoting the consciousness of our working class and our people. It enhanced the activity of trade unions and of workers', women's and youth organizations and fought tirelessly for the rights of workers and peasants, for higher wages, against the eviction of peasants, against racial discrimination and discrimination of women, against hunger, poverty and imperialist domination, for stronger ties between the Cuban revolutionary movement and revolutionaries throughout the world, and in defense of the Soviet Union. The party is consistently translating Marxist-Leninist principles into reality.

"The party has gone through many trials and experienced many historical difficulties. It has lived most of its life underground or in semi-legal conditions. In the years of the pseudo-republic, there was not a single progressive measure or piece of legislation adopted or step taken in the interests of workers, peasants and all people that the first Communist Party of Cuba failed to contribute to by its selfless struggle. The working class saw it as its vanguard and most consistent champion. That was never forgotten . . . Nor will we ever forget the role the Communist Party played in the dissemination of Marxist-Leninist ideas and in the shaping of the revolutionary consciousness of our working people and our nation."

The spirit of self-criticism has been one of the party's greatest virtues since its foundation. It mastered Lenin's lesson that "a political party's attitude toward its own mistakes is one of the most important and surest ways of judging how earnest the party is and how it fulfils *in practice its obligations toward its class, and the working people.*"*** Acting on this

*From 1939 to 1944 the Communist Party of Cuba was called the Revolutionary Communist Union (RCU) and from 1944 to 1961, the Popular Socialist Party of Cuba (PSP). — Ed.

**V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 57.

criterion, Raul Castro said, the party proved capable of openly admitting its mistakes, analyzing their causes and finding ways to correct them. Each time, this self-critical analysis made the party stronger, ideologically more mature and better prepared for further struggle.

Raul Castro then noted the outstanding role played by Comrade Blas Roca, a man who gave all his strength to the socialist cause, in the work of the party. Having linked, in 1929, his life with the defense of the oppressed, he has become a symbol of loyalty to one's principles and led the Communist Party since 1934. Unshakably confident in what was to come, he handed the banner of the party to Fidel after the victory of the revolution, recognizing him as his successor and leader of the Cuban working class. Today, Blas Roca keeps working, offering an example of discipline and party loyalty. The identity of Fidel's and Blas Roca's views is a symbol of the ideological and political unity of the party, today comprising the best representatives of the Cuban people and directing the revolution.

Raul Castro also paid homage to another prominent figure in the Cuban communist movement — to Fabio Grobart, recently awarded the title of Hero of Socialist Labor. He also noted the contribution of Emilio Rodriguez who took part in the founding congress of the party.

The speaker recalled Fidel's words to the effect that the July 26 Movement, the Popular Socialist Party and the March 13 Revolutionary Directorate ceased to exist as independent entities and merged under a single revolutionary banner, forming the basis of today's Communist Party of Cuba.

He noted that thanks to the unity that has been achieved and to everything that has been accomplished by joint effort over the past quarter of a century, thanks to the just revolutionary ideas of Balino and Mella, and thanks to the leader the Cuban people have produced, the difference between the first and the present communist parties is now of academic interest only. Fortunately, the Cuban revolution has been led by a party of its own at the most decisive junctures.

There are now hundreds of thousands of members comprising the Communist Party of Cuba that is preparing for its Third Congress, Raul Castro said in conclusion. Today, the invincible ideas of socialism inspire the people in the building of the new society and in the defense of the revolutionary gains. We are advancing confidently toward our goal in firm alliance with the USSR, the entire socialist community and the progressive forces of Latin America, the Caribbean and the world.

Summarized from *Granma*, August 19, 1985

For a Resumption of the National Dialog

Address by the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front-Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador (FMLN-FDR)

Below is the text of an address by the FMLN-FDR to the working and other people of El Salvador over the Duarte regime's attempts to frustrate the search for a peaceful settlement in the country.

1. DIALOG: THE PEOPLE'S HOPE

The Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) and the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) are fighting for the popular aspirations which have been repeatedly denied by the ruling regime. Peace, justice and liberty are closely interconnected, and their permanent denial and violation is the cause of the war and the political struggle carried on by the people under the leadership of the FMLN-FDR. The Salvadoran government's response to it has been a counter-insurgency war directed and financed by the U.S.-administration.

In this situation, peace is our people's supreme demand. But it is not a peace based on repression, oppression, misery, surrender and subjugation, but a genuine and lasting peace assuring the popular interests.

That is why the people's hope and aspiration is a negotiated solution of the conflict in our country through a dialog. Repression has not been able to suppress this hope, which has grown stronger and is now expressed with greater force.

2. LA PALMA AND AYAGUALO: EFFORTS TRUNCATED BY DUARTE

For more than four years, the FMLN-FDR have

been putting forward various initiatives aimed to initiate a real dialog with the Salvadoran government that would lead to negotiations for settling the conflict.

If an effective dialog is to be carried on, with clash of opinion and accord, there must be no efforts to impose terms and to demand unilateral concessions, to say nothing of the adversary's surrender.

Guided by such an approach and in an open spirit, we began the dialog at La Palma seven months ago. We agreed that the process should be continued in order to advance and gradually achieve concrete results. There was also an understanding "to develop the appropriate mechanisms for incorporating all the social strata and groups in the search for peace," which meant that there was to be no dialog conducted behind the backs of the people. It is also obvious that a national dialog has to be carried on between Salvadorans and mainly on national territory.

The continuity of the dialog was to be assured by the establishment, on the basis of parity, of a special commission with the participation of the government and the FMLN-FDR, and with the approval of its terms of reference at Ayagualo.

Despite the remaining difficulties and the con-

frontation of positions by the belligerent parties, the accords reached at La Palma and Ayagualo awakened expectations for a continuation of the dialog and achievement of better results in the course of it.

Unfortunately, developments have shown that Duarte intends to use the dialog for other purposes, regarding it as a propaganda exercise serving the counter-insurgency war, which the Reagan administration has been encouraging and widening through ever greater intervention.

3. DUARTE BREAKS OFF DIALOG

There is now no longer any grounds for the illusion that the mechanisms for a continuation of the dialog are being developed in private, as has been alleged.

Duarte has broke off the dialog. Nor is it only a matter of delays or difficulties that can be overcome. We are faced with the fact that the process initiated at La Palma has been ruptured.

The last meeting was held at Ayagualo on November 30. Thereupon the dialog was frozen. Duarte failed to respond to our proposal of January 10. He subsequently began to use the dialog for electoral purposes, promising to continue it after the elections. On April 9, we put forward a new proposal which Duarte publicly rejected.

On April 23, he used the good offices of the Church to send us a message couched in general terms, not containing any concrete proposals and aiming to transfer the dialog abroad, for an indefinite date.

On May 6, we made a new proposal specifying the dates and places of the meetings, both private and public, on the territory of El Salvador.

On May 12, the Church informed the FMLN-FDR that Duarte had given a negative response to our proposal, without formulating any counter-proposal.

But what is most serious is that Duarte has actually repudiated the accords reached at La Palma and Ayagualo — each one and all of them taken together. He has not recognized the establishment of the Special Commission on Dialog and its terms of reference, and also the accord on incorporating all the social strata and groups of our country in the dialog process. He has ignored the accords on humanizing the conflict relating to the treatment of prisoners of war and the wounded. Finally, he has failed to fulfil the accord on conducting the third round of the negotiations.

4. FMLN-FDR DEMAND A RESUMPTION OF THE DIALOG

The dialog in search of peace is the Salvadorans' most profound aspiration. Duarte began by irresponsibly playing up on this aspiration and then went on to break off the dialog, while widening the war, intensifying the repressions against the people, moving even closer to the oligarchic groupings and

plunging the country into even greater economic, political and military dependence on the United States.

The FMLN-FDR reiterate that the dialog is the only way to a political negotiated solution and peace in El Salvador. That is why both our fronts insist on the necessity of convening a national forum, and reaching agreement in the matter of human rights and political freedoms, and guarantees of free activity by popular organizations, trade unions and political parties. It is necessary to lift the state of siege and renounce all the decrees contravening the agreement to humanize the war. Agreements must be reached on ending the U.S. armed intervention in our country's affairs and the build-up of armaments and economic sabotage on both sides. None of these objectives can be attained without a responsible approach and dialog. That is why it is necessary to reopen the dialog so as to achieve the solution of the most urgent problems facing our country and to satisfy our people's most vital demands.

It follows from what has been said that Duarte has, in fact, scrapped the dialog and has returned to the old negative stance which the government maintained up to October 5.

5. CALL ON ALL THE SEGMENTS OF THE SOCIETY

The resumption of the dialog must be a gain of the people, the fruit of its political struggle.

Duarte's arbitrary rupture of the dialog and arrogation of the right to pass judgement on the urge for peace voiced by the FMLN-FDR cannot be tolerated. All the organized forces in the country must demand that Duarte should respond to our proposals for a peaceful settlement and show his will for peace at the negotiation table, instead of issuing facile and unfounded accusations against us.

All the organized forces in the country must demand a public dialog with the people's participation and a free expression of the popular demands. If these conditions are to be realized, the dialog should be conducted on the territory of our country.

Duarte must be compelled to respond, publicly and clearly, whether he intends to resume the process of dialog in El Salvador.

He must be made to feel the people's pressure and demands. Duarte must be made aware that he will never again be able to deceive anyone by his demagogy.

We call on all the workers, peasants, cooperative members, teachers, students, small and middle entrepreneurs, members of Christian communities, intellectuals and technical specialists: *everyone to struggle for fulfilling the immediate popular demands, for a resumption of the dialog in El Salvador.*

El Salvador, May 28, 1985

FDR EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
FMLN GENERAL COMMAND
Special issue of *Venceremos*, May 1985.

Loyal to the April Revolution

Electoral Program of the Portuguese Communist Party (PCP)

Following is an *Avante!* summary of the PCP program for the mid-term parliamentary elections due on October 6, 1985. The elections were set in view of the disintegration of the SP/SDP government coalition, the resignation of the government and the dissolution of the Assembly of the Republic (parliament).

The program formulates proposals to end the current acute social, economic and political crisis and consolidate national sovereignty.

The Portuguese Communist Party has drawn up its electoral program. The electorate will consider it in the course of preparations for the coming parliamentary elections which may result in substantial internal political changes and open up new prospects. Our program is aimed at saving the country by showing it a new way in accordance with the ideals of the April Revolution.

The program looks ahead. But even having in mind preparations for the near future, it is necessary to take account of the key aspects of the present situation and the circumstances which have led to it. A new policy in harmony with April will not come from nowhere. The PCP program, which reflects the aspirations of the bulk of the population, is also evidence of the resolve of all working men and women, of the people as a whole, to defeat a policy detrimental to the interests of the people and nation. This has already brought about the disintegration of the coalition led by Mario Soares, the resignation of the government, the dissolution of the Assembly of the Republic and the decision to hold mid-term elections.

These gains must be consolidated and multiplied if the transition to a new policy is to materialize. The PCP electoral program, based on an in-depth analysis of problems with due regard to the grim experience of recent years, formulates the main lines of a real resumption of the policy of April to save the country.

DEFEND DEMOCRATIC FREEDOMS

Defense of the freedoms, constitutional legality and stable democratic institutions is first among the major tasks that are set out in the electoral program of the PCP made public at a press conference.

For years, civil rights and freedoms were not only attacked but often ignored outright by successive governments. The situation was made worse under the SP/SDP government, responsible for numerous infringements of legality, acts of violence and abuses of power. To restore legality and win a radical revision of the policy carried on so far, the PCP electoral program proposes a wide range of specific measures. They may be listed as follows: respect democratic freedoms, guarantees and rights; protect the working people's rights; preserve the socio-economic structures enshrined in the Constitution, in particular nationalized enterprises and the agricultural cooperatives set up under the Agrarian Reform; safeguard the stability of democratic institutions; ensure a democratic, pluralist social order; maintain public security and order; ensure effective democratic government in conditions of publicity; guarantee effective democratic justice; put the nation's de-

fense and armed forces at the service of national independence and democracy; grant autonomous regions greater political and administrative independence; strengthen democratic local government bodies.

END THE CRISIS

The crisis that began in 1976 is due to a definite policy and so cannot be attributed to the superficial causes which those responsible for it publicize as an excuse. The current recession and declining standard of living are due to the policy of restoring capitalism, latifundiums and imperialism's position which successive overt or covert government coalitions of the SP, SDP and SDC have been pursuing.

This retrogressive policy has brought the country to the brink of economic, financial and social disaster. Portugal's integration into the EEC and the agreement on membership signed by it entitle us to expect the direst consequences (when membership takes concrete form).

With a view to ending the crisis, the economic policy proposed by the PCP proceeds from the need to increase national production, put the financial system on a sound basis and improve the people's life. The party sets out a number of measures relating to industry, agriculture, fishing, the power industry, civil engineering, public works and transport. It calls for the planned execution of major projects of national significance, technological progress, improved home trade, and a new policy toward tourism, credits and taxation. It also proposes steps to reduce the external debt and extend foreign economic relations.

IMPROVE LIVING CONDITIONS

There is no improving the material and cultural conditions of the people's life or ending the crisis without communist participation. The PCP electoral program comes up with specific solutions. We stress the urgency of the following social measures: to provide a minimum livelihood, grant allowances to families whose incomes per member fall short of half the established subsistence wage; supply free milk to pupils in all elementary schools and set up dining rooms in all secondary schools offering meals at accessible prices and of decent quality; effect an immediate rise in minimum pensions; the state to guarantee the clearing up of arrears on wages; put an immediate end to the eviction of jobless people or workers whose wages are overdue.

In addition to these pressing measures, the PCP proposes an entirely new policy toward wages, prices, employment and taxes to call a halt to the

deterioration of living and working conditions. Our proposals include a better social insurance system, effective health care, specifically enforcement of the law on the national health system, the drawing up of a national housing construction plan and other measures intended to provide homes and solve this grave national problem. We propose an educational policy guaranteeing the right to continued studies and serving the interests of youth and the nation as a whole. We declare for democratic access to cultural values, the encouragement of creative endeavor, and steps to place culture in the service of the people and national independence, democratize culture and safeguard the ecological balance. Our policy takes account of the aspirations of youth, respects women's rights and provides for aid to emigrants.

VOTE FOR THE UNITED PEOPLE'S ALLIANCE

The only way to end the crisis and solve the nation's problems is to follow a policy of national

independence, peace and cooperation with all peoples and countries. The PCP electoral program points to the need for Portugal to join actively in the struggle for peace and disarmament and pursue a foreign policy worthy of the April Revolution.

The measures set out in this summary constitute the substance of the PCP program for the coming elections. The program is a most valuable working document making it possible to popularize the communists' proposals. Also, it shows that these proposals cannot be put into practice without an appreciable increase in the number of votes cast for the PCP and the United People's Alliance (UPA).

It is only a democratic and patriotic government that can end the crisis and ensure democratic stability and progress. Portugal needs a democratic government of national salvation guaranteeing the adoption of a new policy.

To vote for the UPA means voting for a new policy in line with that of the April Revolution.

Avante!, August 22, 1985

The Present Anti-apartheid Struggle in South Africa Involves People of all Persuasions

Interview Given by Henry Winston, CPUSA National Chairman

The apartheid regime in South Africa "is a fascist, racist, military dictatorship. This heinous regime can continue to develop its genocidal policies of maintaining the Black majority in conditions of colonialism only because it is primarily buttressed by the subservience of Ronald Reagan and his administration to that of the military-industrial complex in our country."

This was said in a recent interview in New York by Henry Winston, National Chairman of the Communist Party USA, who called for a total break, "first of all economic but also diplomatic, with the apartheid regime." He emphasized the necessity of "compelling the administration to adopt a policy of mandatory comprehensive sanctions" against South Africa.

Winston said, "The fight against apartheid in South Africa is total. It is a popular movement of some 22 million Black South Africans who are increasingly finding allies among white progressives united on a new level of struggle to sweep away the apartheid regime."

The CPUSA National Chairman stated, "What is evident is that this new level of unity is anchored in the just cause of the Black majority, who refuse to be made alien in their own country by the apartheid white minority. They are asserting their inalienable right to become masters of their own country and all of its resources. The 50,000-strong funeral march demonstration protesting the murder of four Black community leaders by a fascist death squad is but one expression of the rising opposition."

Winston pointed out that even after South African President Pieter Botha's "state of emergency" was

declared, 500,000 miners voted to go on strike for wage increases and better working conditions. "There can be no doubt," Winston said, "that a positive response to this will be given by labor all over the world. There is nothing that can stop the freedom struggle in South Africa."

"It is of enormous significance that the struggle in South Africa today in essence is a struggle to obtain a democratic, anti-fascist, anti-imperialist and non-racial society, as put forward in the 1955 Freedom Charter of the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa, and that this struggle is supported by growing anti-apartheid sectors from among the Indian, Colored and white communities," Winston said.

"The present struggle in South Africa today, in the van of which is the ANC and the United Democratic Front (UDF), is a contribution the importance of which cannot be overestimated," he stressed. The fight to overthrow apartheid is led by the ANC and the UDF. The South African Communist Party (SACP) fully supports the struggles being led so courageously by these organizations."

Winston noted: "The struggle for the total liberation of the 22 million-strong Black majority is achievable only by the overthrow of two systems existing within the confines of a single state, that is, the fascist, racist rule of a white minority which is maintaining a system of classical colonialism. This struggle is a great contribution to the world struggle for peace, peaceful coexistence and national independence.

"What is Reagan's policy?" Winston asked. "His policy is based on the concept that Botha is 'our ally'

and/or Botha is 'our friend.' The abstention vote by the U.S. and Great Britain on the limited sanctions resolution offered by France in the UN Security Council was consistent with this policy of 'our ally' and 'our friend.' No rhetoric can conceal the fact that such policies serve to bolster the state of emergency.

"And it is this policy which permits the extraction of superprofits from the Black majority in South Africa by IBM, GM, Exxon, Polaroid, Ford and other U.S. monopolies. This is the essence of Reagan's 'constructive engagement'" explained Winston. "At the same time, 'constructive engagement' provides a guarantee for Botha's policy that can make 22 million Black people aliens in their own country, all likely to be relegated to the Bantustans."

Winston emphasized, "The fight to reverse this so-called 'constructive engagement' policy and in its stead institute the policy of mandatory and comprehensive sanctions against the apartheid regime is the main duty of all those concerned with the liberation of South Africa. This is a mighty contribution to everyone concerned with the struggle for the prevention of nuclear war and the achievement of peace and self-determination for the peoples. Just as the U.S. is the source of the nuclear danger, so too the U.S. is the main source buttressing the Botha regime today.

"The recall of the U.S. ambassador to South Africa is a sham," the CPUSA National Chairman said. "There must instead be a total break with the apartheid regime."

Winston called on all opponents of apartheid to give support to the following actions: "Refusal to load or unload ships, planes and any means of transport bound to or from South Africa, especially oil tankers, denial of landing rights to South African planes and refusal to handle all postal, telephone, telegraph or other telecommunications to or from South Africa. In the UN, the U.S. must back imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions including an oil embargo under Chapter VII of the UN Charter and must be prepared to back further collective steps provided for under the Charter if the apartheid regime remains recalcitrant."

Continuing, Winston said, "Any U.S. mercenary fighting for the South African regime must receive the most severe punishment and must be stripped of his U.S. citizenship. Any country that supplies South Africa with arms, civilian and/or military advisers, technicians and especially scientific or technological help in the nuclear field must be immediately cut off from all U.S. military aid," Winston said.

"There should be no more loans or credits, public or private, to South Africa. South African holdings here must be frozen and the U.S. must exert its power in the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and all other international financial institutions to deny all financial support to South Africa."

And further, he said, "There must be also a demand for the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela, the imprisoned leader of the ANC, and all other political prisoners," explaining, "Fighters for South

African liberation in the ANC's military organization Umkhonto we Sizwe must be granted the status of prisoners of war and must be accorded all the rights due to them under the 1949 Geneva Conventions. It must be made clear to the apartheid rulers that refusal to grant this will result in their being tried as war criminals as their Nazi friends were at Nuremberg."

The CPUSA National Chairman said, "This year the world is marking the 40th anniversary of the Allied victory over Nazi Germany in which the Soviet people led by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union made the decisive contribution, at the sacrifice of 20 million Soviet lives. It was the Soviet people who hurled back the racist monster of Nazism, pursued it and crushed it in its lair — a victory which among other things weakened racist, colonialist, fascist and imperialist regimes all over the world and provided a decisive push to the struggles of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America — including the people of South Africa.

"It is no secret that all the present and past leaders of the apartheid regime including Botha were on the side of Nazi Germany and that many of them were interned by the British during World War II because they were working toward a Nazi victory. Had the Nazis won, there would have been a thousand years of fascist slavery," Winston stated.

"Reagan's statement that South Africa was on our side in World War II is a horrible distortion of the truth — the apartheid leaders were and are on the side of the Nazis. Botha is desperately defending his apartheid rule. Like Hitler, his main weapon is anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, and anti-communism and anti-Sovietism form the basis of Reagan's policy of nuclear war," Winston stressed.

The CPUSA National Chairman pointed out that "the present anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa involves people of all persuasions, united in struggle against the fascist, racist regime." He stated, "That is the way it is now, and the ANC and the UDF make clear that they will continue to develop, with greater cohesion and consolidation of their forces, under the banner of the battle.

"What an inspiring example to anti-apartheid fighters in the U.S. The Communist Party in the U.S., like the Communist Party in South Africa, fully supports the anti-apartheid movement in general and the Free South Africa movement in particular. The Communist Party in the U.S. is in the van of the fight to help reverse the domestic and foreign policies of the Reagan administration," Winston said.

"The fight for mandatory and comprehensive sanctions, for the unconditional freedom of Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners in South Africa, are integral parts of the fight for the liberation of the Black majority in South Africa," Winston explained. "Support to the anti-apartheid movement is first of all an expression of the highest form of humanism. That is why tens of millions of people in the U.S. have embraced this movement. And it will continue to grow in strength until the apartheid regime is overthrown."

But Winston warned, "However let us not forget that the enemy is cunning and will use every

strategem at their command. They will do everything to confuse and disorient, they will attempt to create doubts and divisions in the ranks in an attempt to split the movement at this moment when victory is so near.

"They will not limit themselves to mercenaries, bribery, various forms of provocation, spies, and assassins," the CPUSA National Chairman cautioned. "They will concentrate especially upon sincere and honest people involved in the struggle. That is why vigilance and alertness in battle must be the watchwords of all fighting apartheid in South Africa."

Winston pointed out that "anti-communism and anti-Sovietism are the essence of fascism. Botha and Vorster before him came to power using the slogans of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, and such was the essence of Hitler's policy as well. The same can be said of Reagan, whose domestic and foreign policies are based on anti-communism and anti-Sovietism. For Botha — Bantustans. For Hitler — Lebensraum, 'living space.' For Reagan — nuclear war against what he calls 'the Evil Empire.'"

He called attention to the fact that "the response to the fight against apartheid in the U.S. is developing in ways that are most gratifying. If one took the campuses alone, more than 500 of them have had demonstrations and have initiated struggles for divestment.

"There are similar developments on a local, district and international level in the main trade unions, protesting inaction on the part of the Federal government and expressing opposition to apartheid," Winston noted. "Religious organizations of every denomination are expressing themselves on this question. Every single Afro-American organization has engaged in similar actions and so have youth and women's organizations as well. Everywhere there are demonstrations, marches, rallies, picket lines and many other forms of action. Truly, the

movement in this country supporting the struggle for liberation in South Africa has never been so wide as today.

"The movement must focus on the demand for mandatory comprehensive sanctions, to break Reagan's 'apartheid connection' and puncture Botha's UN-made life-preserver," Winston said. "In the UN Security Council, the French resolution calling for a ban on new investments got the backing of 13 nations and was very positive as far as it went — even though it said nothing about the old investments and was not a call for mandatory and comprehensive sanctions.

"But the U.S. and Britain abstained. Even on voluntary actions," Winston recalled. "Reagan and Thatcher argued that this would hurt the people we want to help the most. This is imperialism talking — and who do you suppose those people they want to help the most are? They are saying that it is the Black working people of South Africa, but was there ever a time when Reagan, Thatcher or any other imperialist wanted to help any working people anywhere, let alone Black workers in South Africa?"

"Reagan and Thatcher are not fooling anybody about who it is they want to help the most," the CPUSA National Chairman stressed.

"Reaction has the same inherent features as Nazism — rabid anti-communism, anti-Sovietism, chauvinism and racism, flagrant demagogery, the use of force against the working class and the working masses in general, international terrorism, and aggression against sovereign states," Winston explained. "But history shows that the people are potentially stronger than reaction, if they are united, organized and conscious of their goals, and it is to this end that the Communists are devoting all their efforts, here as in South Africa, as part of the common struggle for freedom."

Abridged from *Daily World*,
August 8, 1985

Now is the Time to Fight with Courageous Determination

Message from the Communist Party of Chile to the People

Following is the text of a message from the Communist Party of Chile to the people circulated in Santiago in September 1985.

The message was timed to coincide with the 12th anniversary of the military fascist coup.

For 12 years past, Chile has been ruled by a fascist dictatorship, the most brutal dictatorship that humanity has lately known. These years have been the darkest and most tragic period in our history.

Immediately after the coup, the Chilean people began a heroic struggle to defend their rights and demands, striving to put an end to the tyranny. This struggle, carried on in unity and in various forms, is the decisive factor for the crisis of the regime.

Twelve years of rule by a dictatorship serving the interests of foreign big capital and oligarchic minorities have led the country to economic disas-

ter. They have doomed millions of working people to poverty and hunger and made a ruinous impact on industry, agriculture, transport and trade.

The appalling crimes perpetrated by carabineros and security agents on direct orders from Pinochet have shown only too well the repressive nature of a regime continuously flouting human rights. They have revealed the depth of the political, economic and moral crisis of the dictatorship to the whole country and the international community.

As matters stand, it is not enough to merely put the depth of the crisis on record. Immediate efforts

are needed to find a democratic way out of the crisis. The nation in general and every Chilean in particular demand that priority be given to a joint struggle to end the present regime for all time.

The document, worked out by a section of the opposition under the auspices of Cardinal Juan Francisco Fresno, is an obvious reflection of the crisis of the dictatorship. Its adoption was undoubtedly prompted by the growing intensity of popular action for immediate and deep-going changes in the country.

The signatories include leaders who in the past backed the coup and contributed to it. Some of them held official posts until recently. The document has also been signed by some spokesmen of the left. All this is evidence of Pinochet's extreme isolation.

The document has a number of positive aspects reflecting the Chileans' pressing aspirations, such as respect for human rights, the restoration of democracy, the return of all political exiles and permission for all political parties without exception to return to the political scene.

However, certain of its provisions are manifestly incomplete. The primary reason for this is that a considerable part of the left was barred from drafting the agreement. Besides, the document lacks specific provisions for steps to do away with the tyranny by 1989.

Clearly, democracy cannot be re-established for as long as Pinochet stays in power. His negative reaction to the document in question and his stubborn effort to leave the policy imposed on the country intact suggests that he is set on retaining power to the end of his days.

The experience of past years has shown that removing Pinochet from power is necessary if at least the minimum proposals contained in the document are to be implemented. It is possible and necessary to unite in support of the demand for Pinochet's resignation a wider range of political forces than the right-wing and centrist parties and organizations. No one should be barred from subscribing to this demand.

It is also evident that full respect for human rights is out of the question without the immediate abolition of the repressive agencies of the dictatorship, something which the document says nothing about. Nor does the demand that the government should promise not to apply Article 24 of the Constitution provide any guarantees. For as long as Pinochet stays in power and this article is preserved, it can be applied at any moment.

We consider that it is better to see things as they really are. Pinochet's Constitution meets the requirements of his regime; it flouts popular sovereignty on an institutionalized basis. A partial reform of the Constitution cannot guarantee respect for the people's rights. This is a task demanding a complete repeal of the present Constitution.

Furthermore, we are burdened with a gigantic foreign debt. Every child in our country owes over 2,000 dollars from its birthday. To take a proper stand in favor of saving national independence and against U.S. imperialist interference is to recognize that the main prerequisite for improving the people's

plight is a decision by the democratic forces to refuse repayment of the debts incurred by the dictatorship. If a democratic government started talks on this basis it could effectively guarantee national sovereignty.

It should be clear to everyone that the working people have no intention of continuing to make sacrifices in order to enrich a handful of privileged persons. The problem of hunger, poverty and unemployment is so grave that its solution should be seen as brooking no delay and should be tackled under an emergency program.

In any case, neither the project in question, whose shortcomings we have pointed out, nor any other project can be put into effect unless the people take its realization into their hands and are mobilized continuously, resolutely and more vigorously than ever.

We are of the opinion that verbal opposition, the ideas of a national reconciliation and proposals regarding the principles of a future democratic regime are important. However, they are not enough to end the fascist regime. It is undoubtedly necessary to count on reason but this should be buttressed by strength, by unity and struggle on the part of the people determined to regain their freedom.

This is the real point at issue. We communists are convinced that there is no winning freedom and democracy without unification on the broadest possible basis and determined struggle. Over the past twelve years we have consistently upheld a position in line with this idea. We have shown the people the road to action against the dictatorship and helped in this way bring about a new mood among them, a sprouting seed of the victory to come.

Our approach is marked by a sense of patriotic responsibility; we are prepared to consider any proposals likely to contribute to the defeat of the fascist regime. We appreciate and support every initiative aimed at the early restoration of democracy in the country. However, life has shown on more than one occasion that the struggle for democracy must not be sectarian, must not be directed toward isolating this or that opposition group. It must be accompanied by the most widespread and resolute mobilization of the people.

The exclusion of various opposition currents has always played into the hands of the dictatorship, and so those who advocate it are assuming a grave historical responsibility. None but a new, democratic alignment of all Chileans on principles to be worked out collectively can guarantee the restoration of freedom.

In communities, enterprises, universities and offices, or wherever the people are living and working, their spokesmen — men and women, young people and students holding the most diverse political views — are uniting on a common democratic basis. They are not arguing over unity but building it up in everyday struggles.

Some parties would like to exclude other political forces from the common struggle; they seek support for this approach from the church, to the detriment of the church itself and the country as a whole. They

imagine that it will be easier to win a victory over Pinochet if the forces making up the People's Democratic Movement, including our party, are barred from political agreements of any kind. The leaders in question delude themselves into believing that they can come to terms with the regime on this basis.

The tyranny uses anti-communism to distract attention from the nation's major problems. It propagates anti-communism to "divide and continue ruling." Attempts to exclude this or that opposition group are tantamount to surrendering to anti-communism. No real democrat should forget that anti-communism lies at the basis of the military coup. It has been and remains an argument used for justifying murder, shootings, the "disappearance" of people, torture, banishment and deportation. Thousands of opposition-minded Chileans — not only communists by any means — have become its victims. Anti-communism is the essence of the so-called national security doctrine.

Now that power is in the hands of a fascist dictatorship, the people realize more than ever that anti-communism is conducive to political and moral corruption.

No one should allow oneself to be misled by distortions of our policy line. Some fair-minded leaders make statements against us because they have a wrong idea of our position. We are doing our best to show them why they are wrong, and we will go on working for the unity of all opposition forces because this is in the interest of the country and its people.

The issue of violence is a favorite argument in the campaign aimed at splitting the opposition. It should be evident, however, that violence is inherent in any society divided into classes. It takes more brutal forms under regimes similar to Pinochet's.

Violence does not come from the communists. It is the regime that has made it the chief instrument of suppressing the people. Hence there is no choice but to resist violence, using every form of struggle.

It would be legitimate for the people to use vio-

lence in response to aggression and oppression directed against them.

The fathers of the Chilean state did not initiate violence but they used it when they had to and no one would have dared to condemn them.

We are for the unity of the people, for their mobilization and activity, for citizens' self-defense against aggression and for sustained efforts on their part to persuade the military to stop backing a brutal and corrupt dictatorship. This is the essence of our vision of nation-wide action to end the hated regime as speedily as possible. For as long as the dictatorship is there, our country will be dominated by brute force.

This places a most great responsibility on the armed forces. For as long as they turn a deaf ear to the people's demands, they will remain an obstacle to any democratic initiative or project.

Compatriots, now is the time to take an explicit and resolute stand, to join forces and respond to the appeals coming from the people, to end the isolation of any opposition group and discard illusions impeding mobilization of the masses.

Now is the time to fight with courageous determination.

It will depend on the entire opposition to put an end now to a regime in agony, to call a halt to lawlessness, violence and murder by which the regime is trying in vain to keep its hold on power.

The more widespread and vigorous the actions launched in the days and months ahead, the sooner freedom and democracy will come.

Faced with threats from the cornered dictator, the people of Chile must say "Enough" and suit the action to the word.

We are certain that if all opposition forces join in the civil disobedience campaign and take the road of revolt, the country will be paralyzed and the dictatorship unable to govern it. This will ensure victory over fascism.

Down with Pinochet! Democracy now! Reason and strength will bring us victory.

A Criminal Provocation

Statement by the Central Executive Committee of the Colombian Communist Party

On August 28, 1985, an assassination attempt was made in Bogota against Jaime Caycedo, CEC member of the Colombian Communist Party, Secretary for International Relations. Three gunmen opened fire on Caycedo as he was getting into a car and inflicted four wounds upon him.

The Ricardo Franco organization announced that the attempt was made by it. This is not only a crime against a noted popular leader. It is directed primarily against the policy of promoting democratization through mass action which the communists are committed to. Some time ago, the same provoca-

teurs' group threatened to kill Colombian communist leaders unless they changed the party line. The attempt against Caycedo was a second act aimed at implementing its insane plans. An earlier victim of these plans was Hernando Hurtado, a communist MP. It is obvious that the Ricardo Franco group is operating along the same lines as the police units led by the worst Colombian reactionaries, enemies of the people's progress and internal peace.

Bogota, August 28, 1985

Abridged from *Voz*, August 29, 1985

No Reprisals by the Authorities can Stifle the Ideas of Freedom, Independence and Socialism

Statement by the CC of the Communist Party of Indonesia

Executions of our comrades who devoted their entire lives to the struggle for the national liberation and social emancipation of the Indonesian people are continuing to this day. The execution of comrade Mohammed Munir in July was followed by the deaths of comrades Joko Untung, Rustomo and Gatot Sutaryo. Many other ardent patriots are on the death row in the torture chambers of the Suharto regime's jails. The ruling quarters openly admit that our comrades have been sentenced to death because the almost twenty years of imprisonment have failed to break their will or force them to abandon their political convictions. The real reason behind the reprisals is the ruling elite's fear of the lofty ideals of peace and social equality, fear of the people looking for deliverance from the oppression and exploitation existing under the present regime.

This fear prompts the terrorist and repressive ruling elite to suppress basic human rights more ruthlessly than ever before, to ignore the protests coming from world public opinion, governments and parliaments and to earn a bad name for Indonesia on the international scene. By murdering our comrades to curry favor with international imperialism, the

butchers are trying to extirpate the fine ideas of freedom, independence and socialism. But the oppressors' fear of the growing popular discontent is the best indication proving the vitality of the progressive movement no one has ever succeeded or will succeed in destroying.

History has demonstrated that as a party of working people, the CPI has always been in the vanguard of this progressive movement, upholding the vital social and political interests of the Indonesian people. The strength of the Communist Party of Indonesia lies in its commitment to the cause of our people's freedom and happiness and in the international solidarity that is particularly pronounced today. We are profoundly grateful for this solidarity to the fraternal parties and to all who hold the cause of justice and humanism dear.

Paying homage to our fallen comrades, the CPI is closing its ranks and proclaiming its readiness to keep up the struggle in the name of the glorious ideals for which hundreds of thousands of the best sons and daughters of the Indonesian people have given their lives.

Djakarta, early August 1985

We Demand that Italy Declare Explicitly Against a new Arms Race and the Militarization of Space

From a Speech by Alessandro Natta, General Secretary of the Italian Communist Party, at "l'Unita" Festival

We want to discuss things with everybody but the starting point must be firm and clear. The Italian Communist Party is not going to repent before anybody of either its name or its past. We are proud of our record and the name of Communist.

Of course, humanity as a whole has made notable progress. The old type of colonialism has been abolished. Quantitative gains have been made everywhere, especially in the north of the globe. But we must not forget, comrades, that to achieve these results, humanity had to go through the inferno of two world wars and that we could not have arrived at the present, more advanced stage without the impetus given by the victory of two great revolutions — the Soviet and the Chinese — or without the sustained struggle of the working class and democratic, socialist, communist and Christian movements.

Nevertheless, these achievements cannot conceal the fact that humanity is faced with new, formidable problems. Let us recall these problems: peace hinges on an increasingly precarious balance of fear; the gap between the North and the South is enor-

mous; the relationship between man and nature has been upset, and this is fraught with dangerous consequences. Amazing scientific achievements really offer vast opportunities, except that they come up against outdated social relations even in the most advanced and developed countries.

We have celebrated 40 years of peace. But it would be more correct to say that these have been years without a world war, for they have seen dozens of wars which killed several million people.

The situation today is entirely different but we do not feel safe when attempts are made to justify a new, fabulous increase in military spending, said to serve defensive purposes. The militarization of space is sought, in effect, through a new monstrous squandering of money in the period ahead, and this threatens the future with the gravest dangers. It is simply an insane illusion to make a bid for absolute military superiority. Even now it is obvious that every step taken in space by one side is matched with a corresponding step by the other side.

What has generated hope is the coming November meeting between the heads of the two great powers,

as well as the great positive contribution made by the new political leadership of the Soviet Union, which has unilaterally frozen nuclear tests. However, the "hawks" on the other side have dismissed that as mere propaganda. I think Mikhail Gorbachev was right when he replied by calling on the U.S. government to engage in similar "propaganda," that is, to respond to the moratorium on nuclear tests announced by the Soviet Union by taking a similar decision. Yet what the Reagan administration did instead was a move which could only cause apprehension, namely, tests of anti-satellite weapons in space.

More than ever before, something more is needed today than a mere expression of the wish that détente would materialize: we must remind people how very correct it has been to campaign continuously for the resumption of the dialog, for partial measures, for balanced and controlled disarmament. Something very timid has been done. But far more can be accomplished within the European community and in NATO through national initiatives. We demand that Italy declare explicitly against a new arms race and the militarization of space. Other Atlantic countries and governments have already spoken out. Why, then, cannot Italy do the same?

That is the basis on which the broadest national consensus and unanimity should be built. It is wrong to search for an alibi in the communists' alleged misconception of international reality. And then, it is high time for everybody to see the damage which the policy of division and a negative attitude to the most constructive proposals of the opposition have done to the dignity and interests of the country.

There is too much violence and oppression, too many wars and seats of war in the world. Having proved that we are against any biased position, we can now call with still greater determination on all democratic parties and the government, as well as on those who are always talking about freedom, to speak out and act against the bloodthirsty Chilean dictatorship, against attempts to encircle Nicaragua, against the torpedoing of even the most moderate proposals for a constructive solution to the tragic problem of the Palestinian people.

We do not consider that taking initiatives to overcome the present grave contradictions is a privilege of the left. But the time has come to take the offensive against those who are talking about the need to erase all distinctions between the right and the left.

What is proposed as a remedy now is the formula "Curb state intervention, broaden the scope of the market." This is not merely a philosophy but a perfectly concrete threat. We favor a sound social policy on the part of the state; we are against a bloated bureaucratic machinery, against excessive regimentation, against wasting funds to bribe self-interested menials, against inefficiency exalted to the rank of system.

To put social policy on a sound basis, it is necessary, first of all, to stress that not all public property must belong to the state. Much can be achieved by using various forms of managing society and improving professional skills. But it is also necessary to put

the state itself on a sound basis if we want to achieve real results. This is where we are witnessing a complete failure. It is the worst guilt of those who have been governing Italy uninterruptedly.

There is reason for increasing concern. Some unlawful operations of the secret services have come out. Moreover, the organizers of the biggest acts of terrorism go unpunished. The danger coming from those who wield secret power, from the close connection between the Mafia, the Camorra and big organized crime, on the one hand, and certain members of the establishment, on the other, has not disappeared. Of course, our resistance and the resistance of large sections of the Catholic community and some democratic forces have played their role and public opinion now know better than before of the damage done by all that.

The appointment of a Socialist to the post of prime minister after 40 years of rule by the Christian Democratic Party and 20 years of alliance between the CDP and ISP was unquestionably something new and we stressed this at the time. But it would be illusory to imagine that this appointment can shift the political axis of the coalition, characterized by moderation and conservatism. The greater the effort to provide a theoretical rationale for describing the fact that the office of premier is held by a Socialist and that his powers have been extended as a blessing in itself, the greater the conservative effrontery and power of the CDP.

More than ever, creating a democratic alternative to govern the country is becoming a vital necessity.

We have already said that such an alternative does not run counter to the demand that the broadest possible forms of agreement be sought on problems concerning government institutions and the main benefits of the nation. We have said that the alternative is a process during which socio-political forces must unite on the basis of a program for reform. Propositions and projects suitable for this program are not lacking even now. All that is lacking is political will.

We have never ruled out intermediate stages for which we should pave the way by carrying on our struggle within the opposition. The purpose of our action is not to provoke a crisis at all costs although some cabinet ministers ought to step down, if only out of decency (strictly speaking, they should be fired). But we do not think the resignation of this cabinet is important and necessary right now. We are going to pursue this goal according to realistic criteria within a movement involving society and the masses. We want a showdown on important problems of the country. We know full well that it is primarily we who must offer specific and correct solutions for them. But it is not only we who must do it. What is more, we have a right to demand, primarily from the ISP, something new compared with the policy which is gradually moving it farther away from the promises and commitments of the policy of reform.

The Communist Party is a big and perfectly mature force. We are in a position to counter attempts to isolate us with a positive initiative for unity in

society and the state, among social and political forces. We do not believe we can create an alternative singlehanded, nor are we going to shut ourselves up in the besieged fortress of the working class. We are proud of representing the majority of the working class; the need to defend its interests and assert its right to a leading role is not a thing of the past.

But to fulfil this task ever more effectively, we must realize the vast dimensions of wage labor and the diversity of its forms. After all, wage labor includes specialists, office employees and many intellectuals. We must also learn to appreciate the requirements of the productive middle class more than we have done so far.

We can only make headway through a serious policy of social alliances. As for those who are trying to isolate us, we will answer them, as we do now, by throwing the door and windows wide open. We will start a dialog with all democrats. More than ever, ours will become a party of proposals and programs capable of expressing the deep-going requirements of the masses, a party seeking and achieving left and democratic unity.

Nobody will be able to isolate a party like ours if we succeed in giving such an answer. We know of something more than the fragility of these clever alliances of five parties or the contradictions and deals that have a negative impact upon them. We also know of the immense potentialities of our party, of its ability to meet current exigencies and to look ahead.

We must again derive strength from our ideological treasury, not in order to flee to a dreamland,

but to show ways out of the current crisis here and now.

Yes, our programs must be more precise, not because they have been less specific and precise than those of other parties, but because there are old problems in urgent need of solution and new problems with which changes in production, culture and people's way of life confront us. Old problems are still there and at the same time new, increasingly imperative ones crop up. Hence the task is not to follow more or less deep-rooted, more or less ephemeral trends, but to understand the contradictions that give rise to them.

Yes, we want the battle of ideas and positions throughout our party to be more open and public. We do not want this in order to show that we are more democratic than anybody else. No, we are still well aware of the great significance of the long road which we have travelled in common and of the positions and spirit of unity which have always inspired us.

More than ever, we are convinced that unity of the party's policy, action and leadership is the basis for its independence and its ability to be a real political force, a major government force. But the days of monolithism have long been over for us. We must build with increasing energy a party in which everybody not only has a right to set out and uphold his views even when he finds himself in a minority but also has the right to voice his opinion when fundamental decisions on party life and party policy are made.

Abridged from *l'Unità*, September 16, 1985

Unite all Forces to Overrun the Anti-people Regime

From a Report Adopted by the
Communist Party of Pakistan Central Committee

Following is taken from a report on the internal political situation adopted by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Pakistan at its recent meeting.

After the victory of the April Revolution in Afghanistan and the fall of Reza Shah monarchy in Iran, the role of local gendarme to guard imperialist interests was given to Pakistan and it was declared to be the "frontline state." The five-year strategic deal between U.S. imperialism and the reactionary military junta of Pakistan was recently extended by two more years (and there are plans to extend it further) which will have grave implications for the tension in the region which has already reached dangerous proportions.

At the root of this tension lies the induction of sophisticated and aggressive weapons worth billions and billions of dollars in Pakistan. Zia clique has crossed all limits in involving Pakistan in the imperialist war against revolutionary Afghanistan.

North West Frontier Province, the federally administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and some areas

of Baluchistan province on the border with Afghanistan have been turned into "frontline area" where not only the Afghan counter-revolutionary bandits receive military training and are equipped with sophisticated and heavy weapons, but operational bases are provided for the Afghan counter-revolutionaries.

The dangerous and adventuristic policy of the imperialist-propped Zia clique was epitomized by the events of Badha Bair near Peshawar (again very symbolic, as Badha Bair used to be a U.S. military base in sixties, from where the notorious and provocative U.S.-2 espionage flights were launched over the Soviet territory) where some Soviet and Afghan personnel kidnapped and kept in a concentration camp run by the bandits were murdered, with not only connivance but also with the active involvement of the Pakistan security forces.

It was a shock for the patriotic circles in Pakistan to know that their country's soil is used for such madly provocative acts. The people of our country have every reason to believe that it was not the only incident or an isolated act. Such gross violation of international law and deliberate provocations are a common practice under the imperialist-propped Zia regime.

They are also concerned by the fact that a large body of thousands and thousands of the well-trained and armed Afghan counter-revolutionaries, whose ultimate control lies with U.S. imperialism and CIA, is not only stationed on our territory, but is also used as shock force in favor of the local reaction with which it is closely connected.

The attack of the reactionary and fascistic Jamaat-e-Islami hooligans on the convention of Democratic Students Federation in Peshawar (in April) has proved that the local reaction is quite advanced in the use of sophisticated weapons. By launching terrorist attacks against progressive and democratic movement in this area, the local reaction under imperialist patronage wants to terrorize and roll back the democratic movement of the whole country.

They also want to turn this area completely into a haven for the Afghan counter-revolutionary thugs. To achieve this purpose, they want to crush all progressive and democratic elements in this area. The attacks of the counter-revolutionaries are supplementing the repression and persecution by Zia regime.

Relations with India are quite far from being normal in spite of the hypocritic noises made to this effect. The reason again is the involvement of the Zia clique in the imperialist policy of pressuring non-aligned India by sending terrorists and subversive elements from our country into India.

Even imperialist intrigues are carried out in Iran from the bases in our country. Zia clique is clearly isolated in the country on its engagement in imperialist strategy in the region. Anti-imperialism has become a prominent feature of the democratic movement. Demand for direct negotiations with DRA has been made by almost all important political parties of the country.

Even Zia himself had to publicly accept that public opinion stands against his regime on this question. At times, his regime indulges in limited maneuvers as there are also differences in ruling circles, but U.S. pressure ultimately prevails effectively, as the more Zia clique is isolated with the country, the more it is dependent on U.S. imperialism.

This is really a very critical juncture in the history of our country. All the progressive democratic and patriotic forces have got to firmly rise against gambling with the very existence of the country in the interests of imperialist monopolies, against the extension of the strategic deal between the military junta and U.S. imperialism, against turning Pakistan into a springboard of aggression against the neighboring countries, particularly against revolutionary Afghanistan.

The people of Afghanistan and Pakistan have the same enemy — U.S. imperialism. The consolidation

of the national democratic revolution in Afghanistan and Pakistan's liberation from imperialist domination and the achievement of democratic rights by the people of Pakistan are interlinked.

The experience of the last eight years has shown that imperialist domination of the country and the curbing of the human rights have a direct relationship. U.S. imperialism realizes the fact that no democratically elected government, of whatever political shade it may be, would allow the type of control over the destiny of our country as it enjoys under the reactionary clique of generals.

Every moment of the last eight years has proved it beyond any doubt that the only actual sanction behind the dictatorship of the generals is brutality and violence. It has been a rule by hanging and torture, imprisonment and flogging. Hundreds of innocent people have been murdered by the butchers of the regime.

The main brunt of the attack of the imperialist-dominated regime of compradore bourgeoisie, bureaucratic capital and big landowners has been borne by the working class and the toiling people whom no amount of terror has been able to bow into submission. They have fought back heroically. The working class and toiling people have to face suppression of political as well as economic rights and trade union rights, they also have to face unemployment and unprecedented price hikes. Students, women and members of intelligentsia are also victims of the terroristic policies of the regime. These sections have also shown considerable militancy in their spontaneous and separate fights against the military dictatorship.

The regime has used religious obscurantism to justify its neocolonialist terror.

The big inflow of the capital of the multinational corporations and petro-dollars is increasing economic subjugation of the country to foreign capital (up till the end of 1983, foreign investment stood at 22 billion dollars). The country is sinking in foreign loans, most of which are used for militarization (two billion dollars were spent for military purposes in 1983-1984).

Wide denationalization has already played havoc with the public sector, but the upper hand of the World Bank lobby represented by finance minister Mahboob-ul-Haq and others even threatens whatever remains of the public sector.

After delinking of the rupee from dollar in 1982, the devaluation of the rupee has reached more than 50 per cent. The wealth of the country is more and more concentrating in the hands of a handful of big families of finance capital. Unevenness in the different parts of the country has become more pronounced.

The regime has undermined the already feeble federal structure of the country. First, the regime deprived the people of the smaller nationalities of whatever little provincial autonomy was there in the 1973 constitution.

But the "revival of constitution order" (RCO) of March 1985 has turned Pakistan into a unitary state that is totally unacceptable to the people of smaller

nationalities and the democratic circles of the country.

The problem of national rights and provincial autonomy has come to forefront in democratic struggle and it is encouraging to see that wider circles of the democratic movement are paying attention to it, as democratic struggle is inconceivable without raising the demand for equal rights for all nationalities, and national and ethnic minorities.

The regime has been forced by internal and external pressures to make an attempt to adopt a civil facade, but the RCO proved that the regime feels too weak even to have that also. "Revival of constitution order (RCO) is meant for perpetuating martial law, first directly, and later on via the "supreme security council."

But even this controlled process of civil facade cannot run smoothly. The pressure of the mass unrest makes the members of the controlled assembly to speak on issues that sends shivers into the spine of the military dictator.

Mass unrest and sporadic fights not only continue, but this process has also deepened further. However, the leadership of bourgeois opposition, because of their vacillation and hesitation, has not been able to gain the confidence of the people as alternative to military dictatorship.

The neocolonialist regime has used this situation. At times it has been able to push the mass unrest into negative channels, into religious and ethnic conflicts.

This specially suits the imperialist lobbies that would like to effect a mere change of face on the pretext of law and order situation rather than political and social issues thrown up by a mass movement for the overthrow of regime. The level of the unity and coordination of the left, anti-imperialist and democratic forces is also not high enough to meet the demands of the situation.

It was under these conditions, the conditions of

the weakness of subjective factor, that our party had formulated the political line with three directions:

(1) To form the widest possible united front on the single issue of bringing an end to martial law and restoration of democracy. This includes MRD (Movement for the Restoration of Democracy), and political parties like JUP (Jamiat-i-Ulamae Pakistan) outside MRD, who are prepared to struggle against the reactionary dictatorship of generals.

(2) To further unite anti-imperialist democratic forces, and if possible, to bring them to a single platform. To carry forward the process that has already started.

(3) To unite and organize working class, to develop working class actions in alliance with other working people to strengthen the Communist Party, the party of working class, and to vigilantly guard its independence.

Experience has shown that this political line provides vast possibilities for important new initiatives of the party. By struggling against the war-mongering strategy of imperialism in our region, we can fulfil our national and international duty.

But we have to further explain the threat of nuclear holocaust arising out of the policy of confrontation and military superiority of the most reactionary circles of imperialism. We have to link it with the problems of our region and our country.

We also have reserves in the implementation of our formulation about the unity of anti-imperialist democratic forces. In view of the urgency of the fight against imperialist domination of our country and fight against the use of our country as base in the imperialist war against revolutionary Afghanistan, we have to grasp the significance of such unity.

Only successful struggle against imperialism can open up ways for democratic and social changes in Pakistan. A strong anti-imperialist democratic front can decisively deepen the anti-imperialist orientation of broad democratic movement. Our party will have a cementing role in such front.

Working class unity and action along with other toiling people on social and political questions is also of great significance. It can ensure mass mobilization against Zia regime and it can also check the vacillation of the bourgeois leadership of the opposition.

Under the leadership of the Communist Party, the working class will be able to play an effective role in the national democratic revolution. It will be able to form alliance consciously and boldly for every stage of national democratic revolution without losing sight of its own class interests.

We also call on all anti-imperialist and democratic forces to unitedly come into action against imperialist domination of our country which is inseparable from the struggle of our toiling people for democratic and basic human rights.

By representing the aspirations of the people, these forces are duty-bound to unite the separate and heroic fights of workers, peasants, students, women and intelligentsia into a single tide of the rising people to overrun the pro-imperialist and anti-people regime of reactionary generals.

New Age, September 8, 1985

The White House and the Black Continent

A. Gromyko,
General Editor

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Peru: the Communists and the new Government Policy

Statement by the CC Political Commission of the Peruvian Communist Party

In response to President Alan Garcia Perez's Message to the Country published on July 28, 1985, the Peruvian Communist Party (PCP) wishes to make the following statement.

1. The policy of the former government coalition of Popular Action and the Popular Christian Party was marked by servile submission to the dictates of the IMF and transnationals. This caused direct damage to the Peruvian people's national sovereignty. The declared intention of the new head of state to resist imperialism is commendable. The grave situation of the country and the demands made by the majority of the people are evidence of the need for deep-going anti-imperialist changes. The country needs specific measures to end the crisis and firmly resist pressure from without.

A promising sign in this sense is the President's decision to repeal the Kuczynski Law under which imperialist companies, such as Occidental Petroleum, were exempted from paying taxes to the Peruvian state. It is to be hoped that the new government will not use "new incentives" of this kind. The President's statement about the foreign debt is interesting. Objectively, this debt cannot be repaid, as the Left Unity (LU) coalition has repeatedly pointed out. In any case, a government treasuring its right to represent the nation's interests should not make commitments on the debt going beyond the framework set by the President's message on Independence Day, July 28.

If the measures planned in this sphere are carried out consistently they are bound to meet strong resistance from financial capital, the IMF and the U.S. administration. Resistance will intensify if the draft law restricting monopoly activity in Peru and establishing control over the transfer of profits abroad maintains a patriotic orientation.

The grim economic reality of the capitalist world suggests that the IMF will reject a government policy which is in harmony with the national interest and will bring pressure to bear on it. The Peruvian government can hold its own against this pressure only if it consistently pursues an anti-imperialist policy and relies on the patriotic and progressive forces of society.

2. The decision to reorganize the police within 60 days, the desire to punish officials who violated human rights on the pretext of combating terrorism, the intention to harden punishment for fraudulent practices involving abuses of power, and the promise to react to every instance of corruption among members of the former coalition, all of which is mentioned in the President's Message, are very important.

Also important is the President's statement about our people's living conditions and the roots of dependence on food imports. The proposal to re-

duce food imports competing with domestic products, foster national production by enacting a law on agricultural development and affecting a food reform is a positive step. However, it will bear fruit only if the agrarian reform is carried deeper and peasant organizations are encouraged to participate in it.

3. The government's correct attitude to the above issues is a natural result of the powerful popular movement and the vigorous effort of the working people, which in the past decade has given rise to numerous major class battles. Originally the demands in question were made by various trade unions, the General Confederation of Workers of Peru and the working class movement as a whole. Subsequently peasant organizations, self-defense fronts and the organized popular movement as a whole joined in. LU included these demands in its government program and put them on a sounder political basis in accordance with the requirements of the country. The President's support of these demands is indicative of widespread recognition of their correctness and opens up an encouraging prospect. This prospect should be properly assessed.

4. However, the Message contains disturbing mistakes and inaccuracies. President Alan Garcia insists on the ideological thesis about the social "pyramid" which regards the working class as a privileged and, moreover, politically indifferent social force. Yet none but organized workers, who are more experienced in struggle than anyone else, are in a position to play a leading role in consolidating a popular and anti-imperialist government. To expect this process to succeed in our country without their participation would be utopian.

The thesis that the working class is part of the "privileged core" of society does not hold water. If the workers belong to this "core," why did they oppose the policy of the former government coalition? It is well known that capitalist society, including Peruvian society, is divided into the exploiters and the exploited. As for the working class, it plays a vanguard role in the liberation fight by virtue of its organization, unity and capacity for struggle.

The government decision to restore job guarantees by reintroducing a three-month term of probation is a positive move. It should be supplemented by a correct policy toward labor relations and a fair consideration of trade union demands. The Labor Ministry must prevent massive and unwarranted layoffs by the employers following the publication of this government decision.

The President's Message also contains an incorrect reference to the existence of "superpowers" — an allusion to highly developed countries. It is necessary to draw a clear-cut distinction between socialist and imperialist countries, which play anti-

thetic roles in today's world. To equate them is unfair both theoretically and politically. World experience has shown that the liberation process needs support from the world socialist system and the working people's struggle at international level. If the APRA government really wants to defend the country from financial capital and firmly repulse imperialist attacks it needs to have a precise notion of the fundamental contradiction of our epoch, the contradiction between capitalism and socialism. The Aprists are also wrong in referring to a "rich North" faced with a "forgotten South." The struggle is waged on political and not geographical principles. Underlying it is the world-wide opposition between social systems and classes.

A further major shortcoming of the President's Message is his failure to take a more explicit stand on the conflict in Central America. It is not enough to declare in favor of supporting the Contadora Group. Also needed is consistent support for the Nicaraguan people, who are firmly holding their ground against imminent imperialist armed aggression.

5. The President proposes forming a Peace Commission to combat the wave of violence sweeping the country. Given a correct approach this initiative could yield positive results. However, it cannot replace an amnesty, whose necessity the APRA government cannot and should not ignore. To bring

about a real internal reconciliation, it is necessary as a first step to approve the draft law submitted by LU and reflecting this demand of the people.

6. Other aspects of the President's Message need to be specified according to the bills which the new government has submitted to Congress, including those on sectoral policy whose main lines will be worked out by the new ministers and set out in the Alva Castro cabinet's report to Congress. The popular movement, the working class, all democratic and progressive forces of society, must be prepared for action to demand that the new government solve pressing problems of the country. This predetermines the need to reinforce and extend LU, defend the class independence of the working people and their organizations and convene People's National Assembly. We must call attention to latent social conflicts, such as the strike announced by the Confederation of Employees of the Public Sector and actions by the employees of enterprises supplying the navy as well as bank employees, miners, elementary and secondary school teachers, whose demands have yet to be met. As well as fighting for their immediate interests, the working people are resolved to play a leading role in defending national interests, which is what the current stage in history demands.

Lima, July 31, 1985

Working People's State

Speech by Le Duan, CC General Secretary, Communist Party of Vietnam, at the Celebrations of the 40th Anniversary of Vietnam's Independence

A military parade and working people's manifestation were held on the Ba Dinh Square in Hanoi on September 2, 1985, on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the August Revolution (August 19) and the National Day (September 2) — a national holiday of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

Below is the text of an address by Le Duan to the participants in the celebrations.

Dear compatriots and fighters,

Dear comrades and friends,

Distinguished guests,

Today we gathered here, on the Ba Dinh square, where 40 years ago, following the glorious triumph of the general insurrection of August 1945, President Ho Chi Minh read the declaration of independence announcing to our compatriots throughout the country and the peoples of the world the birth of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the first worker-peasant state in Southeast Asia.

That historic declaration affirmed: "Vietnam has the right to freedom and independence and in fact has become a free and independent country. The entire Vietnamese people are determined to mobilize all their physical and moral strength, to sacrifice their lives and property to preserve their freedom and independence."

Forty years ago, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Vietnam, founded and educated by the great President Ho Chi Minh, our people entered into a new era opened up by the August Revolution — the era of independence, free-

dom and socialism. Our nation has lived up to its oath of independence, fought courageously in defiance of all trials and hardships, won glorious victories, and developed the gains of the August Revolution, successfully defending and building our young republic.

Shoulder to shoulder with the fraternal peoples of the other two countries on the Indochinese Peninsula, our people have won two atrocious wars of aggression waged by Western imperialist forces, smashed the designs of the French colonialists to reimpose their domination on our country, and the vicious plans of U.S. imperialism, the ringleader of world imperialism and the international gendarme, to crush our nation, to check and repulse the revolutionary currents of our times by inflicting a fatal counter-blow.

The two sacred resistance wars for national salvation waged by our people are typical examples of the struggle which has been taking place since the end of the Second World War against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism; they constitute an important part of the struggle of the revolutionary

and progressive forces of the new era, and have contributed to bringing about more profound changes in the overall revolutionary situation in the world in favor of peace, national independence and socialism.

Following these resounding victories in the fight against expansionist and hegemonist forces and their henchmen, our people have been firmly defending the borders of our motherland. At the same time, we have fulfilled our obligation in helping the Lao and Kampuchean peoples to accomplish their cause of national liberation and to defend their countries, consolidating the alliance between the three brotherly countries in their common march along the path of socialism.

Since the liberation of the South and the reunification of the country, the cause of socialist revolution has recorded successes of great strategic importance countrywide.

The serious wounds of war have been healed. The national economy has recovered and developed in certain respects. Important material and technological bases of socialism have been or are being built. Exploitation of man by man has been basically abolished. The system of public ownership of the means of production has been established in a major part of the economy. The working people's collective mastership has been incessantly realized and consolidated. Positive developments have been achieved in the fields of culture, education and public health. National defense and security are guaranteed. Despite many difficulties, the material and cultural life of the people is being stabilized and gradually improved. The last forty years are a period of glorious victories in struggle, a period of unprecedentedly vigorous development in the long history of our nation.

The great edifice that we have today is the result of the persistent and courageous struggle undertaken by many generations of Vietnamese, it is also the direct outcome of the fight, full of hardships and sacrifices, waged by our people and combatants throughout the country during half a century under the party's glorious banner. Our people's victory of historic and epochal significance, is associated with the wholehearted and valuable assistance of the brotherly socialist countries, of the world communist and working class movement, and of the freedom-loving peoples and progressive mankind.

On this solemn commemorative occasion, on behalf of the party and state, I warmly commend the marvelous revolutionary heroism of our revolutionary people and armed forces. I warmly commend the undying merits of those heroes, martyrs, people and comrades who have courageously fought and sacrificed themselves for the independence and freedom of our fatherland, for the socialist ideal, for the sacred obligation to the nation and for the lofty internationalist duty.

When speaking of the great victories in the struggle for the common revolutionary cause of the three countries of Indochina, I should like to address, on our people's behalf, words of solidarity, profound affection and gratitude to the fraternal peoples of Laos and Kampuchea, which have fought shoulder

to shoulder with us in the same trenches and have shared our joys and sorrows.

We are deeply and sincerely grateful to the Soviet Union, Lenin's great country, and to the other fraternal socialist countries, to the communist and workers' parties, and to the friendly states and peoples who cherish peace and justice, and to the whole of progressive mankind, to all those who have given us powerful support and great assistance.

Comrades and friends,

Our people have risen to unprecedented heights over the past 40 years through its victorious struggle. Vietnam today is an independent and united state, the Vietnamese are a heroic and victorious people, and the Communist Party of Vietnam is a great Marxist-Leninist party. Our people have all the spiritual and material prerequisites for effectively defending the gains of the revolution and successfully building a strong and flourishing socialist Vietnam.

The Socialist Republic of Vietnam is a state of the working people. The system of collective economic management by the working people is a reflection of the nature of socialism in our country. In the period ahead, all the efforts of our people must be concentrated on the simultaneous and harmonious realization of three revolutions, of which the scientific and technical revolution is the leading one. In the course of these revolutions, there is a need step by step to assert throughout the country and in each populated locality, down to the lowest grassroots level, collective economic management, with efforts to ensure better performance by every working person and work collective in every sphere of activity — political, economic, cultural and social — from production to distribution and realization; it is also necessary to foster in everyone a sense of being master of the country, of the society and of one's destiny.

The reorganization of production needs to be more vigorously carried on for the fullest use of our manpower, and also land and other natural resources; at the present stage, priority should be given to agriculture, with attention focussed on the production of food products, as agriculture is raised to the level of large-scale socialist production.

There must be no relaxation of vigorous efforts for socialist industrialization, the main task of the whole transition period, and for the maintenance of the planned pace in the construction of the key enterprises in the heavy industry.

It is necessary step by step to introduce on the scale of the whole country economic instruments, with the creation of a nation-wide agro-industrial mechanism being regarded as the corner-stone. Construction on the district level should be expanded so as to turn the districts into centers of the new allocation of labor, new organization of production and life. We must resolutely renew our economic administration and management, getting rid of red-tape and the subsidy system, seeking to go over fully to socialist economic management based on economic self-sufficiency, with planning retaining its key role, and to create a dynamic mechanism helping to mobilize all the sources of reserve and

orienting toward higher product quality and greater production efficiency.

The party as the leader, the people as the master and the government as the administrator, this is the all-pervasive mechanism of our government. The overall strength of the collective mastership principle must be exploited at all levels and in all branches in order to develop the economy, build up culture, educate the man of a new type, consolidate national defense and security, improve the people's life and raise the living standard.

With a good grip of the party's correct revolutionary line, bringing into full play the capabilities of creative labor of the people and the heroic combative spirit of the armed forces, we are successfully carrying out the two strategic tasks, realizing the revolutionary objectives set forth by the fifth party Congress and materializing the resolutions of the party Central Committee, most recently, the resolutions of the Eighth CC Plenary Meeting. Let us do all that we can to successfully fulfil the 1985 state plan, thus recording a worthy achievement to greet the forthcoming Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam, and creating favorable conditions for our revolution to enter a new stage of development.

On behalf of the party Central Committee, the State Council and the Council of Ministers, I call upon all our people — servicemen and workers at all levels, of all occupations — to carry on the glorious revolutionary traditions of our people, to selflessly work and staunchly struggle for a strong and prosperous socialist Vietnam, making ever greater contributions to the revolutionary cause of the world's peoples.

Our party, government and people will do their most to strengthen our special alliance with Laos and Kampuchea, to upgrade our all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union and with the socialist community as a whole. This is an important prerequisite for our people's future successes in national construction and defense.

We completely unite with the fraternal socialist countries and the whole progressive humankind in the struggle to avert and eliminate the danger of a nuclear holocaust caused by the feverish arms race policy of the aggressive imperialist circles, for peace and life on our planet. We ardently support the de-

cision of the Soviet Union to unilaterally halt all nuclear tests, urging the United States to do likewise.

Together with other nations in Asia and the Pacific, we are determined to carry on the struggle aimed at foiling Washington's and its allies' designs to turn this vast region into a zone of military and political confrontations with the socialist and all other nations who cherish peace and independence. We are confident that Asia and the Pacific can and must become a region of peace.

We highly appraise the great role of the non-aligned movement with India as its chairman, in the struggle against imperialism, for peace, national independence and a New International Economic Order. We especially express our militant solidarity with fraternal Cuba and our strong support for the struggle for independence and freedom of the peoples of Nicaragua, El Salvador, Namibia, Palestine, Lebanon and all other African, Asian and Latin American peoples.

Now as before, the SRV follows the policy of peace and friendship among nations and stands for putting an end to confrontation and starting negotiations between the countries of the Southeast Asian region aimed to solve all disputes. We hope that the constructive proposals put forth by the Indochinese countries will meet with positive response from the parties concerned.

Our era is the era of victory of peace, national independence and socialism. Every act of aggression and intervention is bound to fall through. Those who scheme to go counter to the trend of our times will inevitably meet with failure. At this historic square, the Vietnamese people will again strongly affirm their will and determination to mobilize all their moral and physical strength to safeguard their fatherland, for which so many generations have fought and make sacrifices, to devote all their energy and talent to the cause of building a "more prosperous and more beautiful" country as was the wish of the great Ho Chi Minh.

Let our people and combatants courageously march in serried ranks forward, under the victorious banner of the party.

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