

information bulletin

**Meeting of Communist
Parties of
South America / 29**

**Gus Hall on the coming
'84 elections / 18**

Chinese foreign policy / 38

Argentina / 22

**Documents
of the Communist
and Workers' Parties
Articles
and Speeches**

October 1984

contents

COMMUNISTS AND THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE

- 3 Washington's dangerous illusions/*Pravda editorial*
- 4 Konstantin Chernenko's reply to a message from Irish public figure Sean MacBride
- 5 To reduce the war danger, return to détente and hold constructive dialogue/*Interview with Erich Honecker*

CONGRESSES AND PLENARY MEETINGS

- 9 The lessons of the European parliamentary elections and the party's tasks in the new situation/*CP of Greece CC*
- 13 Report on the extraordinary eighth plenary meeting of the CC, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party
- 18 USA: the 1984 elections — we can make the difference/*Report by Gus Hall to the CPUSA CC-National Council plenary meeting*

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

- 22 Argentina: the masses' active participation guarantees the success of the fight for democracy and peace/*Interview with Athos Fava, General Secretary, CP of Argentina*
- 25 Dominican Republic: the party line in a new situation/*Dominican CP CC*
- 28 The Sudan people's striving for freedom will triumph/*CC Secretariat, CP of the Sudan*
- 29 Statement by a meeting of the Communist Parties of South America
- 33 Venezuela: the country's interests above all else/*CC Political Bureau, CP Venezuela*

FROM THE PRESS

- 34 New stage in cooperation between the fraternal parties and states/*N. Ryzhkov, Pravda Chinese Foreign Policy*
- 38 It is dangerous for ASEAN to follow Peking/*Nhan Dan*
- 39 U.S.-China-Japan-Pakistan axis in offing/*Patriot*
- 41 Hostile campaign/*Pravda*

information bulletin

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

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

Copyright © 1968 by Progress Books, Canada

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED  PRINTED IN CANADA

19-20 (515-516) Volume 22
PRICE: 75 cents

Washington's Dangerous Illusions

Pravda Editorial

It has long been an open secret that Washington is now obsessed with the idea of gaining military superiority. Those who are currently shaping U.S. policy do not like the approximate balance of forces in the world.

They do not want to maintain relations of equality with other states, to settle problems that arise through honest negotiations and reasonable compromises or to comply with treaties and agreements that have been concluded. They claim that international laws and rules are not for them and would like to dictate their will to other states from a position of strength and to engage in arbitrary practices all over the world.

That is why they are eroding the existing parity, do not want to negotiate arms limitations on the principle of equality and equal security, and are seeking opportunities to upset the nuclear balance.

One of the main things on which Washington is banking in these irresponsible calculations is the long-range Cruise missiles. They have been much publicized for a long time now. And not only publicized. New Cruise models are being tested at an accelerated pace and extensive programs for their mass production are being pushed through Congress. Much is being made of their ability to fly at low altitudes, skirting irregularities in the terrain, reach targets undetected and strike a sudden blow, and of their perfect "electronic brains," high accuracy, etc.

It is planned to install on the long-range Cruise missiles more nuclear warheads than the USA now has on all its ballistic missiles taken together. This is not merely a chance zigzag of military planning.

When the Pentagon was still nurturing plans to develop these winged nuclear locusts that are ready to pounce on any state in the world at any moment, the U.S. propagandists and military ideologists, as is their wont, were already fooling the people. Cruise missiles were said to be almost a symbol of peace-ability, a purely defensive and in general harmless weapon. A story started circulating about the Cruise missiles' "stabilizing" character. It was claimed, and is still being claimed for that matter, that the more such missiles the USA has, the better it will be for international security.

At the same time, everything was being done to prevent not only a ban but even restrictions on the production and deployment of this new dangerous and, doubtless, destabilizing weapon. That was precisely how the USA behaved at the Soviet-U.S. negotiations in Geneva.

It was made quite clear by the Soviet side that such reasoning was a deception designed to mislead the uninformed and to justify Washington's efforts

to continue building up its stock of nuclear arms. The Soviet side suggested a total ban before it was too late on long-range Cruise missiles of all basing modes or, if the USA was not prepared for such a radical solution, the greatest possible reduction of them.

The U.S. representatives dodged the issue at the time, pretending that they did not understand the arguments about the danger of Cruise missiles and the need strictly to limit them. Now Washington no longer deems it necessary to disguise its intentions.

Speaking in Congress recently, Admiral Hostetler, head of the U.S. Cruise missile construction program, cynically showed the cards of the U.S. military Establishment. He informed the Congressmen that the U.S. aim was to use the large-scale deployment of Cruise missiles of various types and modifications with pinpoint accuracy and the ability to reach targets undetected to make it more difficult for the Soviet Armed Forces to act, by compelling them to regard each U.S. naval unit as a potential threat emanating from virtually all directions without exception.

So that is what Washington sees as the "stabilizing" role of long-range Cruise missiles — the attempt to create a new threat to the security of the Soviet Union and other states and place in its arsenals additional first-strike nuclear capability. This is not concern for stability but outright mockery of the very substance of this concept and of the objectives and tasks of nuclear arms limitation and reduction.

But the U.S. administration is making a mistake, and a fundamental one at that, as far as the main thing is concerned: its plans to prevail over the Soviet Union in various areas, including that of long-range Cruise missiles, are not only dangerous but illusory. At one time they wanted to overtake the Soviet Union in ballistic missiles, but failed. They banked on achieving superiority in independently targetable warheads, but failed again.

And they will also fail this time. Since the USA did not want to renounce this new type of weapon, long-range Cruise missiles are already being tested in the USSR as well. As to the "directions" in which the Pentagon is planning to launch its brainchild, the U.S. strategists should not think that such directions exist in relation to the USSR alone. There are enough directions leading to U.S. territory in the East and in the West, in the North and in the South. The Washington Cruise missiles enthusiasts would do well to grasp the truth that, with the present balance of forces marked by a rough parity between the USSR and the USA, any desire to jeopardize the security of the other side will inevitably be harmful to one's own security.

The Cruise missile boom continues in the United States. Despite public protests, U.S. Cruise missiles are being brought to Europe, are being placed on bombers, are to be installed on warships cruising off the Soviet coast, and are being tested over Canadian territory that is "reminiscent of snow-bound Soviet plains."

However, more and more people are warning that the Cruise missiles cut both ways; it is naive to believe that their massive deployment will not meet with a response. It is also clear that the appearance of Cruise missiles would undermine the process of nuclear arms limitation and reduction, make effective control much more complicated, and increase the possibilities of circumventing or violating agreements. The Soviet side has repeatedly drawn the attention of the U.S. administration to this aspect of the matter.

But Washington is stubbornly heading for massive deployment of long-range air, ground and sea-based Cruise missiles. And this fact speaks eloquently of

the U.S. administration's emphatically negative attitude to any nuclear arms limitation and reduction, although attempts are being made to camouflage this with insincere statements about readiness to hold talks and showboat assurances about a desire to wipe nuclear weapons off the face of the earth. Washington wants neither serious talks nor effective nuclear arms reductions. In this respect, the U.S. administration's policy has not changed at all.

It is high time for the White House to realize that its attempts at victory in the nuclear arms race are futile, to remove the obstacles the USA has created in the way of nuclear arms limitation talks, and begin a quest for honest and fair agreements fully in keeping with the principle of equality and equal security. This is in the interests of all countries, including of the U.S. itself.

The Soviet Union has always advocated just such an approach.

Pravda, July 31, 1984

Konstantin Chernenko's Reply to a Message from Irish Public Figure Sean MacBride

Sean MacBride, a well-known Irish public figure, winner of the Lenin and Nobel Peace prizes, Chairman of the International Peace Bureau, has sent a letter to Konstantin Chernenko, General Secretary of the CPSU CC, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, setting out some ideas regarding the development of USSR-USA relations with a view to achieving general and complete disarmament. Below is the text of Konstantin Chernenko's reply.

Dear Mr. MacBride,

Your message expressing the intention to promote the attainment of general and complete disarmament is consonant with sentiments that are now widespread in world public opinion. It is obvious to every sober-minded person that a further build-up of nuclear arms, and especially the attempts to spread the

arms race to outer space, expose humanity to the danger of a nuclear holocaust.

You write that the U.S. President's latest statements about the senselessness of a nuclear war and the need to rid the Earth of nuclear weapons offer an opportunity for serious negotiations. As you are well aware, much has already been said by the U.S. side about peace and negotiations. However, all practical actions by the U.S. administration are at variance with the proclaimed striving for talks, for an improvement of relations. It is clear that this is not at all a matter of a change in the present U.S. stand.

For our part, we have repeatedly stated that we would like to have good relations with the United States. But this calls for appropriate willingness on both sides. I think that the conclusion which your wide political and life experience prompts you to make, that sincere good intentions on both sides and suitable preparation are an indispensable and really solid foundation for any talks between the USSR and the USA, is correct. We also share this point of view.

The Soviet leadership believes that not words but concrete deeds on the part of the U.S. administration can unblock the way to the normalization of our relations with the USA.

With best wishes for health and success in your noble work in the name of peace among nations,

Konstantin Chernenko
Pravda, August 12, 1984

Socialist Life Style and the Family

V. Yazykova

Popular book, with much
factual material, on the life
and problems of Soviet
families.

Paper 212pp \$3.50

PROGRESS BOOKS

71 Bathurst St.

Toronto, Ont. M5V 2P6

To Reduce the War Danger, Return to Détente and Hold Constructive Dialogue

Interview given by Erich Honecker, SED CC General Secretary, Chairman of the GDR State Council, to the *Neues Deutschland* and *Berliner Zeitung* newspapers and the ADN News Agency.

Question: Great events are soon to take place.

Answer: In a few weeks we will celebrate the 35th anniversary of the GDR. Thirty-five years of the GDR mean at the same time 35 years of very close friendship with the Soviet Union, our ally in good times and bad. This friendship is a vital matter for us; in the 35 years since the formation of the GDR it has been consolidated and is now unbreakable. The Red Army's victory over Hitlerite fascism opened the way for a new future for our people. More than 20 million Soviet citizens fell in this struggle. For us their behest is sacred and is being fulfilled in the GDR. In full accordance with this, the ceremonies marking the 35th anniversary of the GDR will be a part of the preparations for the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the Soviet Union's victory over Hitlerite fascism and the liberation of the German people.

Question: We give daily reports on the working people's outstanding achievements in every area. What, in your opinion, is characteristic of this activity?

Answer: The working people's achievements in every area speak for themselves. I consider it significant that so many citizens exert every effort to raise the people's well-being and ensure peace. As is well known, that is the main task of our policy, which was approved at the party's 10th congress. It is being vigorously implemented throughout our country with great confidence. And so we can say that the call to prepare for the GDR's 35th anniversary celebrations has met with a broad response.

Evidence of this is the results of joint work, notably the growth in economic capacity. The national income for the first seven months of 1984 rose by 5.1 per cent as compared with the same period last year. According to the industry ministries, net output continued to grow rapidly, increasing by 8.2 per cent thanks to a 7.4 per cent rise in labor productivity. The growth in the production of consumer goods is also remarkable. Six per cent more finished goods were produced for the population.

In full accordance with the main task, further improvement of the working people's living and working conditions continued along with these successes. Housing construction is a particularly good example of this: 117,141 new or modernized apartments were occupied by the end of July this year. As you are aware, we also introduced new relief measures for families with three or more children, and increased minimum pensions.

Question: But this progress is even more impressive, is it not, if one takes into account the fact that the missile policy of the USA and its NATO allies has sharply worsened the international situation?

Answer: You are quite right. Our people under-

stand very well the significance of their work in strengthening the GDR precisely in these more complicated conditions.

Nevertheless, imperialism is trying to check socialism's progress, reverse it and halt altogether the process of national liberation and social emancipation throughout the world. Since the start of the U.S. missile deployment in Western Europe, the ensuing negative political and military changes in the international situation have been more and more clearly manifested. The international situation has deteriorated. There is greater danger of a nuclear war in which there will be neither victors nor vanquished.

The most aggressive U.S. and NATO circles still bank on achieving military superiority and want to dominate at all costs. They have been making the most blatant attempts to change the results of the Second World War and postwar development. The U.S. no longer hides the fact that its new weapons systems are designed for a first strike and not for deterrence. This now makes even more valid the need to take all the measures which will help to preserve the military strategic parity, radically alter the international situation and give humanity a chance to have a peaceful future.

Question: How can this be done?

Answer: The fight for peace is the most important question of our day. This was noted unanimously at the Prague and Moscow meetings of the leaders of the Warsaw Treaty states and at their Foreign Ministers' meeting in Budapest. The documents unanimously adopted there and the CMEA June 16, 1984 declaration entitled "Preservation of Peace and International Economic Cooperation" are binding not only for the foreign policy of the socialist countries that approved these documents. As shown by the struggle against the preparations for an imperialist war that are being carried out by the USA and some of its NATO allies, these documents are a good program in the hands of the communist and workers' parties and all realistically-minded people. They also naturally exert an impact on influential political leaders of the capitalist states, including NATO states. On the whole, these documents put the proponents of the U.S. government's course of confrontation on the defensive.

The fraternal parties' joint documents, including the CMEA summit declaration, contain initiatives of very great importance. International development shows this to be so. There has been an increase not only in the danger to peace but also in the forces opposing this danger. They proceed from the possibility which exists, despite the growing threat on the part of the most aggressive U.S. and NATO

circles, of preventing the situation from becoming irreversible.

It is necessary to explain broadly the fraternal socialist countries' fundamental positions on the main question of today in order to preserve peace. As was correctly noted at the last meeting of Central Committee Secretaries of communist and workers' parties of socialist countries on international and ideological questions in Prague, this concerns their consistent struggle to reduce the war danger, return to détente, hold constructive dialogue and create the conditions for fruitful talks on arms limitation and disarmament on the basis of the principle of equality and equal security.

Question: Comrade Honecker, recently you and other members of the party and state leadership have had meetings with many foreign political leaders. What conclusions are you able to draw?

Answer: We explained our position and the jointly adopted programmatic documents of the socialist countries at all meetings with representatives of communist and workers' parties, progressive parties, national liberation movements, Third World national democratic parties, with the heads of government of Canada, Sweden, Greece, Italy, the FRG, Britain, France, Austria, Finland, Spain, Holland, India, Syria, Egypt, Nicaragua, Mexico, Malta and with the presidents of many countries of the world. It was shown in detail that the USA's peaceable assurances aim to hide its real intention of continuing the policy of confrontation and crusades against socialism, building up the first-strike nuclear missile potential in some countries of Western Europe, including the FRG, and activating military preparations in Asia and the Pacific, and also its interventionist actions in Central America, the Middle East and Southern Africa.

In so doing, we, like the other communist parties of the fraternal socialist countries, bore in mind that the USA has actually been refusing to recognize the principle of military parity and equal security. Instead, it is bent on military superiority and is beginning a new, extremely dangerous spiral in the arms race, one primarily linked to militarization of outer space and the development of missile and anti-satellite weapons systems. In this a role has always been played by the fact that what is involved is the USA, which 40 years ago did use nuclear weapons in Hiroshima and Nagasaki and today, too, has not renounced their use although the Soviet Union has already pledged not to be the first to use nuclear weapons.

Of particular importance is the USSR's new initiative on talks to prevent the militarization of outer space. The public has also responded favorably to the proposal to conclude a treaty between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO on the mutual non-use of military force and the maintenance of relations of peace.

Question: This struggle also includes counter-measures ...

Answer: Yes, that is so. Fully determined to preserve the military strategic parity under all circumstances as an essential condition for peace, the GDR took the necessary counter-measures on the basis of

an agreement with the USSR following the start of the NATO missile deployment. Longer range tactical missiles have been stationed on its territory. The population of the GDR fully approves of and supports these measures, as also the deployment of additional tactical missile complexes that has become necessary. These measures are regarded as a resolute response to the U.S. nuclear missile deployment in the FRG and other Western European NATO countries. The counter-measures aim to preserve the historic achievement of an approximate military strategic parity and thereby effectively help to strengthen peace.

Certainly, we cannot but note that the USA has been drawing its allies more and more toward its militarist course, even if they still have an interest in preserving the results of détente, which benefit them. The extremely acute political battle around the missile deployment has been causing concern and vacillation in the ruling circles of many Western countries. Major parties and influential leaders have been disassociating themselves on important questions from the U.S. course toward confrontation and the arms race.

Even with the start to the U.S. missile deployment, the mass anti-nuclear and anti-war movement in Western Europe and the USA continues to be a factor which the governments have to take into consideration. Even the conservative political leaders who support the Pershing II and Cruise missile deployment are beginning to be sobered. Some of them are obviously starting to understand that this will bring neither military superiority nor political advantages.

The initiatives of the Soviet Union and the other socialist community countries on the key question — war or peace — have a great political impact since they mobilize the peoples against the arms race and denounce the forces of aggression and expansion.

Question: Europe is the center of this struggle. In the West there are people who want to reverse history precisely on that continent. What would you say about this?

Answer: All these years we have been repelling every attempt by the right-wing forces in the West, notably the FRG, to cast doubt on the results of the Second World War and postwar development, and have been denouncing the revanchist tendencies.

Our party and government have long attached great importance to precisely this question because the results of the Second World War and postwar development are of determinant significance for the fulfillment of the most important task of today, the preservation of universal peace. The struggle for the GDR's successful development has always been a struggle against revanchism.

Immediately after the CDU/CSU-FDP coalition came to power in Bonn, material published in *Neues Deutschland* newspaper on Federal Chancellor Kohl's first governmental statement noted that observance of the principles of sovereignty and equality of the GDR and the FRG, and non-interference in internal affairs is of decisive importance for the development of relations between the two states. It was emphasized that Great German speeches and slogans run counter to reality and the propositions of

the system of European treaties, in particular, the treaty on the bases of GDR-FRG relations, and the Helsinki Final Act.

Our party was unequivocal in its rejection of the revanchist claims of the Bundestag February 9, 1984 resolution. We stated that those who think that the tense international situation can be used to take them even one step nearer to the realization of their adventurist and revanchist ambitions in relation to the GDR are making a sad mistake.

Question: What have the GDR-FRG relations been like since the start of the NATO missile deployment?

Answer: Given the aggravated international situation, the GDR is more than ever convinced that the most important question is the preservation and strengthening of peace. This is particularly true regarding the two German states and relations between them.

In our opinion, "partnership for security" now means primarily the measures which both states must actively take so as to improve the situation that has changed with the U.S. medium-range nuclear missile deployment in Western Europe, and above all in the FRG.

This completely unwarranted deployment is substantially aggravating and complicating the international situation, and increasing the danger of a nuclear war. It is bound to lead to a new spiral in the nuclear arms race. If the realization of the deployment plans continues, this will be directly opposed to what Chancellor Kohl, in appealing for "peace with minimum weapons," has repeatedly called the goal of the FRG government.

We consider it particularly alarming that for the first time since the Second World War the danger of war is once again emanating from German soil, namely from the territory of the Federal Republic of Germany.

No one is threatening Western Europe and the FRG. The deployment of new U.S. missiles in Western Europe undermines the security of the FRG and its citizens. The FRG government has assumed a grave responsibility by agreeing to the deployment. The approximate military strategic parity that existed up to then was a decisive prerequisite for peace. Europe must not become the hostage of a policy which, under the slogan of a "crusade against evil," has of late been prepared to overstep even that boundary beyond which there is no return in the nuclear age. The whole world was made indignant by the malicious and threatening words spoken into the microphone in Washington a few days ago. These words make it incumbent on everyone to assume the responsibility for humanity's future and support a coalition of reason to prevent the Earth's destruction in a nuclear holocaust.

The GDR has done much to halt the disastrous course of developments and to make the situation calmer. In this it attaches great weight to dialogue with responsible political circles of the FRG. Through its important activity in the sphere of bilateral relations, the GDR has demonstrated its good will and made it clear that it is serious about its obligation to ensure that peace is maintained.

The Soviet Union, the GDR and other socialist

countries have never ceased to warn about the consequences of the missile deployment. By virtue of its unconstructive position aimed exclusively at military superiority, the U.S. government is responsible for the fact that the Geneva talks have become pointless. Only strict observance of the equality and equal security of all the participating sides can serve as the stable basic principle of any settlement. The GDR will consistently fulfil its obligations as an ally within the Warsaw Treaty so as to contribute to the preservation of the military strategic parity. The necessary counter-measures will be taken strictly within the framework necessitated by U.S. and NATO actions.

Question: Did you, at that time, make concrete proposals in connection with this?

Answer: We stated clearly that the halting of further deployment and removal of the systems already in place would be most important steps. The door for talks would be opened by a return to the situation obtaining before the missile deployment started. The rejection of this proposal and the further deployment of U.S. first-strike weapons in the FRG and other Western European countries are bound to accelerate considerably a new round of the arms race. But the most important task is to end the arms race. If measures are taken to liquidate the missiles already deployed by NATO, our countries will simultaneously take steps to cancel the counter-measures.

Special significance is attached to a treaty on the mutual non-use of military force and the maintenance of relations of peace between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO. Measures such as a nuclear arms freeze, an official agreement not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, a ban on chemical and bacteriological weapons, and prohibition of the militarization of outer space would also be fitting steps to promote disarmament and détente and strengthen confidence between states.

All participants must actively use the Stockholm Conference on Confidence and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe to reduce military confrontation. The GDR's Foreign Minister made concrete and meaningful proposals at the initial phase of this conference.

GDR-FRG relations have great weight in European security and are of much importance for the international situation. The existing system of treaties has always been the basis for the development of peaceful relations. The GDR is seeking to reduce to a minimum the damage done by the missile deployment. We are now particularly resolute in support of the successful continuation of the struggle for peace through arms limitation and disarmament.

I have referred in this connection to the treaty on the bases of GDR-FRG relations and in particular to the fundamental idea in accordance with which both sides pledge to respect each other's independence in both internal and external affairs. The GDR hopes that both sides will strictly abide by this proposition. It is a question of preserving and, if possible, expanding what has been achieved, while fully respecting the GDR's sovereignty. This also refers,

not least of all, to economic relations. It goes without saying that there is also a role to be played by such important questions promoting better GDR-FRG relations as, for example, regulation of the 90-kilometer border along the Elbe, unconditional respect for citizenship of the German Democratic Republic, an end to the anti-GDR activity of the Central Registration Department in Salzgitter and the turning of permanent representations into embassies.

Question: What is your assessment of the contradictory character of the situation with which you have to deal in relation to the FRG?

Answer: We have clearly stated that, by agreeing to the deployment of new U.S. nuclear missiles on FRG territory, the present FRG government has shouldered the blame and assumed a grave responsibility. We are taking into account the fact that this government should have regard for the sentiments of the FRG population, the bulk of whom oppose the deployment and are for peaceful relations with the socialist countries.

It is striking that the conservative camp's Kohl-Genscher government has been following a U.S.-oriented course even more consistently than did its predecessor, the Schmidt-Genscher government, which initiated and championed NATO's so-called two-track decision. The FRG's imperialist circles are promoting the U.S. missile deployment because, proceeding from their military superiority stance, they reckon on blackmailing the socialist countries politically. The danger exists that it is precisely for this purpose that the FRG will take advantage of the Western European alliance's decision to lift the restrictions on the production of strategic bombers and longer range missiles.

But at the same time the FRG government deems it necessary to declare its intention to continue a consistent policy of treaties in relation to the socialist countries. This government is still faced with the need largely to abide by the treaties that have been concluded. This is undoubtedly a manifestation of both the results of the socialist countries' joint peace policy and the real political and economic interests of influential circles of FRG monopoly capital.

It must also be taken into consideration that the SPD's position on the U.S. missile deployment has changed. The same can be said about the Federation of German Trade Unions.

We are going to continue to support and encourage all those who oppose the conversion of the Federal Republic into a U.S. nuclear launching pad. We are going to hold dialogue with all those who display readiness, despite differing opinions, to take a joint position dictated by reason and to counter the U.S. course toward confrontation.

Question: The report on your June 14, 1984 meeting with Konstantin Chernenko in Moscow noted that NATO's stepped-up military preparations are invigorating the most right-wing, revanchist circles in the FRG.

Answer: That is true. The world public is rightly worried by the trend of developments in the FRG. The 50 million killed during the Second World War, victims of German militarism and revanchism, make vigilance a must. It is incumbent on us to remain

true to the oath taken in 1945 and never to forget for a moment that there are influential forces in the FRG who do not like positive development toward an end to the arms race and do not like peaceful cooperation and predictable international relations. These forces obviously regard worldwide political tension as a tendency which they can use so as to begin once again to whip up revanchist sentiments. Evidence of this is the talk about the "existence of a German Reich within the 1937 boundaries", talk to the effect that the German question is still open, and the quite futile hopes of gaining advantages at the expense of the sovereignty of the GDR, Poland, Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union. All these calculations are pointless in any case.

The ultra-right wing forces in the FRG have been importunately blowing the rusty trumpet of revanchism. As is common knowledge, this revanchism was laid in the cradle of the Federal Republic at the time of its formation. The creation of the FRG was a manifestation of imperialism's basic aim of revising in its favor the results of the Soviet Union's victory over Hitlerite fascism during the Second World War and the results of postwar development.

A decisive historical defeat inflicted on revanchism was the formation of the German Democratic Republic 35 years ago and its successful development as a socialist state of workers and peasants in firm alliance with the USSR and as an inalienable link in the community of socialist states. Socialism in the GDR is stable. It is impossible to unite socialism and capitalism as it is to unite water and fire. Such is the position of the SED and the GDR government.

Only the ultra-right wing circles in the FRG and no one else could have an interest in aggravating the situation. Our aim is to have the FRG retain the obligations which it assumed when it signed the treaties concluded with the socialist countries. In this spirit we have been developing our bilateral relations. This aim is also served by dialogue with political leaders and by the broadening of relations with important social forces in the FRG, such as the SPD, the trade unions, youth organizations, peace movement groupings, etc.

Question: The GDR has recently supported proposals made by various political forces in different regions of the world. What position prompts the GDR to do this?

Answer: We reiterate the GDR's readiness to cooperate with all political forces interested in preserving peace. It is this that also motivated us to respond to the Socialist International's appeal to the heads of the states which signed the Helsinki Final Act.

In my letter of response to Willi Brandt, Chairman of the SPD and the Socialist International, and to the chairmen of the other Socialist International parties, I reiterated the Warsaw Treaty's constructive proposals and restated willingness to continue a frank exchange of opinions with the parties represented in the Socialist International so as to seek jointly the possibilities and ways that would help to strengthen universal peace.

The GDR also states its unconditional support for the joint declaration in which an appeal for peace

was made by six heads of state and government: Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, Mexican President Miguel de la Madrid, Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere, Greek Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou, Argentinian President Raul Alfonsin, and Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme.

Today even the proponents of the Pershing and Cruise deployment are forced to admit that the larger number of missiles does not mean greater security, the more so as the USA has moved to militarization of outer space in the hope of making it possible to wage and win a nuclear war with relatively few losses to itself. But this would be tantamount to sure suicide not only for Western Europe but also for the USA. It would even lead to humanity's self-destruction. It is an understanding of this that is the motivation for the many political forces of varying views and orientation that are inclined to take the position advocated by the socialist countries, that is to support the policy of peaceful co-existence, which is the only reasonable alternative.

Question: "The stronger socialism, the more reliable is peace" has long been the leitmotiv of the GDR's actions. How is this being manifested in the present situation?

Answer: It is manifested in the fact that our country's people are working very hard to strengthen our socialist German state of workers and peasants. The positive results achieved by our republic would be inconceivable without this creative work of the entire people, which is done with initiative. On the basis of the course begun by the party's eighth congress toward realization of the main task in its unity with the economic and social policy, a course which has been followed consistently for over a decade, the GDR has been making its contribution to the

strengthening of socialism and the raising of its international prestige. The possibilities for the GDR's active participation in the fight for peace have increased on this firm and reliable foundation.

The recent Moscow CMEA economic summit was of great, and even historic importance. It mapped out the long-term line of cooperation between our fraternal countries. It was reaffirmed that the CMEA countries can surmount any scientific, technical and economic problem by pooling their efforts. They are therefore focusing on achieving a higher scientific and technical level in the near future in every decisive area. This will make it possible for these countries to raise even further their people's material and cultural living standard and maintain our community's defenses at a necessary level.

The SED's economic strategy aims to develop consistently all internal resources and the reserves of the national economy and at the same time to deepen socialist economic integration still further. This allows us to be equal to the demand of social progress and to make the GDR economically invulnerable to all imperialism's attempts at boycott and blackmail. As in the past, all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries will continue to be a stable basis for the GDR's prosperity in the future as well. We see this internationalist community as a guarantee of our people's bright future. The emulation campaign to make the GDR's 35th anniversary the most successful in the history of the republic is oriented toward realization of the decisions of the SED's 10th congress in favor of peace and socialism.

Abridged from *Neues Deutschland*,
August 18-19, 1984

congresses & plenary meetings

The Lessons of the European Parliamentary Elections and the Party's Tasks in the New Situation

Resolution Adopted by a Plenary Meeting of the Communist Party of Greece CC

1. The June 17 European Parliamentary elections were a political battle between the forces of the Right and the forces of democracy and progress. The Right was not able to gain the increase in votes which it had expected and did not manage to remove the majority of the progressive forces and change the political situation in its favor. It has been confirmed that the Right constitutes a minority, and the people's movement for change has again demonstrated its stability.

Despite the failure of its plans, the popular forces have not been fully drawn away from the Right; on the contrary, the latter has strengthened its positions

somewhat. This would not have happened if the government had pursued a policy leading to the actual solution of the people's problems, a policy of real change. A more effective exposure of the Right's demagogy was made more difficult by the attempt to give the electoral struggle the character of a sharp confrontation between two parties on the basis of the "PASOK or the Right" dilemma, an attempt having little in common with the real problems of the people. During the election campaign, PASOK censured the Right not so much for its present position in relation to the working people's problems as for its already denounced past. This electoral tactic of PASOK's, in combination with the

"self-reliance" thesis,* banked, among other things, on pulling away as many votes as possible from the CPG, has objectively made more difficult the masses' move from the Right to the progressive forces.

2. PASOK's electoral strength has been essentially reduced. The election results do not fully reflect the extent of popular protest against the government's policy. The number of ballots cast for PASOK is more a popular vote against a return of the Right than approval of the policy pursued by the government up to now.

The election results are a serious warning to the government to change the official course toward a real solution to the people's problems and toward change. They confirm that the "self-reliance" logic has exhausted its possibilities even from the point of view of elections.

3. The CPG has successfully fought the hard battle of the European parliamentary elections and has come out of them with greater prestige and influence and increased electoral strength. The elections confirmed that the CPG is the political force with the most stable political and electoral influence, allowing it to withstand the stiffest confrontation. And this is a success for our party. In the post-election conditions, the CPG's role has objectively increased.

During the pre-election period, our party, following the course of its 11th congress, outlined the objectives of real change and pointed to the consequences of the country's entry into the EEC and the need to fight for its withdrawal. The CPG exposed the Right's demagogy and, without weakening the front of struggle against those forces, at the same time emphasized that PASOK's policy is not opening the way to change but is leading to an impasse. The Communist Party rejected the "PASOK or the Right" dilemma.

Our party's combative and responsible policy of unity made a decisive contribution to the stability of the people's movement for change and prevented a shift of forces toward the Right.

An important question which the party must thoroughly analyze is the election results in the major urban centers of Athens, Piraeus and Salonika, where there has been a strengthening of the Right, a considerable weakening of PASOK, and, simultaneously, some reduction in the CPG's influence.

In these centers the consequences of the profound economic crisis are more acutely manifested and certain social regroupings are under way which must be more deeply studied by our party. The government's policy, which leaves intact big capital's unlimited freedom of action, cannot lay the basis of economic development favoring the people and is therefore fertile ground for the demagogy of the Right. Continuing to serve the Establishment, this policy prevents certain strata of the working people from understanding that the present economic crisis is a manifestation of the general crisis of the capitalist system and, in particular, of the postwar

model of economic development sustained in our country by all the bourgeois governments that have so far existed.

At the same time, our party's proposals on how to wipe out unemployment and the high cost of living and protect the artisans, handicraftsmen and other categories of the working people have not yet been taken to this strata in a clear, concrete and convincing form. Up to now it has not been possible to develop to the extent required by the present crisis the working people's mass struggle to resolve their pressing problems and to link the struggle for their immediate demands with the fight for more profound changes on the road to the anti-monopoly development of the national economy. Yet this is an essential condition for turning the social discontent in the large cities toward the Left rather than toward the Right.

Our party is also lagging as regards putting forward initiatives and promoting mass movements around the problems of particular concern to the residents of the large cities: pollution, transport problems, sporting facilities, kindergartens, leisure, life style, culture, etc. Apart from this there were other, more general shortcomings in our electoral work which affected the election results and are currently being studied by the party organizations.

4. The so-called "internal" party received 3.42 per cent of the votes in the European parliamentary elections, ballots cast largely by casual and ill-assorted elements and not at all by supporters rallied around a concrete political and social program. In its electoral campaign the "internal" party virtually did not do battle with the Right, did not oppose the government's policy from positions of change, but confined itself to opportunist criticism on secondary questions far removed from the real problems of the people and the country. What is more, on a number of important questions, such as ties with the EEC, foreign policy, etc., it took positions to the right of the government itself.

This party is supported by a part of the ruling class and the bourgeois propaganda apparatus, which are using anti-communist campaigns in an effort to give the public a distorted idea of the image and policy of the CPG. The reason for this support is the ruling class's attempt to play the "card" of an acceptable "Left" within the framework of the promotion of political developments far removed from the cause of change and directed against the cooperation of all the progressive forces.

The image of the "internal" party is changing. It is no longer what it was in the first years of its existence. The ideological and political degeneration of its leadership has taken it outside the Left forces. It is therefore necessary to unmask the "internal" party's destructive role in our movement, using arguments that are readily understandable to the broad public and showing that it enjoys the patronage of the conservative forces, to denounce its whole-hearted participation in all the anti-communist and anti-Soviet campaigns, and show concretely that this party is trying to conceal its actual compromise with the Establishment behind abstract slogans of "renovation" and "negation" of the old. It is neces-

*PASOK has a majority in Parliament — Ed.

sary to bring home to the masses still more clearly that the CPG alone proposes revolutionary, democratic and updated solutions to the problems of the Greek society and, because of its policy, ideas and activity, is the bearer of that which is truly new, born of life itself and the social struggles.

5. As the CPG warned, the European parliamentary elections could not resolve the major problems of the people and the country. Future political developments will not only be determined by the election results but also by the rise in the masses' united struggle to solve their problems on an anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist basis.

The CPG must intervene decisively to thwart any attempt to divert the people from the resolution of their problems, halt the social battles and place the people in the role of spectator through the use of various devices, including staged disputes at the top, the exaggeration of certain dangers and dilemmas smacking of blackmail.

Since the elections political life has been moving to a phase of more acute confrontations. In the present climate of heightened confrontation in the cold-war spirit, imperialism is seeking to push the axis of the country's political life further to the right. The ruling class is pressuring the government to take a more conservative course which would undermine the authority of the governing party among the masses and promote disorganizing tendencies in it.

PASOK is at a crossroads. The election results objectively pose the question of the choice of road for the future. However, the party leadership does not seem to be drawing the correct conclusions. It is not oriented toward a policy of real change but toward petty improvements which the liberal bourgeoisie will tolerate. In a recent interview the Prime Minister defined the content of change as a combination of "modernization and a more just society." Some circles are even nurturing the idea of a more conservative government course toward the "center." Contrary to what these forces claim, far from helping PASOK to attract popular forces, such a course will encourage them to go over to the side of the mouthpiece of conservative policy, the "New Democracy" Party.

Particularly harmful is the theory of a part of the PASOK leadership that the party's "self-reliance" slogan is an indispensable condition for normal democratic development. This slogan ignores the tragic experience of the recent past and the need for the communists' real participation so as to advance toward change and the broadening of our people's democratic gains. Locked in its policy and the "self-reliance" logic, the government finds itself in an impasse and, because of its position, is objectively facilitating the oligarchy's plans.

The oligarchy continues to adhere to its main line of bi-partisanship in which the two parties alternate in power. However, in case there is no party with the majority necessary for "self-reliance" in the Parliament formed after the next elections, the oligarchy is already seeking other solutions and planning blocs with the aim of torpedoing the movement for change, restricting the CPG's role and

preventing the cooperation of the progressive forces.

The CPG, the entire popular movement and all who support change must be vigilant so as to thwart these plans of the oligarchy and imperialism and find a democratic way out in the direction of an alternative solution of real change. Our principal tactical line must be the organization and development of the working people's united struggles to resolve the vital problems and implement real change.

In this context, the fight for proportional representation and broad constituencies is a main front of the struggle for normal democratic development along the road of change.

THE PARTY'S TASKS

6. A factor of decisive importance for political development is an increase in the role and influence of the CPG on every front of the social and political struggle. To achieve this, the party must focus its attention on the following tasks:

First, concretely elaborate and actively propagandize in the mass movement solutions to the people's problems based on a program of real change. At the center of this effort should be the CPG's proposals on overcoming the consequences of the crisis throughout the national economy by sectors and by categories of working people. This effort should be linked to the concrete struggle against the consequences of Greece's entry into the EEC.

There is a need to pay more attention to the methods of formulating and promulgating party policy so that it is not confined to general questions but concretely and spiritedly expresses the working people's needs. In the mass movement, the communists must rely on the active participation of the masses themselves, adhere to the democratic norms of relations with the working people and study their problems more deeply.

Second, take to the people in a more integral form and more convincingly the alternative solution of real change elaborated by the CPG's 11th congress.

Insistence on this alternative solution does not at all mean waiting until cooperation is achieved at the top, nor does this solution depend on the will of any party. On the contrary, it should be the cause of the popular movement. This solution requires a substantial strengthening of the CPG, extension of its influence, increase in its appeal and rise in its prestige. The program of cooperation of the democratic progressive forces for change should become the basis for rallying the working masses and for their joint struggle. It is at this that the party's policy of unity should be directed.

Third, continue to determine the CPG's attitude to the government on the basis of the objectives of real change and not on the basis of the "pluses" or "minuses" of government policy. Our criticism must be more effective, more intelligible to the masses, and should be more closely linked with the propaganda of the concrete solutions proposed by the CPG. This criticism should take the form of a responsible dialogue with the people about the problems and ways to resolve them, and should

strengthen the people's unity in support of real change.

Fourth, display greater initiative in unmasking the policy and demagoguery of the Right. This struggle against the Right cannot be confined to general slogans or rhetorical references to the Right's already denounced past but must be made effective by the party's concrete work to resolve the problems of the people and the country.

It is necessary to show the people more clearly those who support the Right, as well as the social and class content of its policy and practice. It must be explained more clearly that the electoral defeat of the Right is not enough to resolve the people's problems and that there is still a need to do away with the policy of conniving at the oligarchy's arbitrary action. The communists must systematically link the people's striving for unity and their anti-Right bent with the party's alternative, with the theses of real change, so as to make it easier to free the masses from the trap of the "PASOK or the Right" dilemma.

In their political work, the communists must not ignore the changes that have taken place in the consciousness and behavior of the people who voted for the "New Democracy" Party. They must not isolate themselves from these masses but should surmount the barriers of prejudices, enter into dialogue with them using the language of common problems and the ways to solve them, and ensure the broadest knowledge and acceptance of the party's theses on the part of the people.

Fifth, show the masses more convincingly not only the CPG's policy toward real change but also the party's revolutionary essence and its ideas about socialism in the conditions of our country's reality.

It is imperative, by acting more vigorously and on a higher ideological level, to neutralize the slander and anti-communist propaganda and uphold the party's revolutionary ideas on all the problems of Greek society and international life.

The party must speak to the people directly, simply, informally, avoiding stereotypes and clichés and taking the working people's experience into account. This should be remembered by the workers and journalists of *Rizospastis* newspaper and the *Kommunistiki Epitheorici* journal, and by all communists in their daily work.

Sixth, strengthen the links between the party organizations and the broadest masses, especially in the major urban centers, as an essential condition for increasing the CPG's influence.

In the CPG's organizational work there is a need once and for all to remove all tendency to take a bureaucratic approach and the ideological and political stagnation that makes more difficult the mobilization of all party members, their political work among the masses, and the development of broad struggles to resolve the people's problems. The party organizations must avoid being carried away by useless organizational procedures and should not restrict the party members to purely routine jobs but should facilitate their contact with the people, their participation in the struggles and their actual equip-

ment with the party's political and ideological theses.

Seventh, attach more weight to the party's work among young people and help the CYG in every way possible to resolve the present problems of the youth movement. We must give more concrete and radical responses to such matters of concern to the youth as education, employment, military service, leisure, sport, way of life, and must more broadly and consistently develop the struggle to resolve the young people's problems. We must take into account the specific features of today's young people, especially those of a younger age, and provide a revolutionary outlet for their élan and their objective desire to question the value of the old, capitalist society. Our work among the youth must consider the changes that have taken place in the conditions and ways of radicalization of each generation and must be based on the young people's actual participation and the direct expression of their will, with no high-handed tutelage. As a result it will be simpler for us to find a common language with the youth, inspire them with the revolutionary, democratic and humanistic ideas and traditions of our movement, more easily overcome the individualistic, nihilistic and apolitical phenomena, and repulse the offensive of bourgeois ideology against the youth.

Today it is even more urgent for us to take to the youth socialism's ideas and values, which the Right is bent on discrediting by identifying them with the government's policy, which is limited to just certain modifications of capitalism. It is particularly important for the CYG to counter the extension of the Right's organizational work among the young people.

Every party organization must also realize that work among women is a duty of all communists. This work must not be confined to a general explanation of the legal questions of equality but should deal with the day-to-day problems of special concern to women, including the question of women's emancipation, in such a way as to involve and interest the broad masses of women.

Eighth, at the new stage of the political life it is necessary to continue to take into account the scale of the imperialist offensive, the whipping up of a cold war, and the Right-backed blackmail aimed to align Greece's policy with U.S. and NATO interests and force the country to renounce any peace initiatives. The communists must struggle for the broadest unification of all patriots to do away with the fetters of dependence and must focus their attention on developing an even broader and more united peace movement.

* * *

Basing itself on the decisions of the CPG's 11th congress, the experience of their implementation, the discussion of the election results in the primary party organizations and the leading bodies, and also on the new phenomena in political life, the CC plenary meeting sets these tasks for party members and friends and calls on them to study these tasks, discuss them thoroughly, boldly and responsibly, enrich and concretize them with their own ideas and

experience, and unite will and action so as to carry them out vigorously and with initiative. The spirited mobilization of all members, supporters and friends of the party and the CYG, mobilization void of routine and complacency, radical improvement of party work at all levels, are the main conditions for meeting the demands of the new, more difficult phase of the political life, for qualitatively raising the party's activity in every area of the social struggle,

and for increasing the CPG's influence and role in the political development.

The CPG Central Committee hails the party members, supporters and friends, the representatives of the Left, who, by their selfless work, ensured the party's success in the hard struggle during the European parliamentary elections.

Abridged from *Rizospastis*,
July 12, 1984

Report on the Extraordinary Eighth Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party

The extraordinary eighth plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party was held on August 23, 1984. Comrade Jambyn Batmuh, member of the Political Bureau of the MPRP CC, Chairman of the MPR Council of Ministers, opened the meeting at the request of the MPRP CC Political Bureau.

The plenary meeting examined an organizational question. Comrade Demchigiyn Molomjams, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the MPRP CC, spoke on this matter on behalf of the MPRP CC Political Bureau. He said that Yumjaagiyn Tsendenbal's health prevented him from further fulfilling the duties of General Secretary of the MPRP CC and Chairman of the Presidium of the Great People's Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic.

Comrade Yumjaagiyn Tsendenbal, Molomjams said, was an outstanding leader of the Mongolian people and stood at the helm of the party and state for more than 40 years. A worthy successor of the cause of Sukhe Bator and Choybalsan, he made an invaluable contribution to the country's historic transition from feudalism to socialism, to the creation of the material and technical basis of socialism, and to the improvement of social relations and the education of a new man.

Comrade Tsendenbal devoted all his ebullient energy, rich knowledge and experience, outstanding talent and his entire creative work to selflessly serving the cause of the party and people, and to such key socio-political and socio-economic tasks of the country's development as planned development of the economy and culture, socialist cooperation of agriculture, the country's industrialization, and the deepening of the socialist cultural revolution. He was exemplary in the creative application of the Marxist-Leninist teachings in Mongolia.

Comrade Yumjaagiyn Tsendenbal is a prominent figure in the international communist and working class movement, a staunch communist and internationalist. He fought consistently for all-round development and strengthening of the unbreakable friendship between the Mongolian and Soviet people, which is an inexhaustible source of socialist

Mongolia's development and prosperity, for consolidation of our ties and friendly relations with the other fraternal socialist countries, the international communist and working class movement and all progressive forces, and for the preservation and guarantee of peace and the security of nations.

On behalf of the Political Bureau of the MPRP Central Committee, Molomjams then proposed the election of Jambyn Batmuh as General Secretary of the MPRP Central Committee. We are well aware, he said, that comrade Jambyn Batmuh is an eminent leader of our party and state, a man with vast experience of life and labor.

Comrade Batmuh grew up and was raised under people's power, and received a higher education in economics. He studied at the Academy of Social Sciences of the CPSU CC and received a scientific degree: he holds the title of professor.

For over 10 years Batmuh has worked with Tsendenbal and took a direct part in the elaboration and implementation of the domestic and foreign policy of the party and state, and the resolution of the pressing problems of the country's development. Comrade Batmuh devotes all his energy, knowledge and experience to the realization of the party's socio-economic policy and the improvement of the Mongolian people's well-being.

A devoted communist and internationalist, comrade Batmuh is constantly concerned to strengthen friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries, exerting great efforts to this end, and pays a lot of attention to the development and deepening of socialist economic integration.

Comrade Batmuh consistently follows the policy of our party and state in the struggle against imperialism and the forces of reaction, and for the defense and preservation of universal peace and the security of nations.

By his daily attention to and concern about working people, his sensitive attitude to people, his high party principledness and exactingness, his abilities as an organizer and by such personal qualities as diligence, modesty, simplicity and honesty, comrade Batmuh has won the respect of his fellow

workers, communists and the working people of our country.

Comrade Batmuh always carries out conscientiously and effectively any task with which the party entrusts him and works fruitfully for the successful implementation of the political line of the MPRP and the people's state.

In conclusion Demchigiyn Molomjamts stressed that the Political Bureau of the MPRP CC is fully confident that in the high post of MPRP CC General Secretary, comrade Batmuh will fittingly lead our party's headquarters — its Central Committee.

The plenary meeting relieved comrade Yumjaagiyn Tsendenbal of the post of General Secretary and member of the MPRP CC Political Bureau on account of his health and with his consent.

The meeting emphasized that in his more than 40 years at the helm of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and the socialist state, comrade Yumjaagiyn Tsendenbal had selflessly devoted his intellect and talent, energy and wealth of experience to the building of socialism in the Mongolian People's Republic.

The meeting highly commended comrade Yumjaagiyn Tsendenbal's many-sided activities to strengthen the MPRP ideologically and organizationally, rally its ranks and ensure their purity, make the party's contact and unity with the people firmer, and constantly improve the work done by the party and state bodies.

The meeting noted the great role played by comrade Tsendenbal in protecting the Mongolian people's

revolutionary gains and strengthening the country's defenses.

The meeting highly assessed comrade Tsendenbal's many years of fruitful activities to broaden and deepen in every possible way the unbreakable Mongolian-Soviet friendship, a reliable guarantee of the prosperity of our socialist homeland, to develop the MPRP's cooperation with the other fraternal socialist countries, strengthen the unity and cohesion of the international communist and working class movement, and ensure peace and the security of nations.

The meeting expressed deep gratitude to comrade Tsendenbal for his outstanding services to the party and the people.

The meeting unanimously elected comrade Jambyn Batmuh General Secretary of the MPRP Central Committee.

Comrade Batmuh, General Secretary of the MPRP Central Committee, addressed the plenary meeting.

The meeting fully and unanimously approved the conclusions drawn and the tasks set by the address of comrade Jambyn Batmuh, General Secretary of the MPRP CC.

The meeting unanimously elected comrade Tserendashiyn Namsray, Secretary of the MPRP CC, to the MPRP CC Political Bureau.

The plenary meeting of the MPRP CC was held in an atmosphere of complete unity and cohesion. It resolved the question of the continuity of the party's leadership, fully aware of its responsibility to the party and the people.

Speech by Jambyn Batmuh

Allow me to express my sincere gratitude to the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party for the great confidence and honor awarded me with my election as General Secretary of the party's Central Committee.

I accept this extremely responsible duty as an assignment of our party's CC. From this high rostrum of the plenary meeting I assure you, the members of the party's Central Committee, and our communists that all my energy, knowledge and experience will be dedicated to the cause of the party and the people, to which comrade Tsendenbal has been devoting his ebullient energy, rich knowledge, experience and all his talent in his more than 40 years at the helm of the party and state.

Unfortunately, because of his health and with his consent, comrade Tsendenbal is being relieved of active duties as leader of our party.

Today, as we address comrade Tsendenbal with deep respect, this outstanding leader of the party and state, true son of the Mongolian people, a tried and tested Marxist-Leninist and consistent internationalist, prominent figure in the international communist and working class movement, tireless fighter for the strengthening and development of Leninist friendship between the Mongolian and Soviet peoples and for the cause of peace and friendship among nations, we express unswerving loyalty to the principled line that has been followed by our party under his direct leadership.

The name of comrade Tsendenbal as a tried and tested party and state leader and his many-sided and fruitful activity are inseparably linked with important landmarks in the history of the MPR: creation of the bases of socialism, successful industrialization of the country and completion of the socialist restructuring of agriculture, carrying out of the cultural revolution, creation of the material and technical base of socialism in the country, growth and consolidation of the MPR's international prestige.

The party and the people know very well that in his over four decades as leader of our party, comrade Tsendenbal devoted much energy and effort to the cause of steadily raising the working people's well-being, molding a new man, and rooting the socialist way of life in the country, to the cause of firmly establishing socialist legality and developing socialist democracy.

Comrade Tsendenbal has always paid great attention to strengthening the country's defenses and consolidating the spirited cooperation of the Mongolian and Soviet peoples and their armed forces.

The party highly appreciates comrade Tsendenbal's great services in the theoretical elaboration and practical realization of the MPRP's Marxist-Leninist domestic and foreign policy, its programmatic documents, guidelines and long-term plans for the MPR's development.

We are all well aware that comrade Tsendenbal always makes initiatives and is very much con-

cerned to define at each given stage of our party's development its concrete tasks to raise the party's leading role, strengthen it ideologically and organizationally, secure the cohesion of the party ranks, improve the activity of the party and state apparatus and the close links and unity between the party and the people, ensure the party's day-to-day leadership of the state and public organizations, and raise and educate cadre in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Comrade Tsedenbal always attaches paramount importance to profound and constant study of Marxism-Leninism and the historical experience of the CPSU and the other advanced contingents of the international communist and working class movement, and to consistent and vigorous struggle for the purity of Marxism-Leninism, unity among the fraternal parties and peoples of the socialist community countries, and the cohesion of the world communist movement.

Comrade Tsedenbal's worthy and weighty contribution to the strengthening and development of the unbreakable fraternal friendship between the Mongolian and Soviet peoples is highly noteworthy. As an ardent proponent of this friendship, comrade Tsedenbal saw it as a prime condition for our country's prosperity and pointed out that this friendship should be cherished as something sacred and strengthened in every possible way.

Comrade Tsedenbal's life and work embody the best qualities and features of a party leader. High party principledness and exactingness, talent as an organizer and an innovative and businesslike approach to all questions, political perspicacity and rejection of the various manifestations alien to Marxism-Leninism, the cause of the party and the people, his daily close contact with the masses, tactful and attentive treatment of people, of their needs, great diligence and simple and modest ways are all characteristic of comrade Tsedenbal.

These qualities have earned him the sincere affection and respect of the working people of socialist Mongolia. He also enjoys high prestige among the peoples of the fraternal countries and in the international communist and working class movement.

The lifelong work of comrade Yumjaagin Tsedenbal, a true successor of the revolutionary ideas and deeds of Sukhe Bator and his comrades, is an example of dedicated service to the party and the country.

Expressing the thoughts and feelings of all communists, all working people of our country, it can be said with good reason that the political wisdom and extensive life experience of comrade Yumjaagin Tsedenbal will continue to stand our party and the Mongolian people in good stead.

Led by their Marxist-Leninist vanguard — the MPRP — the Mongolian people have been confidently advancing along the road of socialist construction. There is no doubt that in the future as well all our party's work will aim to implement consistently the party's general line and put into practice the domestic and foreign policies charted at the 18th congress of the MPRP. This is guaranteed by the continuity of the party's socio-economic policy,

by the collective mind of our party's Central Committee and its Political Bureau, by our people's solid cohesion around their party and its Central Committee.

Preparing to mark the 60th anniversary of the MPRP's third congress, which elaborated the party's general line — that of the MPR's development along a non-capitalist path toward socialism and the proclamation of the Mongolian People's Republic — our people are justly proud of their successes and of the historical revolutionary mission being honorably discharged by the MPRP.

Our achievements have been great and they are a good basis for successfully tackling the even bigger tasks that will face our country as it steadily advances.

In this connection I would like to draw your attention to some key questions of the country's socio-economic development. This means, first of all, the successful realization of the party's economic policy. It is on this that our party's main task — improving the well-being and raising the cultural level of the people — depends in the long run.

The fourth year of the seventh five-year-plan period is coming to a close. In order to fulfil successfully the five-year plan as a whole and to prepare a good basis for the next, eighth five-year plan, we must concentrate the efforts of the party and the people on the as yet unfulfilled tasks. And we still have many such tasks both in the sphere of material production and in the non-production sphere. That is why the ministries and departments, the *aimak* and city party and state organizations, and the managers of enterprises and farms must correctly and objectively evaluate the state of affairs in every work collective, in all sectors of production, at each workplace, and uncover and put to use new reserves so as to make up for what has been omitted, increasing labor productivity and attaining good final results.

In the seventh five-year-plan period the party's 18th congress set the task of raising the efficiency of production and the quality of work in the national economy as the main task of the country's social and economic development. On the whole, this task is being fulfilled successfully. But our progress would have been even greater if there were no mismanagement, wastefulness and unproductive losses of worktime, if the production capacities were used to the full, if the raw and other materials, energy and fuel were saved everywhere, and if accounting and control were ensured at a proper level.

All these questions are not only of economic but also of great political significance. They are linked with improvement of the system of economic management and of the economic mechanism. It would not be an exaggeration to say that this is where the main bottleneck of all our economic activity lies. If there is to be even greater successes, we must study thoroughly and introduce consistently, with due regard for our concrete conditions, the vast experience of the Soviet Union and the other socialist community countries, develop and maintain the initiative of the broad masses of the working people everywhere, and to turn an attentive ear to the opin-

ions of experts, scientists and practical workers.

It should be borne in mind that these tasks can become reality only as a result of hard organizational, ideological and economic work by the party, government and economic-management organizations.

The resolutions of the party's 18th congress and of the subsequent plenary meetings of its Central Committee lay special emphasis on the need to make effective use of the existing economic potential.

I would like to note that sizable funds are allocated every year to develop the national economy and culture and create new capacities. Their effective use is a task of paramount importance. The party's Central Committee has always paid special attention to this and will continue to do so.

Even with all the achievements in capital construction, the work of this sector needs constant improvement to raise its efficiency considerably. This is an imperative. The next tasks in this area are outlined in the recently adopted resolution of the party Central Committee and the MPR Council of Ministers "On Measures to Improve the Planning and Financing of Capital Construction."

The problems of agriculture have always been a focus of our party's attention. In this area the task of the party organizations at every level is to step up considerably the implementation of the CC's important decisions of recent years. In order to advance to higher levels in agricultural production and the supply of foodstuffs to the population, it is necessary to enhance considerably the efficiency of agricultural production and continually introduce advanced know-how and scientific and technical achievements. In keeping with resolutions of the party's 18th congress, the drafting of a special program to develop agriculture and improve the food supply is soon to be largely completed.

The Central Committee considers that the ministries and departments concerned and the local party and government organizations must immediately begin to carry out the measures outlined in the draft food program. This matter is very closely bound up with the further improvement of working and living conditions in the countryside.

The party's economic policy, based as it is on the objective uniformities of socialism's development, expresses the fundamental interests of the people. With that as its guide, the party and its Central Committee firmly adhere to a course of raising the population's material and cultural level. This sacred task directly depends on the results of each industry, each enterprise, each shop, sector, and each worker.

It is becoming increasingly urgent to improve the work of the educational and health bodies and to upgrade the utilities and public service.

Experience calls for constant improvement of the style and methods of work. "The whole art of government and policy-making," Lenin said, "consists in being able to assess and know in good time where to concentrate your main forces and attention."

In this connection, it is worth recalling once again the importance of vigorous and competent party

leadership, better control and verification. The unity of words and deeds is fundamental to the success of all party activities.

We know very well from both past and present experience that skilled, concrete, objective and unbiased control helps to raise discipline. It is necessary for our workers, particularly those in managerial positions, to bear greater responsibility for their assignments and for our personnel work to be up to scratch.

In this connection, comrade Tsedenbal emphasized that "it is necessary to stem the flood of paper flowing both from above and from below, and to reduce the number of decisions of little effect and formally conducted activities which often duplicate each other."

A great reserve for the stepping up of mass activity lies in the further upgrading of the party organizations' work. The current review of the primary party organizations' effectiveness is exerting a real impact on this process; it has been considerably improving their work. The task is to raise still further the vanguard role of the communists and to maintain at a high level the party organizations' influence on the performance of every work collective.

The party organizations must develop the communists' initiative and greater sense of responsibility in the realization of the party's policy, must more resolutely remove the shortcomings in production and in the education of people, be more exacting toward personnel and seek to make consideration for and attention to people, and concern to meet their needs and requirements a feature of the entire work of government and economic management bodies, trade union and Revolutionary Youth League organizations.

Some measures have recently been taken on the CC's initiative to improve work discipline, accuracy of plan fulfillment and compliance with the interests of the state, and to strengthen organization, law and order and socialist legality. It must be underscored that the strengthening of order and discipline is not a short-term campaign but a long-term line of fundamental importance. There can be no departing from it.

Thanks to the constant concern of our party and the government, and the selfless assistance of the great Soviet Union, our country's defenses are at a proper level. The party's CC will continue, as always, to attach great importance to upgrading the military and political training of the armed forces, enhancing the party's influence and strengthening the Revolutionary Youth League organizations among the young servicemen.

The creative activity and high consciousness of the working masses are an important source of the development and prosperity of our homeland. The party has always attached particular importance to developing them in every way. We must, as before, pay great attention to intensifying the communist education of the younger generation in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, in the spirit of loyalty to the combative, revolutionary and labor traditions of the older generation.

I want especially to emphasize that our party has

always considered the study of the world historic experience of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people, and its introduction in all spheres of social life in our country to be a component part of all its activity. This question will always be a focus of our attention.

Proceeding from the resolutions of the 18th congress and of the subsequent CC plenary meetings and comrade Tsedenbal's speeches there, I have dealt only with some key questions of our life on which we must concentrate the efforts of the party and the people.

All of us understand well that strict fulfillment of all the targets of the plan for 1984 is a pressing task of the day which requires of us great organization and responsibility. This means successfully carrying out the harvesting and completing the preparations for winter in every sector of the national economy, live-stock raising above all, doing this thoroughly and with due regard to the experience of the previous years.

At the same time thought must be given to tomorrow, to our prospects. Ahead of us lies great and responsible preparatory work for the regular, 19th congress of the MPRP. It is necessary to begin this work now and to orient our party organizations, communists and working people toward marking in a fitting manner the highest forum of the party.

In this connection I would like to focus your attention on the high-quality and timely preparation of a draft of the new five-year plan.

From the first day of its existence the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, which was formed under the ideological influence of the Great October Socialist Revolution, has unswervingly pursued a truly internationalist line in its foreign policy activity. The all-round strengthening of friendship and cooperation with the great Soviet Union and the other socialist community countries and the development of fraternal ties with the communist and workers' parties are the cornerstone of our party's foreign policy. Our communists view the further strengthening of the unity and cohesion of the socialist community as their primary internationalist task.

The traditionally fraternal Mongolian-Soviet relations, initiated by the great Lenin and the founder of our party, Sukhe Bator, are widening and deepening on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism. The friendship and cooperation between the MPRP and the CPSU have been playing a decisive role in this. The communists and all working people of the MPR welcomed with deep satisfaction the results of the meeting between comrade Konstantin Chernenko and comrade Tsedenbal in February 1984. Mongolian-Soviet relations are marked by deep mutual trust, and our cooperation is characterized by magnitude and a great constructive power.

It has always been a fundamental line of our party and state to strengthen in every way possible these truly fraternal relations with the CPSU and the Soviet Union.

The MPR's fraternal relations and economic, scientific, technical and cultural cooperation with other socialist countries have been developing successfully. The MPR actively participates in the CMEA's activity and in the realization of the Comprehensive Program of Socialist Economic Integration.

The communists and all working people of the MPR have welcomed with profound satisfaction the decisions and historic documents of the CMEA economic summit, whose results have made an important contribution to the further strengthening of the unity and economic, scientific and technical potential of the socialist community. This top forum of party and state leaders demonstrated once again the consistent peace-loving course of the fraternal countries and their determination to uphold the cause of peace, national independence and social progress of the peoples, and to save humanity from a nuclear holocaust.

The MPRP and the MPR have always regarded it as an important aspect of their foreign policy to support the peoples' struggle for national liberation and social emancipation, against imperialist exploitation and aggression. They adhere firmly to the principle of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems, considering it the only rational basis for inter-state relations in our epoch.

Today, the adventurist course of U.S. imperialism is markedly aggravating the international situation and increasing the threat of nuclear war. The forces of militarism, revanchism and hegemonism are also active in this direction. In this situation there is no task more important than that of struggle for peace, against war. The Soviet Union, the heroic Soviet people, and their tried and tested vanguard, the CPSU, have been making titanic efforts to ward off the danger of war from our planet and to save humanity and its civilization from destruction. The MPRP and the MPR government fully support the counter-measures which the Soviet Union has had to undertake to prevent the rabid imperialist circles from attaining military superiority. Mongolia will continue to strive to make whatever contribution it can to the efforts of the fraternal countries to avert the threat of a world war and bring about a radical improvement in the international climate.

The constructive initiatives and purposeful foreign policy steps taken by the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries reassure the peoples that peace can be upheld. The guarantee of this is the further strengthening of the socialist community's economic and defense potential and every possible pooling of efforts by all peace forces.

The Central Committee expresses confidence that the working people of our country will rally still more closely behind their party and display even greater initiative and creativity, dedication and persistence, and conscious discipline in the drive to effect the party's programmatic tasks of completing the creation of the material and technical basis of socialism on Mongolian soil.

Unen, August 24, 1984

USA: The 1984 Elections: We Can Make the Difference

Report by Gus Hall, General Secretary, CPUSA, to the Central Committee-National Council plenary meeting held on June 16, 1984.

I. INTRODUCTION: THE CHALLENGE

The countdown is now 20 weeks to November 6, election day.

Among the challenges, the most critical and urgent is the *welding of the unity of the forces of the all people's front against Reaganism*, in the broad context of the contest between the Democratic candidate, Mondale, and Reagan.

The challenge will be, how to keep the focus of the campaign on defeating Reagan and the Reaganite candidates, how to maximize unity, minimize divisions, avoid diversions and prevent provocations and disruptions.

II. THE WORLD SCENE: WAR OR PEACE?

U.S. drive to regain world domination.

There has arisen a closely contested rivalry between the three major centers of imperialism, the United States, Western Europe and Japan.

The U.S. economic and political hegemony which developed in the early postwar decades has since been incontestably and inalterably shaken.

In this situation, inter-imperialist contradictions cannot but sharpen and the general strategy of the Reagan administration aimed at regaining the lost positions in the world is the main cause of the aggravation of inter-imperialist contradictions.

Thus, the single-minded, reckless and dangerous drive to establish a U.S. military nuclear superiority over the Soviet Union, as the basis for regaining U.S. imperialist world economic and political domination, continues as a main current in the Reagan foreign policy. This includes the goal of destroying the world socialist system and a return of the Third World countries to the old colonial status.

The big lie, terrorism and nuclear aggression.

The big lie, evil empire, anti-communism continues as the main ingredient of Reagan's ideological offensive.

There is nothing Reagan talks about without tacking on some aspect of the big lie.

The monstrous myth of the so-called Soviet military threat continues as the basis for Reagan's hysteria-propaganda campaign.

The Reaganite policies of exporting counter-revolution, the accompanying covert and overt undeclared wars, the acts of official terrorism have emerged as frontline policies of the Pentagon-Reagan administration.

The bloody trail of terrorism, counter-revolution and intervention and the lines of support to the fascist death squads and death squad governments lead straight to the back door of the White House and the CIA.

And, new developments reveal it is now a front-door policy. The new revelation is that the CIA and the Pentagon have set up a network of specially trained Army, Navy, Marine and Airforce squads that are being used and led by the CIA for its special covert and overt counter-revolutionary acts of terrorism.

The truth is these are Reagan death squads in other lands. The so-called program of anti-terrorism is, in fact, terrorism on a massive scale. The CIA admits to 50 existing, ongoing, covert counter-revolutionary campaigns.

This includes the monstrous crime committed by a mercenary band in the service of the South African racists and the U.S. CIA. On April 19 the UNITA terrorist grouping detonated a powerful bomb in one of Angola's biggest cities, in front of a block of apartments where Cuban civil engineers and technicians, construction workers, doctors and teachers lived. About 100 people were killed or injured.

This was a barbarous act against Angola and her Cuban friends assisting in the building and defending of a new socialist society in Southern Africa.

The counter-revolutionary covert cabal — the CIA, Pakistan and China — have been at work destabilizing India. But they have lost again.

Preparing for nuclear war.

Preparations for a war of nuclear aggression include:

— the continuing placement of Cruise and Pershing II nuclear missiles;

— the mining of Nicaraguan harbors;

— the supplying of additional AWACs flown by U.S. military personnel into the Persian Gulf;

— the sale of 400 Stinger missiles (200 of which will go from Saudi Arabia to the counter-revolutionary bands in Afghanistan);

— the massive build-up of arms and armies in Honduras;

— the prowling, war-ready Navy armadas around the world;

— the placement of MX missiles and the sabotage and blocking of serious nuclear weapons reduction negotiations;

— the new policies of so-called pre-emptive, anti-terrorist terrorist tactics;

— the building of the anti-missile missiles in outer space;

— the star wars plans; and,

— the \$350 billion dollar nuclear military budget.

The Reagan trip to China resulted in deals that draw the People's Republic of China more deeply into the U.S.-Tokyo-South Korea axis. And, the secret talks going on in Washington this week include the transfer of Cruise and Pershing nuclear missiles to China and South Korea.

After Reagan left, as a down payment, China renewed its military attacks on Vietnam and new slanders against the Soviet Union. This is a new low in the bootlicking, opportunistic, groveling policies of support and accommodation to U.S. imperialism by the leaders of China.

All these acts of war and provocation have heightened the tensions and immeasurably increased the danger of nuclear confrontation.

World imperialism: split, weakened, crisis-ridden.

On the other hand, the splits in NATO, the decision by the Netherlands to reject Cruise and Pershing missiles, the tremendous, unprecedented demonstrations against Reaganism in Spain, Netherlands, Uruguay, Ireland and England, the threatened failure of the capitalist world banking system — all add up to a lost weekend for a crisis-ridden, divided capitalist world.

The capitalist summit debacle which just ended in failure in London was a foredoomed attempt to achieve a "mission impossible".

It faced problems and contradictions it was not able to solve.

The financial imperialist juggernaut is pushing Third World nations closer and closer to the brink of bankruptcy.

The recently concluded international conference of Third World debtor nations is a clear indication that the working class and people, as well as the governments, of these near-bankrupt countries are beginning to rebel against the relentless lending and austerity policies of the big capitalist banks.

Interest rates, the overvalued dollar, the protectionist policies, trade deficits and banking crises, added to the \$800 billion dollar Third World debt were an agenda for a crisis that could not be solved.

U.S. policies continue at a moment when U.S. imperialism is weakened and more isolated. The United States "stands tall" only because it stands on a nuclear powder keg.

The fact that this is happening when the U.S. is in an overall weakened position does not lessen the danger. Precisely because of this, the element of desperation and thus reckless adventurism and provocation enters the picture. This adds greatly to the danger.

Peacekeeping structure in shambles.

Also, as a direct result of the Reaganite policy the world's peacekeeping structure is in shambles. This includes U.S. relations with the United Nations, UNESCO, the Organization of American States (OAS) and with the World Court.

This includes disarmament negotiations and the non-existent relationships and exchanges between the U.S. and the USSR.

And, what makes matters even worse, no basis whatsoever exists at the moment to reverse this negative trend. This, also, adds to the war danger. Thus, if there is an accidental escalation of the war atmosphere, or an emergency or crisis situation, there is literally no structure to limit or mediate the crisis. This is an extremely dangerous situation.

Our unique role.

We have a special responsibility in placing, clarifying, explaining and exposing all the big lie

policies of imperialist aggression and the continuing build-up of U.S. nuclear superiority.

And, because Reagan is literally running his campaign against socialism, communism and the Soviet Union, our party has a historically unique role and responsibility in this election to expose and explain this biggest of all brain-washing offensives against the U.S. people.

Without our party's decisive contributions it will be very difficult for the American people to break through and reject the big lie propaganda that acts as an obstacle to people joining in the all people's front against Reaganism.

We can make the difference!

On the side of peace.

As the war danger crisis grows, there is the countervailing growth of peace sentiment and the peace movement.

Mondale's suggestion that the Soviet Union and the United States hold regular annual top-level conferences has touched a very responsive chord. The Republicans are now trying to strum this same chord.

The majority sentiment for peace forced the Democratic primary debate to move toward a stronger peace position.

The participation and response to the June 10 New York mass demonstrations reflected a growing peace sentiment.

All the polls indicate that Reagan is most vulnerable on the issue of war or peace.

III. THE ECONOMIC SCENE: REVIEW, UPDATE AND NEW DEVELOPMENTS

As in foreign policy, there are no changes in the basic essence of Reaganomics or in the direction of economic developments generally.

The triple-layered economic crisis and the Reagan-corporate offensive continue to punch holes in the fabric of the so-called economic safety net.

Debunking the "Reagan recovery".

Just to review some of the vital statistics. Thirty million individual working people have suffered one or more periods of unemployment since Reagan took office. Some 24 million are still affected. The average length of unemployment in 1983 was 20 weeks. On the average, the real earnings of workers who are still working are 3.5 percent lower than four years ago.

Mortgage foreclosures have hit 500,000 families since 1981. Farm foreclosures and bankruptcies are up 300 per cent.

Five million more are living in poverty. Ten million have lost their health coverage. Social security, Medicare, Medicaid, day care and education have been savagely slashed.

The Reagan-corporate offensive is working overtime. The aim of the attacks on the working class and the trade union movement is to destroy the legal and institutional structure that has provided a legal foundation for the trade union movement since the New Deal.

All this is going on while the Reaganite-controlled media work night and day to create an anti-labor,

anti-union atmosphere to support their anti-working class offensive.

The triple-layer crisis continues unabated.

In spite of all the Hollywood stagecraft and Reaganomic, supply-side witchcraft being used to create a "recovery mentality," the cyclical economic upturn remains erratic, uneven and spotty. It does not appear to have much staying power or momentum.

And, because much of the upturn is sustained by the unprecedented level of military orders, there are more than the usual number of distortions and contradictory developments in the economy.

There is no real upturn in the industries and areas affected by the structural crisis.

To this point, the economic upturn is mainly helping workers in high-tech, service and communication industries. And, to some extent, building trades workers.

And, because a large section of the basic workers are Black, Chicano and other racially and nationally oppressed workers, the structural crisis has a devastating racist cutting edge.

In an unprecedented way, in spite of the economic upturn, the structural crisis is adding millions of workers to the list of the permanently unemployed. The plants that have closed their gates have locked out six million jobs.

The economic upturn is having very little positive effect on the crisis situation faced by small farmers. The high prices for what they buy and the low prices for what they sell are resulting in the biggest crop of bankruptcies and foreclosures since the 1930s.

Economic polarization is at its sharpest point. One per cent of the farms take 60 per cent of all farm income.

Unemployed youth, and especially racially and nationally oppressed youth, are asking: "What economic upturn?"

Of course, the real economic boom is in the \$2 trillion a year corporate profits, which keep growing by leaps and bounds.

The financial crisis.

There are also some ominous eruptions in the financial structure. The international and domestic financial crises are a special feature of the deepening general and structural crisis of capitalism.

The causes are profound and complex. They are the volcanic eruptions caused by the growing instability in the bowels of world capitalism.

Despite all efforts there most likely will be further eruptions which will more seriously shake the financial structure and deepen the general crisis.

A particularly severe test will come when the next cyclical crisis of world capitalist production emerges, as it surely will.

However, the nature and timing of the next, deeper stage of the financial crisis will be determined not only by economic events and developments, but even more by the struggles of the victimized masses in developing countries and the working class in the imperialist countries.

The financial crisis is a clear sign of instability of not only the U.S., but of the world capitalist

financial structure. For every one per cent that the U.S. interest rate goes up, the Third World countries have to pay \$8 billion on existing loans.

In attempting to adjust the crisis, state-monopoly capital is forced to extremes of intervention in the so-called "free, competitive capitalist economy."

For example, within hours, the U.S. government pledged \$42 billion to shore up the Continental Illinois Bank of Chicago.

The massive federal bail-out of Continental Illinois (eighth largest U.S. bank) together with bail-outs like Chrysler, signifies a new stage in state intervention to sustain monopoly capital.

Smoldering underground economic fires.

In his campaign rhetoric, Reagan will work overtime to cover up the smoke that is rising from the smoldering, underground economic fires.

There is a whole new set of ballpark figures:

(1) There is the \$130 billion 1984 trade deficit; more than double the highwater mark of past trade deficits.

(2) \$1.5 trillion federal government debt, rising at the rate of \$200 billion per year.

(3) \$120 billion annual interest payments on the national debt.

(4) There is the \$850 billion Reagan-corporate wage cut and the \$130 billion cut in social welfare programs.

(5) \$230 billion farm debt — an all-time high.

(6) \$350 billion annual military budget.

(7) \$1 trillion debt working people owe in installment and mortgage debt, plus the \$720 billion they have to pay in interest payments.

(8) \$800 billion the Third World countries have borrowed, mainly from U.S. banks, plus the \$60 billion they have to pay in interest.

On these figures alone, the loan-shark banks collect \$1 trillion a year in interest payments.

Together, these ballpark figures are creating a new, cumulative factor, increasingly affecting the economic scene generally.

The structural crisis and racism.

The structural crisis is adding a new dimension to the ravaging effects of racism.

Because the sick industries and devastated communities have large numbers of Afro-American workers, the racist impact is severe.

Because the economic upturn is bypassing these industries and communities, the economic recovery also follows the racist path of discrimination.

And, because the economic upturn is limited and spotty it does not reach the last-to-be-hired and first-to-be-fired workers. It is an unmitigated Reagan lie that the economic upturn is providing more jobs to Afro-Americans than to other sectors of the population.

Sharpening of the class struggle.

There is a new, overall sharpening of the class struggle. This is reflected in the increase in corporate lockouts and in the militancy of strikers.

The Phelps Dodge copper strike in Arizona, the auto parts strike in Toledo, Ohio, and many other long, bitter strikes continue. Many continue even after being locked out.

But there is also an increase in strike solidarity in

face of the fact that union busting is now a big business.

Eminent domain — American form of nationalization.

What is now sinking in is the fact that the usual trade union approaches and tactics in this situation are no longer effective. Even a demand that the company open the plant does not work.

What is increasingly seen as the act of last resort, the only remaining option, is public takeover. Therefore, the time has come for the party to raise the demand for the nationalization of the Big Three — the basic industries, the energy complex and the financial and banking empires.

In all this, the law of eminent domain has emerged as an instrument of public takeover.

The concept of eminent domain is an old American tradition. It can become a unique American form of nationalization.

Of course, we have to help avoid pitfalls like paying big money to buy the plant. We have to help make eminent domain a working class weapon, a class struggle tactic.

New militant tone.

The new objective developments and their reflection in the thought patterns of workers is showing up in many ways, including in the pages of the trade union press.

In most of the trade union papers, including the *AFL-CIO News*, there is a new tone. There is a clearer sense of a class approach. And, their approach is generally less class collaborationist, especially on economic issues. The tone is more anti-monopoly.

This new militancy and anti-monopoly tone is a reflection of the new tone in the thought patterns in the working class grass roots.

IV. THE 1984 ELECTIONS: THE FINAL LAP

The 1984 election marathon is now entering the finals. The primaries are over. The candidates are in place, ready to run the final lap in the big race.

The Republican Party platform will be more of the same — warmed over Reaganism and Reaganomics — somewhat demagogically covered up.

One of the current Republican Party's tactics is their all-out campaign to create the impression that Reagan is "unbeatable."

In some circles this is already creating a mood of hopelessness that results in doing nothing or in engaging in discussions, debates and activities focused on what to do "after the elections."

It is much too early in the campaign to make such assessments. Such an approach will demobilize and divert the people from the real issue of defeating Reaganism.

The basis for defeating Reagan lies in the mass opposition that has developed to his war-oriented foreign policies, to his anti-labor, racist, anti-people domestic policies.

A greater voter participation in any single sector — labor, Afro-American, youth, women, peace activists, seniors — can deliver the votes to defeat Reagan.

The main challenge for us is how to organize and bring all potential anti-Reagan forces into play, how to activate the inactive.

Thus, if members of our party are doing anything that diverts from this task they should set it aside or take a second look. Perhaps what we are doing does not fit into meeting the challenge of the moment.

We have to set top priorities in order to be able to build the kind of movement that will meet the challenge.

Our party will not give any kind of endorsement to any other presidential candidate.

Our party will present its candidates, its views and platform.

Our party will expose Reagan and Reaganism.

Our party will express its differences and criticisms of the Democratic candidates when they are wrong and when it will add to the struggle against Reaganism.

Our party will work to educate the forces who will help in the building of the forms of people's political independence.

Our party will help to build the structure for labor's political independence.

Our party will work to unite all the forces who will defeat the Reaganites on November 6.

There has never been an election campaign in which the stakes are so high — the survival of our country and the world.

We now have an administration whose active policy is to build nuclear superiority over the Soviet Union and to destroy world socialism.

It is true, we are not being challenged by a fascist administration. However, in a sense, our tactics are somewhat similar to the tactics in the struggle against fascism in that for the period of the elections our single focus, all our creative energies, must be focused on defeating Reaganism.

Unity, key to victory.

Such unity can only be built around specific, agreed-upon issues. The overall framework is opposition to Reaganism and Reaganomics. Therefore, unity must be built as a response to the anti-labor, racist, war-making policies of Reaganism.

But the response cannot only be a rejection of Reaganism. Voters must have an opportunity to vote both against Reagan and for solutions.

There can be unity around issues like:

- a massive jobs program;
- a six-hour day, with no cut in pay;
- increase in the minimum wage;
- restoration, defense and expansion of affirmative action programs;
- a struggle against Reagan's Central American policies;
- democratization of the electoral process;
- cuts in the military budget;
- restoration of cuts in social programs like food stamps, child care, Medicare and education;
- replacing all the Reaganite appointees on the Civil Rights Commission, the National Labor Relations Board, the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) and others.

V. COMMUNIST ELECTION CAMPAIGN: WE CAN MAKE THE DIFFERENCE

The convention report could not have foreseen the overwhelmingly positive response to our campaign and the petition drives.

Reports show that the response is running two to three times better than in 1980.

And, we have learned on the streets and at plant gates that the number of signatures alone *is not* an accurate reflection of the tremendous impact we make on people who sign our petitions.

In fact, from experience we learned that whether they sign our petition or not, people think about communists in a new way because they meet communists, talk to communists and listen to and read about communist ideas.

There is a growing acceptance that the Communist Party is a live, serious and legitimate political party. Our party has a new status, and therefore a new role, in the electoral arena and on the political scene in general.

There is a growing public recognition of our party as a relevant force in solving today's problems.

There is a much wider response to the more basic solutions we present.

There is a genuine interest in socialism, and an acceptance that communists are the only authority on socialism and communism in the United States.

There is also a growing rejection of Establishment politics-as-usual and an awareness that the communists are outside that framework and, thus, more credible.

There is a lively interest not only in the solutions we present, but also in *how* we project achieving them. In other words, people want to listen to us, but also talk to us.

Blunting the lies.

To some extent, we are blunting the effects of the big lie, including the so-called Soviet military nuclear threat.

To the extent that we are able to undo the effects of the big lie we are helping to move millions into the struggle against Reagan's policies of war and nuclear

confrontation and also into the electoral struggles against Reaganism.

I am also convinced that our talking to millions is somewhat blunting the effects of the increased racist propaganda.

Changing mass thought patterns.

There is no question our campaign is changing mass thought patterns because for the first time in history we are talking to millions of people about socialism in realistic terms.

Possibly for the first time, the majority of our people are hearing about exploitation and profits in class terms.

For the first time in U.S. history, U.S. people want to hear about Marxist ideas, about socialism and communism from communists.

These contributions that help to change mass thought patterns are important in the struggle to defeat Reaganism.

And, they are not passing fancies. They are here to stay.

Building the Party and YCL.

Also, we need not and must not put off building the party and YCL for another day. Recruiting and party building must go on simultaneously, hand in hand, as part of our mass work generally.

But in this case it must be integrated into the election campaign.

We are talking, as communists (and now we can say, both party and League communists), to millions about our platform, our program, our organizations and about socialism.

This is the most effective, most comprehensive party and League building campaign in our history.

This communist election campaign can be the biggest party, as well as YCL, recruiting drive in our history. That is, if we see every petition signer, every non-party signature collector, every plant gate and subway stop reader of our press, every special election subscriber, every *Dynamic* reader, every contact, as a potential YCL or party member. In fact, this election campaign can be the making of the YCL and the making of a mass Communist Party.

Abridged

statements & speeches

Argentina: The Masses' Active Participation Guarantees the Success of the Fight for Democracy and Peace

TASS correspondent's interview with Athos Fava, General Secretary, Communist Party of Argentina.

Question: How do you characterize the stage through which Argentina is presently passing?

Answer: Argentina is at a difficult transition stage. We managed to get out from under the military dictatorship imposed in 1976, and are now arriving at

bourgeois democracy, with all the pluses and minuses which this change entails.

More favorable conditions have been created for the masses' transformative action and for the struggle to ensure that the working class, united in the

trade unions and politically as well, can play the main role in the winning of true democracy.

The dictatorship has not been completely eradicated. It has left a grievous legacy, including the results of the state terrorism — tens of thousands of people who have disappeared or been killed, imprisoned or tortured — and the repressive apparatus which is still in place. It also includes the effects of a merciless anti-people economic policy which robbed the working people of almost \$75 billion and resulted in a leap in the foreign debt from \$9 billion to \$45 billion between 1976 and 1983.

These are but some of the results of a policy which, as in other countries of the region, has hit the working class and its organizations so as to impose the model of a trading post country, a "pastoral country", a country that is submissive, dependent and subordinated to U.S. imperialism's warmongering strategy. The initiators of this policy relied on the most reactionary circles in the armed forces and on the "national security" doctrine.

Question: What is your attitude to the Raul Alfonsin government in this context?

Answer: Hardly had the present government come to power in December 1983 than our party's Central Committee described it as a "bourgeois democratic government that is reformist in character, heterogeneous, where progressive circles coexist with others which tend toward conciliation." The CC also stated that if the deeds and promises of the government coincide the Communist Party would take a constructive attitude to it, resolutely supporting and rallying the patriotic forces to get adopted measures meeting the Argentine people's democratic desire for progressive changes and peace, while rejecting the measures which are in conflict with this.

Today we can state that there is real and formal power in the country, and that Alfonsin has only a part — though an important one — of the formal power, since he does not fully hold all the government levers.

From an economic point of view, the power of the imperialist monopolies, the landowning oligarchy and big capital is still predominant. The national and petty bourgeoisie are broadly represented in the government. The importance and role of the recently formed powerful national economic and financial groupings have increased. They actively influence the government and encourage the conciliatory tendencies.

Question: In that case it is not out of place to ask what is the real strength of the Radical government from a social and political viewpoint.

Answer: Practice shows that the government does not have its own foothold among the working class. It receives some support from the national entrepreneurs and the agrarian sector, but it does not have the final word in their organizations. The government's influence in the armed forces and the Church is also not decisive. On the other hand, it has organized support at the universities and influence among broad middle strata.

But the most outstanding feature of the democ-

ratization process in our country is its mass character and the high level of the population's activity, with the working class at the center. From the struggles of the 60s against the dictatorship of General Juan Carlos Onganía (in Córdoba, Rosario, etc.) to the fight against the ultraright-wing policy of José López Rega, Social Welfare Minister in Isabel Perón's constitutional government, the center of the struggle has always been in the places where the proletariat is concentrated, in both the private and state sectors. This made it possible to gain valuable experience and make the working people more combative and conscious. Conditions were thus created to overcome more rapidly the limitation which bourgeois nationalism has been imposing, largely in the trade union movement, where the Peronists are dominant.

That is why at present, while the government and the bourgeois leadership, including the big entrepreneurs and the trade union bigwigs, are seeking a "consensus" so as to achieve so-called "social peace," the working class is daily holding dozens of strikes and taking other action to gain better wages and working conditions and prevent the shifting of the entire burden of the crisis onto the backs of the working people.

Question: How do you evaluate the measures taken by the government in its first seven months?

Answer: The government has not advanced in the socio-economic sphere, unlike in the area of democratic freedoms, where definite steps have been taken. There are some positive aspects in foreign policy, such as the support for the Contadora Group's initiatives in Central America, Argentina's entry into the non-aligned movement, and President Alfonsin's signing of the "four continents" document, which criticizes the arms race and the nuclear danger.

It is the absence of such positive elements and the inclusion of other elements aimed at the misnomered "social truce" in the document signed by 16 parties and elaborated by the government jointly with the Isabel Perón section of the Peronists, with the active participation of the Church, which prompted our party to refuse to support this initiative.

Later, the ambiguities and contradictions of the government's actions were again revealed with the sending of a Letter of Intent to the International Monetary Fund which, while rejecting the traditional mechanisms and declaring in words the determination not to take recession-causing action, proposes measures which mean dangerous concessions to the pressure of finance capital.

It is obvious what could be the consequences of the greed of the big bankers, who want at any cost to finance the U.S. armament, and of their objective conflict with the country; it is also clear that because of its class composition the government is seeking a "consensus" that will allow it to act without upsetting the status quo.

To this end, it is trying to rely on Peronism, which, in its turn, is in an acute crisis following its electoral defeat, which was a reflection of the principal contradiction dividing Peronism: the contradiction

between its working-class and popular base, the leaders expressing these forces' pro-unity, democratic, anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist sentiments, and its conciliatory, obstructive and anti-communist right wing.

Question: How real is the possibility of an agreement with Peronism which the government is seeking?

Answer: Peronism is a dynamic and active social phenomena that differs from other populist or bourgeois nationalist trends in that the decisive influence on its leadership is exercised by the masses, especially the working class, a sizable part of which still follows Peronism.

These are revolutionary-minded masses with an experience of struggle whose new feature is growing unity, including the unity of action of the Peronists and communists. These are masses that are drawn to anti-imperialism and are inclined to assimilate the ideology of the proletariat, renouncing the bourgeois nationalism which predominates in the Peronist leadership and which caused setbacks when the Peronists headed the government.

Under pressure from this social base, various right-wing trends in the Peronist leadership have suffered successive defeats, and it is presently in a very profound crisis. The Alfonsín government would therefore be wrong to make its future dependent on a rapprochement or agreement with these right-wing Peronist trends, which have been rejected by the overwhelming majority of the rank and file and even the greater part of the leadership of the Justice Party. Any such rapprochement or agreement is a trap aimed to continue the shifting of the burden of the crisis onto the working people.

Question: Can it be said that in the present government there already exists a well-defined tendency in one direction or another?

Answer: Taking into account the positive and the negative in the government's policy, and the various possibilities and risky situations, it can be said that there are no well-defined tendencies as yet; we are in the midst of battle. But we are not mere spectators. If we manage to unite and mobilize the working class and the masses, and the healthy forces inside and outside the government, we will be able to insist on the program which our people are demanding, and to destroy the destabilization plans, one of whose tactics has always been to extract concession after concession.

The constitutional government is therefore being pressured on two sides, which points to the possibility of two different roads of development. The government's class character and heterogeneity explain its improvisations, contradictions and ambiguity. At the same time, this validates Lenin's thesis that it is the masses' pressure and struggle that can and must define the course of events in a positive direction.

Question: What main immediate goal are the communists presently pursuing?

Answer: There is one goal which is shared by other social and political forces as well: constitutional stability, which would break the cycle of coup d'états. For us it is a question of obtaining better conditions to develop the masses' struggle, unite and organize

the working class politically and in the trade unions, and to build up forces in the revolutionary camp.

Overcoming the instability implies strengthening and broadening constitutional freedoms, democratizing the armed forces, dismantling the repressive apparatus and para-military groups, and at the same time implementing an economic policy that satisfies the pressing needs of the people.

Our country's experience shows that in the majority of cases imperialism used the coup d'états largely to cut short the movement of the masses, who aspire to national liberation and social emancipation, and not to bring down the constitutional governments weakened by their own shortcomings, vacillations and concessions.

An analysis of the past and the present international situation gives reason to suppose that the most aggressive imperialist circles, stubbornly following in the wake of Ronald Reagan's insane policy, will not tolerate any government, even a reformist one, if it affects their interests or contravenes Washington's global policy, which aims at military confrontation with the USSR and the other socialist community countries.

Question: In today's Argentina, is there any possibility of reaching an agreement, express or tacit, to prevent a coup d'état or to repel one if it does occur?

Answer: Yes, I think so, and that is the point of our proposal to conclude, whatever the name, a constitutional guarantee pact, or whatever it may be called, requiring the parties concerned publicly to assume the obligation jointly to defend democracy and constitutional stability and prevent a fresh coup d'état.

It is not necessarily a question of an express pact but of concretizing the unity of action and creating instruments or mechanisms to prevent the rupture of the constitutional system and, if this does occur, to make it possible to counter a coup jointly by relying on the action of the masses.

Question: Is this the basis for the front which the Communist Party of Argentina proposes?

Answer: No. Proceeding from considerations of the struggle for constitutional stability, effective democracy and social justice, we, the communists, propose an advance toward the structural transformations characteristic of a democratic, agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution. We are therefore trying to set up a front capable of becoming a real alternative of power, an anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist front to unite the left forces that are in agreement with our program, and to become the center of gravity of the broad working masses, especially the Peronists, members of other parties, and non-party people, who want to progress along the road of radical change.

The agreement or pact of guarantees which we propose is therefore much broader and has the sole objective of ensuring stability and democratic freedoms. In contrast, because of its programmatic content the front goes much further and will be less broad in composition. These are two different questions that are dialectically complementary: on the one hand, a broad campaign in defense of the constitution that guarantees stability and creates better

conditions for rallying, uniting and organizing the forces interested in revolutionary change, and, on the other hand, a front to put this necessary unity of action in motion.

Question: Newspaper articles and the statements of some political leaders and functionaries often stress that strikes and other actions by the working people do not contribute to a strengthening of democracy.

Answer: Our party has an opposite opinion, and, naturally, points to the primary role that the working class can and must play in the fight for stability. A working class that is united in the trade unions and politically as well, and heads the struggle of the entire people, is the guarantee of victory in the battle for the stability of democratic institutions, for social justice and national liberation.

The fight of the working class and all the other people for their demands does not "destabilize." The main destabilizing factors are the monopolies, the oligarchy and big capital. There can be no true democracy without social justice. This is our independent position from which we will not depart in the face of the "social truce" plans being pushed by a part of the bourgeoisie in the government.

We, the Argentine communists, are convinced that if the powerful streams of the struggle of the workers and the masses merge in a great common channel and if their particular demands are supplemented by common goals, such as democracy and constitutional stability, defense of national

sovereignty and peaceful coexistence, there can be confidence that our people's hopes will not be frustrated.

Question: You included the struggle for peaceful coexistence in the goals of the masses' joint struggle. Why?

Answer: Because we think that our main obligation is to participate in humanity's fight to avert a nuclear catastrophe, a fight that is headed by the Soviet Union, which pursues a consistent and firm policy of peace. Our contribution to this movement is determined by the results of the acute class struggle aimed at finding a way out of the structural crisis, which is not a chance occurrence or one of a temporary nature but part of the worsening general crisis of capitalism.

In this context, Argentina's interests are counterposed to the desire of U.S. imperialism and daily bring the country closer to the fraternal countries of the continent. After the Malvinas, and especially nowadays, with the crisis and the external debt, this coming together is speeding up as the democratization process develops and as solidarity with Nicaragua and Central America is stepped up, and in the joint fight against the IMF's usurious blackmail.

Our people already recognize that the preservation and deepening of democracy in Argentina, and the ensuring of peace in our region and throughout the world are directly interlinked. Neither can be achieved without the active participation of the masses.

The Party Line in a New Situation

Document of the CC, Dominican Communist Party

The agreement on reserve funds signed by the DRP (Dominican Revolutionary Party) government with the IMF has hastened and intensified the confrontation between its sponsors and a wide spectrum of social forces, mostly poor people and members of the middle strata who are becoming poor, being hard hit by the measures adopted in the less than two years since the agreement came into force.

The past period has also seen IMF demands aggravate contradictions inside the ruling social bloc itself, with resultant periodic crises among the rulers. The point is that the drastic measures envisaged by the agreement are aimed almost entirely at defending the interests of international financial capital in circumvention of certain domestic interests. Being carried out on the plea of "adjustments," they create difficulties for an industrial sector heavily dependent on imported raw materials. And while in principle still benefiting big domestic capital as before, they compel it, nevertheless, to adopt new rules of the game, in particular by depriving it of the earlier privilege of obtaining foreign exchange from the Central Bank. Besides, these factors are exacerbating political struggle among the right, dooming the sponsors of the agreement with the IMF to bankruptcy.

Under the impact of this government policy, the economic crisis, which has developed into a grave social crisis, has not only limited the ruling social bloc's room for maneuver, deepened the rifts weakening it and increased the social and political isolation of the government from the forces on which it had originally relied for support, but also caused a social revulsion and brought about something of a non-armed revolt by the urban and rural poor, with numerous members of the nation's social strata backing them or showing positive neutrality.

A UNITED PEOPLE AGAINST PRICE INCREASES AND THE IMF

The CC report to the third DCP congress described "the struggle against hunger and the growing cost of living" as "a factor uniting the masses," who are "beginning to mobilize." The events on April 23-25 showed that these problems, whose aggravation the people attribute to the agreement with the IMF, help consolidate the popular bloc and determine its main demands.

The struggle for the annulment of the agreement with the IMF and against mounting prices has become a struggle for social and economic demands. The launching of these slogans has led to a general

social confrontation between the people and the middle strata, on the one hand, and the government and IMF, on the other.

This is a new circumstance making our general demands relevant, uniting and mobilizing the people as a whole and marked by a positive trend toward the social and political integration of the popular forces — the subject of the revolution — as the demands in question become a cause of the mass of the people.

The foregoing indicates that the dependent capitalist society existing in the Dominican Republic is characterized not only by the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie in the production sphere but by other contradictions which together lead to conflicts affecting other social sectors as much as or even more than the industrial working class proper. These conflicts take the form of major confrontations involving diverse forces and occasionally translating into real explosions of popular discontent.

The price increases announced at Easter (after most imports had been transferred to the parallel dollar market) had the effect of a catalyst of social anger.

Long before the third party congress and during it, we pointed to the pressing need to step up the mobilization and protest movement of the people, whom we urged "to take to the streets and rural roads in a great social protest against the policy of hunger imposed by the IMF and the government" (CC report to the third DCP congress).

Long before the April action, we forecast the rise of a trend toward a sharpening and expansion of social conflicts and the contradiction between the political model of representative democracy and social tension due to the economic crisis and IMF policy.

THE RAPIDITY AND PROPORTIONS OF THE SOCIAL EXPLOSION: A SURPRISE

The rapidity, proportions and violence of the social explosion were unforeseen. We had forecast that the transfer of new imports to the parallel market would increase inflation which, in turn, would "foster a rebellious mood among the people and convince them of the need to protest and mobilize." We had not expected, however, that the people's actions would be so rapid, powerful and widespread, and therefore we proved unable to make them more organized and militant or to enhance their political character.

We admitted this omission of ours in the Manifesto of the Dominican Left Front (DLF) published in April. "The proportions assumed by the social explosion in so short a time, its intensity and breadth, as well as the development of a non-armed revolt throughout the country," the Manifesto said, "surpassed our expectations, with the result that we had to act without the preparations, organization and efficiency which the upsurge in the mass struggle required . . .

"We failed to bring our effort into line with our correct policy of encouraging popular protest. This was due to, among other things, the fact that we were going through a period of reorganization and gradual overcoming of dis-

unity, as well as to the looseness of our links with the masses."

The scope and rapid progress of the action in urban and rural areas also came as a surprise to the police and army, who were unable to check it at first.

Despite the peaceful nature of that popular action, the government succeeded in curbing it, and this only for a time, by making ample use of special troops and carrying out a massacre.

NEW FORMS OF NATION-WIDE STRUGGLE AND ORGANIZATION OF THE PEOPLE

The only way to help maintain the people's heroism was to ensure the development of that social action into a political revolution, that is, to bring about the transformation of a national struggle against the government's economic policy into a struggle for a new political power. However, the requisite organization and coordination were lacking, nor was there a common political leadership equal to curbing spontaneity and reinforcing the socially conscious elements involved in the popular movement.

The social factor dominated the political one and this prevented the issue of government and power from being brought to the fore. None but intensifying protest and steps to lend it an anti-government and anti-oligarchic character (which necessitated the winning of support for the people from new elements as a counter to official violence) would have allowed this key issue to be made the order of the day.

Be that as it may, the people's action raised new forms of organization and struggle which had developed locally to a national plane. These new forms assumed the character of a non-armed revolt and directly offered the people the prospect of transforming their struggle into a real uprising and of adopting increasingly decisive forms of social and political confrontation. These forms were a product of sustained effort, social consciousness and the experience gained in the multiple activities launched in the recent past.

"The new generation of popular masses," the DLF Manifesto says, "gained experience of nation-wide struggle by grappling with the regime's repressive apparatus. The people, who were mobilizing, were undaunted by bullets; they greeted the enemy with burning tires, improvised barricades, roadblocks and showers of stones. Had they had other means at hand, they would never have hesitated to use them in order to stem the armed onslaught of special government troops." This was one more aspect of the domestic situation.

TRADE UNION CENTERS AND THE RETREAT

The insurgents never achieved their aims. The superior numbers of the special units, which stuck at no crime, forced the people to desist from these forms of struggle for a time.

The unprepared social explosion ended in a basically spontaneous retreat.

The protest movement, in which the urban masses and poor peasants were the prime motive power,

had no precise plan and only acted on the basis of pent-up dissatisfaction with the economic policy of the government and the IMF and by awareness of the imperative need to take a stand against growing prices. The movement was too weak organizationally and was only just beginning to take shape within the framework of local defense and coordinating committees. Besides, the involvement of the left and other progressive sectors in these popular organizations was not active enough, any more than DLF influence.

This vacuum was filled by five trade union centers, which tried with due regard to their narrow interests to operate as sole spokesmen of the movement and mostly made demands for higher wages. This induced the DRP leadership to negotiate with these organizations.

The trade union centers called for a 24-hour strike, and this at a time when the whole country was paralyzed by a powerful social action. Afterwards, when the movement seemed to be on the decline, they assumed a role which no one had assigned them by announcing the end of the strike and calling for a windup of the social protest while proceeding to negotiate with the government through the DRP leadership.

Lacking strong roots among social sectors which they said they represented, the trade union centers contrived in this way to move into noticeable social positions, a fact which prompted them to speak on behalf of other forces that had, incidentally, taken a very active part in the recent action.

This fictitious representation, originally backed by the people's discontent and their readiness to resume the struggle, very soon proved indefensible, especially after a clearly premature national strike had been called. The result was that the strike, having been organized in the face of doubts and reservations made by the DLF and other popular forces, including the action committees, only involved transport workers and small traders.

The government promptly took advantage of the discrepancy between the scope and strength of the April social action and the results of the May strike, with understandably adverse effects for the popular movement.

THE OUTLOOK

The causes which led to the social explosion in April are becoming more and more important. The pent-up anger is so deep that new fuses may touch off a further explosion. This is now being staved off only by the government's preventive military operations, certain markedly temporary concessions or promises of concessions and the persistence of factors which limited the previous action.

The lower strata refuse to tolerate this state of affairs. The middle strata, feeling that they are being pushed "down," are preparing to resist for their part. The upper strata resort to increasingly violent forms of government, thereby betraying their inability to rule. Their position is losing in stability, with splits steadily weakening them.

The powers that be are meeting with other difficul-

ties in addition to the new upturn in the people's struggle.

Inasmuch as the government and the big bourgeoisie are tied hand and foot by the agreement with the IMF and have no choice (for this economic policy is very important to U.S. financial capital and the Reagan administration), there is reason to expect new measures leading to a rapid or gradual intensification of the trend toward social actions that has already manifested itself and toward the definitive transformation of the current crisis into a crisis of political power.

Increasing inflation due to the transfer of the bulk of imports to the parallel market and the inevitable gradual transfer of oil to a preferential market and then to the parallel one are worsening the situation.

The April events showed that the struggle for the annulment of the agreement with the IMF and against the high cost of living is the chief unifying factor in all the disconnected manifestations of discontent, a factor likely to bring large population groups into action and direct their struggle against the government and the entire power machinery and to contribute to the unification of the popular forces in a single bloc opposed to the upper strata of the ruling class and to the government.

Social integration on these lines may develop into political integration provided the forces involved work out a common policy offering a precise alternative and are determined to lead the struggle and develop new forms of struggle that have already emerged or may emerge in the future.

A new upswing in social protest and social struggle (rapid or gradual) may produce a violent antagonism between the popular and ruling blocs, stronger and more protracted clashes, more violent repression and forms of government directed against democratic achievements, the nation's aspiration for democratic freedoms and increasing imperialist interference. In the new historical context they could also result in the unification and mobilization of the people under anti-repression, anti-despotic and anti-imperialist political slogans, complementing the more general socio-economic demands advanced by the mass of the people previously.

THE SYSTEM'S RESOURCES

The system still has parallel political resources that could help it channel discontent into an election campaign under the control of non-revolutionary forces or dampen it by replacing the present government ahead of term with representatives of other political forces.

The opposition includes the right-wing Reformist Party (RP) and centrist Dominican Liberation Party (DLP), which profit by the reduced chances of the DRP and the government in the upcoming elections.

The government is backed by the DRP, but this party has lost greatly in prestige. Besides, inside the party there are virtually anti-government factions led by Majluta and Ovalle.

The DRP leadership's political prestige has sunk to an unprecedented low, especially since the April action of the people. Some of its rank and file members have joined in a political struggle while others,

having become victims of the economic policy of their own party's government, join periodically in a protest movement over the head of the party leadership.

The April events spell the inevitable defeat of the DRP in the elections — if, however, they are held at all. Furthermore, the present DRP government is threatened with a political debacle that may prevent it from holding power to the end of its term in office. A constitutional coup or a rightist military coup involving brutal repression are the two eventualities to be borne in mind should a political crisis occur before the next elections. The groups in power link their plans with both eventualities.

The regime, as well as trying to regain its political influence, evidently wants to exhaust the potentialities of limited democracy and rightist militarization of civil rule (nominally representative democracy) before imposing outright military tyranny. This variant may also materialize under the present regime, which has always blocked the growth of our people's democratic consciousness. As for us, we must always foster this consciousness.

With due regard to the peculiarities of their respective parties, the RP and LDP leaderships are busy in the main improving their chances in the coming elections. They spare no effort to ensure that the crisis and popular discontent weaken the electoral base of the DRP, without creating a revolutionary situation however.

Unless a deepening crisis and a popular struggle

on the rise prevent the elections, both these forces, particularly the RP, will have the greatest chances of winning. Under capitalist representative democracy, especially in countries like ours, elections are a means of encouraging trends suiting or at least tolerated by the system.

In these circumstances the left revolutionary forces will hardly be able to make substantial gains in the elections. It follows that they will have to concentrate on encouraging protest and every form of mass struggle, on building up the revolutionary potential that manifested itself in April and on participating in movements unassociated with the elections. It is necessary to realize that if these elections do take place they will be merely an episode whose results may slightly ease the political situation but will not affect the inherent causes of the crisis or its trend toward aggravation in the foreseeable future.

Even in a favorable situation for a system in crisis, the distracting and moderating impact as well as the results of the election campaign will be passing in character, for the dimensions of the crisis are such that popularity won in the elections may be lost in a matter of months, and this irrespective of anything that may yet happen before May 1986 due to a deepening of the current crisis, made worse by IMF interference and the impact of new factors brought into existence by the people's April action.

Santo Domingo, May 19, 1984

Abridged from *Hablan los comunistas*,

May 24-31, 1984

The Sudan People's Striving for Freedom Will Triumph

Statement by the CC Secretariat,
Communist Party of the Sudan

With the introduction of the state of emergency and the establishment of the extraordinary tribunals, Nimeiri has virtually acknowledged his own personal defeat and the failure of the regime and repressive apparatus he leads to contain and put down the people's actions against the one-man system of power, and the working people's courageous fight for trade union rights and freedoms and the liberation of the trade unions from the dominance of opportunist groupings and interference on the part of the security bodies. In an effort to rid himself of illusions, Nimeiri has temporarily retreated so as to gain time and later attack his political opponents again. But this time Nimeiri miscalculated and is in a state of confusion.

The ring around him is tightening. In the west of the country the Darafur area is experiencing starvation, drought and the authorities' inaction, and there has been a step-up in the armed attacks on administrative centers, roads and trucks . . . In Karfin the patriots are organizing protest demonstrations against the decision to restructure the local government bodies, clashes with the police and troops have

been occurring, and hundreds of people have been killed or wounded . . . In the south of the Sudan, in the upper reaches of the Nile and the River Bahr al-Ghazal, the armed resistance movement is broadening and there are political and military upheavals . . . In the eastern and northern areas from Port Sudan to Halfa the Sudan people's wrath is being roused by the national abasement to which Nimeiri subjected the country's sacred soil by allowing the Egyptian army to seize the Halaib region and penetrate as far as Muhammad Qol and by giving permission for Egyptian fishing boats protected by armed launches to plunder the fish wealth of Lake Nubia right up to the environs of the town of Halfa, to arrest the Sudan fishermen obstructing them and to try them on Egyptian territory. Throughout the country in recent months the Sudan people have daily and hourly witnessed the actions of lawyers, the strikes of university lecturers and doctors, and the demonstrations of railway employees from Atbara to Babanusa against the implementation of the law on the political isolation of the trade union leaders who have earned the workers' confidence, and

the strikes of accountants and money changers. Sudanese participated in the broad solidarity movement with the doctors and advocated unity of all political trends among students of the universities and other higher educational institutions in the struggle against the "Moslem Brotherhood."

These battles and the experience of them underpin the movement of the masses, who are fighting against the state of emergency and the campaign of vile terror unleashed by Nimeiri, his coercion apparatus and the "Moslem Brotherhood." Because of these battles and the knowledge of Nimeiri's cunning and treachery, people are now clear on his intentions and hidden hatred for the people. Nimeiri introduced the state of emergency and established the extraordinary tribunals so as to curb the growth of the people's movement for their lawful rights. In order to carry out his plans, he has resorted to the dissolution and "freezing" of the trade unions and the arrest or banishment of their leaders, who forced him to retreat and discredited his authority. People have derided Nimeiri's statements regarding an anti-corruption drive and the appointment of security officer Jafar Muhammed Saleh as Minister of Trade. He should ask himself how corruption became widespread in this ministry. If it was entirely the fault of the minister, then how does one explain that it is also widespread in the palace, the Council of Ministers, the army, and the rest of the state apparatus, which is headed by Nimeiri himself, who takes all decisions on his own? He is the first and main cause of the difficulties, irresponsibility and anarchy in the state apparatus because of his unconsidered and contradictory decisions and search for scapegoats for his mistakes and failures.

The Moslems are again anxious for their faith and the future of Islam in the Sudan. Nimeiri gives as the reason for the state of emergency the need to defend the Sharia, forgetting that in the Sudan the teachings of Islam spread through preaching and exhortation and in Al Mahdiye took the form of a socio-political revolution against oppression and tyranny. It is illogical and unnatural for Islam in the Sudan to become, thanks to Nimeiri and the bunch of "Moslem

Brothers," an instrument of reprisal, execution, flogging, arrests on suspicion and discrimination on religious grounds.

Whatever the sacrifices, the masses are going to stand firm under the state of emergency. They will never renounce their slogans and objectives in the face of the extraordinary tribunals because they have gone through the horrors of the punitive tribunals following the Aba island events in 1970, the Al Shajara slaughter in 1971, the Atbara tribunals after September 1975, the tribunals of July 2, 1976, and the Southern Sudan tribunals. The people's movement must arouse the patriotic sentiments of the servicemen and judges whom Nimeiri is appointing members of the extraordinary tribunals against their will. They must be filled with a sense of their historic responsibility before their people and the future generation and must refuse to obey the orders of the tyrant leader whom the whole people want to bring down.

The workers' movement for their rights and in defense of the trade unions has everything necessary to stand firm under the state of emergency, to pool efforts to realize their demands and trade union rights, and maintain the spirit of solidarity in the fight against the dissolution or "freezing" of the trade unions, against the arrest and banishment of trade union leaders, and for the exposure and removal of the opportunist elements from the leadership of the trade unions and workers' unions . . . The high spirit of solidarity with the doctors' strike must strengthen and grow still further.

For the unity of our people and their movement!

For the consolidation of the various parties and trends into a political opposition, making it possible to bear up staunchly under the burdens of the state of emergency and to organize the ranks of the fighters who are confident in our people's ability to restore their power and freedom and to overthrow one-man rule forever!

We will never retreat before the dictator's terror!

The Sudan people will triumph!

May 1, 1984
Abridged

Statement by a Meeting of the Communist Parties of South America

A meeting of the communist parties of South America held in Buenos Aires from July 5 to 7, 1984, notes with profound revolutionary satisfaction that in the last few years positive changes have been taking place in our continent's political arena, despite the dangers threatening us.

Popular actions are spreading, with a decisive role being played by the working class of our countries, which has been making a big contribution to the democratic and anti-imperialist gains.

The continent is being shaken by the growing actions of broad sections of the peasantry, the urban

and rural middle strata and even a part of the national bourgeoisie. In the Latin American peoples' liberation struggle the participation of the Christian masses, and sometimes even of the Church itself or of some of its most prominent personalities, is quite considerable. All this shows that enormous possibilities have been created for unity of action and broad mutual understanding.

The popular actions have been gaining victories in the battles against imperialism and its allies from the local oligarchy, whose defeat is historically inevitable. There is a clear contradiction between the

USA's imperialist objectives and the national and popular interests of our America. Everything suggests that profound and revolutionary changes are imminent, an essential condition for their realization being the struggle for democracy, for real freedoms, for self-determination and peaceful coexistence.

In the last few decades political development in Latin America has been characterized primarily by the consolidation of the socialist revolution in Cuba and the triumph of the patriotic, popular and anti-imperialist revolution in Nicaragua, and also by the development of the insurgent movement in El Salvador, the collapse of fascist and authoritarian dictatorships, the upsurge in actions by the working people and the masses for democracy and their concrete demands, the strengthening of the communist parties and the increasing influence of revolutionary ideas.

HUMANITY IS IN DANGER!

The claims to world domination by the military-industrial complex, claims presently expressed by the Reagan administration, are the cornerstone of the warmongering policy of U.S. imperialism, which is seeking to upset the military strategic balance in its favor. As a result, not only are the imperialists earmarking the lion's share of their national budgets to the development of the military industry, but they are also forcing the Soviet Union and other socialist countries to allocate enormous funds to defense.

In other conditions, these funds would be used to raise the living standard in socialist countries still further, increase their aid to the developing countries and strengthen solidarity with them.

In a world where the balance of forces has changed in favor of the peoples, the imperialists openly expound their intentions in such documents and statements as the Santa Fé Document, the Kissinger Commission Report and the recently published Georgetown University Report.

The entire planet is the object of the aggressive policy: the socialist community, which they are trying to destabilize and destroy: Western Europe, the Middle East and the Persian Gulf, Southern Africa and Southeast Asia, the Indian, Atlantic and Pacific Oceans and our Latin America, especially Central America and the Caribbean. This policy is principally manifested in the preparations for deadly chemical and star wars, and especially for a nuclear war, which will place humanity on the verge of an unprecedented catastrophe that would claim not only the achievements of civilization but also human life on Earth.

The unbridled arms race is the result of this inhuman imperialist policy, which costs dearly and brings down suffering on the peoples, who bear the extreme and unnecessary burden of the military spending. What is more, imperialism resorts to extortion through usurious loans, machinations with the dollar, worsening trade terms, protectionism, and the penetration of monopoly capital into the key sectors of each country's economy.

This policy also affects the people of the United States, who are daily witnesses to the social spend-

ing cuts and the offensive against their living standard and rights. Billions of dollars are wrung from the working people and the pensioners to swell the military budgets. Reagan's economic policy is therefore nothing but a class weapon of state-monopoly capital in these times of crisis.

The U.S. government has been declining and distorting the Soviet Union's numerous peace initiatives, while stationing its missiles in Western Europe and setting up military bases throughout the world, including in Grenada and the Malvinas on our continent. With its constant troops maneuvers in Honduras, the U.S. has virtually occupied that country, a situation which essentially signifies open military intervention in Central America. The United States still maintains the Guantanamo base in Cuba and its positions in the Panama Canal, and is trying to ensconce itself in Trinidad (Brazil) and the island of Pascua (Chile), and to militarize Barbados and the other eastern Caribbean countries, and also Puerto Rico, which is being pressured into becoming one more U.S. state.

At the same time, imperialism has imposed the national security doctrine on our countries in order to use the armed forces of each of them to put down actions by the people, and is using the CIA and other special services to carry out repression, prepare coup d'états and implant dictatorships.

As part of the "psychological war," imperialism makes use of the mass media to influence the minds of the people and confuse and divide them.

One of the main instruments of aggression is the slanderous anti-Soviet, anti-Cuban, anti-Nicaraguan and anti-communist campaign which Reagan has elevated to the rank of state policy. This type of campaign has always been employed by fascism and is linked with the most terrible tragedies in the history of the world's peoples.

Universal peace and socialism are inseparable, which is why this aggressive policy is opposed by the Soviet Union, a staunch defender of peace, the socialist community countries, the non-aligned movement, the peoples of Latin America and the entire capitalist world, including the people of the United States itself. This policy of war, aggression and state terrorism can and must be defeated for the good of humanity.

CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN: A HOT SPOT IN TODAY'S WORLD

The liberation struggle of the peoples of Central America is developing in a complicated situation of aggression, plots and threats on the part of the U.S. government.

U.S. imperialism is persisting in its objectives of "punishing" Cuba because its revolution and successes have struck deep roots in our people's consciousness, have demonstrated the possibility of building socialism on our continent and are a powerful stimulus for the democratic, anti-imperialist and revolutionary struggle.

Despite the blow dealt by reaction and imperialism to the revolutionary experiment in Chile, the Nicaraguan people were able to defeat the

Somocist dictatorship. A new stage of liberation has begun; the democratic process of the peoples of Central America and the entire continent has gained further impetus.

Yesterday U.S. imperialism tried to strangle Cuba, today it intends to liquidate the Nicaraguan revolution as a means of hitting the entire Latin American liberation process. Following this line, imperialism has chosen as the target of its direct aggression the heroic struggle of the Salvadoran people, taking over the training and leadership of the genocidal army of El Salvador.

This meeting of the communist parties of South America unreservedly supports socialist Cuba and calls on the peoples to defend that which is the highest achievement of the Latin American revolutionary process at the present historical stage.

We express our resolute solidarity with Nicaragua and call on the democratic forces of the continent to unite to repel the interventionist plots of the Pentagon, the CIA and the Somocist rabble, which is armed and financed by the Reagan government. We proclaim our firmest solidarity with the heroic struggle of the Salvadoran people and defend their right to do away with the backwardness imposed by an exploitative and corrupt minority.

We declare that the barbarous invasion of the tiny state of Grenada is a part of the policy of escalating direct armed intervention, which is designed to consolidate the power of the oligarchic and militarist cliques.

We regard as a valuable contribution to a political settlement in Central America the efforts of the governments of the Contadora Group, which includes Mexico, Colombia, Venezuela and Panama. However, because of U.S. government opposition and pressure, this initiative has so far been unable to stop the aggressive actions against Nicaragua.

The cause of Cuba, Nicaragua and El Salvador is the cause of each and every one of our peoples, whose struggles, gains and achievements are inseparable from the continent's great battle for its economic independence and social emancipation, which, once won, will make it possible to lay the bases of socialism.

In Central America and the Caribbean universal peace is at stake, and also the national liberation and social emancipation of our peoples. The present situation is not, as is claimed, the result of an East-West confrontation but rather it is the consequence of the U.S. attempts to obstruct at all costs our peoples' self-determination and to deprive us of the right to surmount backwardness and dependence. That is why we are with these fraternal peoples of whom we are a part and fight together with them against our common enemy — Yankee imperialism.

SUCCESSSES OF THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS

The past few years have been marked by important successes in the development of the democratic process in South America. In it, the working class has been fulfilling its vanguard role with increasing confidence. A further strengthening of its political and trade union unity, both nationally and on a con-

tinental-wide scale, will enable the working class to contribute decisively to the triumph and consolidation of democracy and will guarantee the implementation of revolutionary transformations in our countries.

The U.S.-imposed and supported authoritarian and fascist regimes, such as the Somocist dictatorship that existed for 40 years, are collapsing.

The Bolivian people won the right to set up the Popular and Democratic United Front government, which includes communist ministers, and the working class of Bolivia is moving to the vanguard of the people's struggle. After seven years of bloody dictatorship, democratic institutions have been restored in Argentina. In Brazil, the progress of the masses' struggle places on the agenda an early end to the military regime installed in 1964.

The resolute battles being waged by the peoples of Chile and Uruguay, with the support of powerful international solidarity, against the dictatorships which oppress them are raising hopes: the actions in these countries are particularly broad and combative. Paraguay, Honduras, Guatemala, the Dominican Republic, Haiti and many other countries also are fighting.

In Colombia, the masses' struggle is making progress toward peace and democracy. This is helped by the recent agreement between the government and the guerrillas on a ceasefire without surrender of arms.

The communist parties of Ecuador and Venezuela have made significant electoral advances jointly with their allies. The electoral gains of the Left Unity bloc in Peru are especially impressive and heartening.

The fight for human rights and true freedoms and democratization has become a primary task in our countries.

Pro-imperialist and pro-oligarchic coup d'états are being vigorously opposed by a broad coordination of social and political forces of various ideological views. The recent examples of Bolivia and Argentina testify to this.

The Inter-American Treaty on Mutual Aid, the Organization of American States (OAS) and other instruments set up by Yankee imperialism during the postwar period are in crisis. At the same time, a feeling of Latin American solidarity is steadily growing, a feeling that was very strongly expressed in the struggle for Argentine sovereignty over the Malvinas. The Pentagon-imposed national security doctrine has been unmasked and the patriots are feeling impelled to reject it, formulate a true concept of defense of the homeland, democratize the armed forces and place them at the service of the people's sovereignty and interests.

All this shows that U.S. domination in Latin America can and must be ended through the unity of action of the workers and the masses with the broad spectrum of patriotic and anti-imperialist forces. The communist parties are playing a decisive role in this historic battle for our Second Independence.

THE FOREIGN DEBT: A WEAPON OF DOMINATION

The latest events in Latin America have shown clearly that the foreign debt has become a modern weapon of blackmail and political and economic enslavement. It is a means of making the peoples pay for the consequences of the capitalist crisis and the arms race.

The big monopolies and usurious banks, with the International Monetary Fund at their head, have, with the complicity of the local oligarchy, entangled the developing countries in a financial yoke from which they must free themselves. This is a case of an unrepayable debt of more than \$700 billion, of which almost \$350 billion are Latin America's.

There is greater and greater understanding in our countries that it is not possible to accept the IMF's economic, financial and political terms.

The recent meetings of government delegations in Quito and Cartagena showed a willingness, though with certain reservations, to rebuff the IMF diktat. With unity of action we will defeat imperialism in the foreign debt sphere as well.

INTERNATIONALIST UNITY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES

The communist parties of South America met at a time when the changes characteristic of our epoch, the epoch of the transition from capitalism to socialism on a world scale, are becoming increasingly pronounced.

The international situation in which we must act bears the stamp of the great confrontation between decadent capitalism and socialism.

We are witnessing the aggravation of the class

struggle throughout the world. Its most dramatic expression is the fight to prevent a nuclear holocaust. Underpinning this struggle and predetermining its success are the strengthening of the socialist community, the liquidation of the colonial system of imperialism, the upsurge of the working class's struggle in the capitalist countries and the brilliant victories of the national liberation movement.

The guarantee of this process of supreme historical significance through which humanity is now passing is the existence and steady development of the world socialist system, which is free of unemployment and hunger, has resolved the problems of housing, education and health care and has done away with social injustice. That is why the communist parties of South America stress the need to defend existing socialism and its achievements. The unity of the working class movement and international solidarity are an imperative of our epoch and strengthen each other.

On our continent the safeguarding of universal peace is inseparable from economic, social and political transformations.

Life has demonstrated that the struggle for democracy, social justice, anti-imperialist solidarity and against economic, political and military intervention is a valuable contribution to the cause of peace and the triumph of socialism in Latin America.

As was reaffirmed at the 1975 Havana Meeting of the Communist Parties of Latin America and the Caribbean, we are an integral and active part of the world communist movement and adhere firmly to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. We are a part of the powerful stream that is changing the course of history and building a new society with neither exploiters nor exploited.

Our struggles are those of all peoples for their rights and freedoms. For this reason we raise our voice in denunciation of racism, apartheid and Zionism.

From here in South America we contribute by our unity of action and daily struggles to the liquidation of the dependence, backwardness, social injustice, unemployment and illiteracy of millions of people. We are helping to build a more just and more humane world, a new world which can only be a world of socialism moving to its highest stage of development — a communist society.

Communist Party of Argentina
Communist Party of Bolivia
Brazilian Communist Party
Colombian Communist Party
Communist Party of Chile
Communist Party of Ecuador
People's Progressive Party of Guyana
People's Party of Panama
Paraguayan Communist Party
Peruvian Communist Party
Communist Party of Uruguay
Communist Party of Venezuela
Representatives of the Communist Party of Cuba and a specially invited delegation from the FSLN (Nicaragua) attended the meeting as observers.

Buenos Aires, July 7, 1984

A World Without Arms?

I. Usachev

Is disarmament possible?
The author discusses this question
as a scientist and diplomat
experienced in disarmament talks.

Paper 239pp \$4.50

PROGRESS BOOKS
71 Bathurst St.
Toronto, Ont. M5V 2P6

The Country's Interests Above All Else

Statement by the CC Political Bureau,
Communist Party of Venezuela

The meeting of Foreign Affairs and Finance Ministers of 11 Latin American countries held from June 19 to 22 in Cartagena can be considered the necessary response to the rapacious plunder of which the peoples of the continent have become victim. Never as in the last 10 years has Latin America been so exploited and impoverished so as to alleviate the economic crisis of capitalism, in particular of the United States.

An external debt of the order of \$350 billion, which is three times the value of our countries' exports and necessitates an annual payment of \$22 billion in interest, and a fall in employment, state investments and wages are testimony to the disastrous situation in which the predatory policy of the United States, the creditor banks and the International Monetary Fund have left Latin America. The Cartagena Consensus states that "the meeting was necessary because of the greater difficulties brought about in Latin America by the international economic situation."

Though the meeting does not qualify as a "debtors' club" and will be known as the Cartagena Group because of the creation of a commission to evaluate and control the measures adopted there, it is a step forward in the fight to resolve the debt crisis created by the international banks, the IMF and the capitalist powers.

Although the subject was broached in the 1970s, it is only now, as relations worsen further because of the difficulties of meeting debt repayments on the terms imposed on the Latin American countries, that new steps are being taken, such as the Quito Declaration, the May 19, 1984 joint presidents' declaration, the letter sent to the London meeting of heads of state and government, and the recent Cartagena summit conference, which worked out a plan and methods of controlling its implementation that aim to reach a political solution to the renegotiation of the foreign debt that takes into account the interests of development and the implementation of social projects.

The Cartagena Consensus can be regarded as Latin America's response to the policy of the United States, the international banks and the IMF, which will now have to take this alternative into consideration.

The Cartagena meeting demanded a cut in interest rates in proportion to the banks' real costs; a system of debt repayment that is in keeping with export earnings and does not jeopardize the national economy and social programs; opening of the markets of the developed countries to exports from our continent; extension of payments periods and more favorable repayment terms. All these demands are

an alternative to the IMF plans and are therefore consonant with the economic objectives and social programs of the countries of Latin America.

The Cartagena economic plan, which is what the consensus document may be called, can help to unite the people in their struggle to survive and their fight against the destructive projects of the IMF and the creditor banks.

We attach great importance to the creation of the commission to hold consultations and carry out the measures adopted because its work of exchanging information and data and coordinating action is designed to consolidate the agreement as the embryo of a "debtors' front."

Our countries' huge debt, as also the coercion of them to pay at a time when some of the most developed capitalist states are announcing an improvement of their economic situation and higher interest rates, are causing fresh friction in relations with the United States. The debt repayment problem has become a matter of life or death for Latin America and therefore the main issue in its relations with the United States and the creditor banks.

All the continent's contradictions with U.S. imperialism are concentrated in the foreign debt problem. The position of the working class calls for the unification into one powerful stream of all the social strata that have been hit by the crisis.

In order to withstand the debt pressure, it is necessary to resist both nationally and on a continent-wide scale, guided by the proposition of the Cartagena Consensus which says that, while maintaining their sovereignty in the negotiations, the participating countries must act in the spirit of the unanimously adopted lines.

In this connection it should be noted that Venezuela, a country in the grip of the USA and the IMF, can better its negotiating position thanks to the support of the Cartagena Consensus, whose implementation is not only a matter of honor for the meeting's participants but also a contribution to the struggle of the rest of the peoples of the continent.

The Venezuelan people have been placed in a difficult situation from which only unity, joint efforts and a spirit of patriotism can remove them. In these conditions and in the face of the abuses of the international monopolies, there is no doubt that it must be a case of the country first and the debt second. Now, as always in the hardest of times, a national and Latin American front is opposing the greed of our exploiters.

The country first and the debt second!

Caracas, June 26, 1984

Tribuna Popular,

June 29 to July 5, 1984

New Stage in Cooperation Between the Fraternal Parties and States

**N. Ryzhkov, Secretary of
the CPSU Central Committee**

The socialist mode of production is innately international. Social property in the means of production, which constitutes its basis, and the unity of interests of all classes, determine the special character of the international relations between socialist countries, including economic relations. These are relations of equality, comradesly mutual assistance and mutually advantageous cooperation between sovereign socialist states, relations which give rise to new forms of inter-state organization of production, a new type of international division of labor. As a result, the constant expansion and deepening of economic collaboration between the fraternal countries represent one of the primary uniformities of world socialism. The development of the new social system has conclusively borne out the prevision of Karl Marx, who linked with socialism a harmonious national and international coordination of social forms of production.

In the conditions of today the significance of pooled efforts and integration factors is growing greatly. This is because of the large scale and complexity of the socio-economic tasks facing the CMEA member-countries, the exhaustion of extensive sources of growth, and the aggravation of the international situation.

I

The Moscow CMEA economic summit was a landmark in the development of relations between our fraternal parties, states and peoples, and in the deepening of integration to accelerate economic development and raise the people's well-being.

Leaders of the fraternal parties and states of the socialist community unanimously adopted programmatic documents which give a profound analysis of the contemporary stage in the development of the world socialist system and international global problems, an analysis based on a knowledge of objective laws of social development. The meeting worked out a united strategic course, and determined the main long-term guidelines for cooperation and the development of socialist economic integration. The meeting's documents reflect a firm determination to act jointly to strengthen the positions of socialism and peace. As was said by Konstantin Chernenko, General Secretary of the CPSU CC, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet: "The identity of assessments and views on the main and important matters was reaffirmed, and the collective will expressed to strengthen further the unity and cohesion of the fraternal parties and states."

The initiative for leaders of the CMEA member-countries to discuss the major economic problems of the contemporary stage of development of the socialist community came from the 26th congress of the CPSU. The idea was endorsed by all fraternal parties. The meeting owed much of its success to the extensive and fruitful work done prior to it by the communist and workers' parties of the CMEA countries. In the course of this work all proposals were given careful and all-round consideration, a collective position was formulated and the directions of economic collaboration offering the greatest prospects were outlined.

The meeting's main political result was the strengthening of the unity and cohesion of the socialist community countries. It is this above all which makes the summit meeting one of vast historic significance. The main economic result was the elaboration of a common course toward a further deepening of socialist integration, and the determination of the strategy of collaboration between the national economies until the end of the century.

The CMEA summit has shown that joint elaboration of effective ways to carry out pressing tasks has always been a reliable tool of the economic policies pursued by the ruling communist and workers' parties. It strengthens the unity of our community and at the same time helps each country to speed up its socio-economic development. That is why it has been decided to hold summit meetings regularly to coordinate the principal directions and the long-term economic development strategy of the CMEA member-countries, and to deepen the international socialist division of labor.

Naturally, it is easier for the CMEA countries to reach the general goal of a socialist society — a steady increase in the people's well-being on the basis of the economy's dynamic growth — if they act jointly, for cooperation raises the productivity of labor. This conclusion of Marxist-Leninist theory has been convincingly corroborated by the actual practice of the socialist community's development. Ever more coordinated solutions to the main economic problems, with due regard for the national and common interests, facilitate the all-round progress of each fraternal country and of the community as a whole.

During the summit and the direct preparatory work for it, comrade Konstantin Chernenko and other Soviet leaders met in Moscow with the party and state leaders of the fraternal countries. These meetings considered many fundamental questions of

bilateral relations, promoting to an even greater extent the deepening of the political, economic and ideological cooperation of the socialist community states, and tangibly contributing to the success of the summit.

The 38th (Extraordinary) CMEA Session approved concrete measures to implement the agreements reached at the summit level.

There has been widespread response in the world to the results of the Moscow summit and the documents it adopted — the Statement on the Guidelines for Further Developing and Deepening Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation Between the CMEA Member-Countries, and the Declaration of the Member-Countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance "Maintenance of Peace and International Economic Cooperation." These documents seal the joint approach of all 10 CMEA member-countries to the settlement of the current major problems of socialist construction, and to the improvement of the international situation.

At its meeting the CPSU CC Political Bureau analyzed the results of the CMEA economic summit, approved the activity of the Soviet Union's delegation, led by comrade Konstantin Chernenko, and noted that the meeting's results marked a new stage in development of relations between the fraternal parties and member-countries of the CMEA. The resolutions of the top-level party and state bodies of the other countries which attended the summit make similar assessments.

Even the West has had to admit the success of the Moscow economic summit. The political and business circles in the capitalist countries see the results of the Moscow meeting as an indication of the cohesion and higher level of the socialist community states' political and economic interaction. It is noted that the summit decisions will raise the CMEA countries' material and technical potential, and strengthen the positions of socialism in the world.

II

Socialism has indisputable advantages over capitalism. This is a society of working people, social and ethnic equality, full economic and political liberty, genuine freedom and democracy, and a high degree of collectivism. Underlying these features, which are universal in character, is social property in the means of production. All this helps to develop a fundamentally new type of inter-state relations permeated with proletarian, socialist internationalism.

In the economic sphere, these fraternal relations ensure good results and promote the steady development of the CMEA countries, which, by embarking on the road of economic integration, have markedly increased their economic, scientific and technical potential, implemented major social transformations, and ensured the continued growth of the people's living standards.

Since 1970 national income has grown by 80 per cent and industrial production by 100 per cent in the CMEA countries, as against 30 per cent and 20 per cent, respectively, for the Common Market. With less than a tenth of the world's population, the

CMEA countries account for a quarter of the national income, a third of the industrial production and a fifth of the agricultural output of the globe.

Diverse economic cooperation within the CMEA framework has become a powerful and stable factor of the economic and social progress of the community's members. Their mutual trade is developing rapidly, outstripping the growth in national income and industrial production. This trade has increased by 390 per cent since 1970.

We have every reason to note, as comrade Chernenko said at a Kremlin reception for the participants in the economic summit, that "without extensive cooperation we could not, of course, have achieved the present results."

Complex and key economic tasks of the socialist community countries are being effectively tackled on the road of economic integration. These include the fuel and energy problem, one of the most pressing in today's world. The Soviet Union has been playing a big role in the resolution of this problem within the CMEA framework. Integrated power grids, a ramified system of oil and gas pipelines, and the development of nuclear power generation are convincing examples of the fruitfulness of joint efforts. Because of this the CMEA countries are the world's only industrially developed zone not affected by the energy crisis which has shaken the world capitalist economy.

Another important economic problem being tackled jointly is providing the dynamically developing economies with up-to-date machinery and equipment. Billions of roubles' worth of engineering products are exchanged every year. Cooperation in space exploration, nuclear physics and computer technology has also yielded big results.

Many more examples can be given of the successful pooling of efforts in key directions of economic development.

The Moscow meeting generalized the immense experience in economic interaction and confirmed the real effectiveness of cooperation principles based on socialist internationalism, respect for state sovereignty, independence and national interests, non-interference in countries' internal affairs, full equality, mutual benefit and comradely mutual assistance. These principles will be consistently implemented in the future as well so as to deepen and improve cooperation.

The Moscow meeting showed convincingly that the democratic methods of integration characteristic of socialism make it possible to combine organically the interests of each CMEA country with the common aims. The meeting again refuted Western allegations about irreconcilable contradictions in the community. The integration of the CMEA countries will continue to develop in its socialist way, on a planned basis, and with the use of the economic forms that characterize it.

The participants in the economic meeting were as one that experience has fully confirmed the correctness and timeliness of the CMEA countries' collectively formulated policy toward socialist economic integration and the dependability of our cooperation

mechanism. The leaders of the fraternal parties and governments were unanimous that considerable reserves exist in this area. They lie primarily in the development of production specialization and cooperation, in a closer pooling of forces in the key areas of scientific and technical progress, joint exploitation of natural resources, and in the solution of the other important economic problems.

The CMEA countries' cooperation strategy for the 1980s and 1990s will help each member-country above all to make production more intensive. Faster growth in labor productivity, steady cuts in material and energy inputs, higher technical level and quality of output, and the optimization of complementarity of the economic structures — these are the principal directions of the fraternal parties' present-day economic policy. The CMEA cooperation, for which a firm long-term foundation has now been laid, will be wholly aimed at attaining these goals.

III

The meeting took a new step in the deepening of economic policy coordination and in collectively working out ways to carry out major economic tasks. The definition of the long-term direction of CMEA economic cooperation laid a firm foundation for the coordination of the 1986-1990 five-year plans and beyond.

All this is of fundamental importance for raising the efficiency of economic interaction. Cooperation in the field of planning, especially coordination of the national economic plans, has always been the main method of deepening the international socialist division of labor. The ways to coordinate economic policy, which were collectively formulated in Moscow, enrich the theory and practice of planned management of economic cooperation.

The fraternal countries determined the ways to improve the effectiveness of interaction in tackling such key economic tasks as the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, intensification of production, fuel, power, raw material and food supply, and further development of specialization and cooperation.

The chief link in today's economic strategy is scientific and technical progress and the development and introduction of radically new machinery and technology. The CMEA countries have all that is needed for this: a powerful production, research and technical infrastructure, natural resources and qualified personnel, and a planned system of economic management.

The principal directions of technical progress are electronics, comprehensive automation, including flexible automated production technologies, atomic power engineering, new materials and technologies, biotechnology; etc.

It has been decided to work out jointly a 15-20 year Comprehensive Program of Scientific and Technical Progress so as to concentrate on the most important and promising directions of science and technology. This program will permit the CMEA countries to pursue a coordinated scientific and technical policy. There is no doubt that the program will be a new

important instrument of socialist integration. The CMEA Committee for Scientific and Technical Cooperation has already started to prepare it. It is essential for the Program to be a document which truly guides the coordinated actions in science, engineering and technology, and in the mass application of these areas to production.

The economic meeting examined the question of streamlining the structure of the international socialist division of labor. This is of strategic importance for the further development of our integration.

It was recognized that substantial deepening of production specialization and cooperation, especially in engineering, is now the most important reserve for invigorating mutual links. The fraternal countries' joint efforts will ensure the earliest qualitative advance of this industry. The summit documents set the priority tasks of cooperation in this direction. The practical measures for their accomplishment will be coordinated in the near future. This primarily refers to the joint production of the most up-to-date machines for the key sectors of the national economy.

The way to attain this goal is to invigorate intersectoral and especially intra-sectoral cooperation. For example, large-scale cooperation in the production of equipment for atomic power stations has already made it possible to secure within a short period the output of the necessary modern machinery in quantities fully meeting our countries' requirements. Today international socialist cooperation will be concentrated in such promising directions as the production of energy, material and labour-saving equipment and machinery on the basis of the latest scientific breakthroughs. It is generally agreed that this task should be tackled with the active use of the new organizational form of cooperation — direct links between ministries, production associations and enterprises within the CMEA.

Of vital importance for the steady development of the CMEA countries in the next five years and beyond 1990 are the agreements on the ways to resolve the fuel, energy and raw material problems. The participants in the meeting expressed the firm conviction that if the CMEA countries mobilize their own resources and implement the decisions adopted in the field of fuel and raw material deliveries it will be possible to ensure the continued development of the national economies.

Special attention here was paid to the elaboration of a package of measures to secure the economical and rational use of all types of resources through the introduction of progressive technologies and up-to-date machines and equipment and through the modification of the structure of production and consumption.

Primary attention among the planned measures is paid to the nuclear power industry. To this end, a program for the construction of atomic power stations and nuclear heat-supply stations up to the year 2000 is to be drawn up.

Agreement was reached at the meeting that in order to create the economic conditions ensuring the

implementation and continuation of Soviet deliveries of raw materials and energy sources, the CMEA member-countries will export to the Soviet Union products needed by our national economy, particularly foodstuffs and manufactured consumer goods, some kinds of construction materials, and high-quality and world-class machines and equipment.

With the aim of meeting the growing requirements of the fraternal countries, the Soviet Union proposed that they participate in the construction of a new high-capacity export gas pipeline from Western Siberia, through which it will be possible to deliver up to 20-22 billion cubic meters of gas a year. The joint construction of such capital-intensive and technologically sophisticated complexes is a convincing example of the great economic opportunities offered by socialist integration.

Work on individual sections of the gas pipeline could be done by the interested countries on a "turn-key" basis. Practice has shown that such construction is a very effective form of cooperation. It makes it possible to fulfil major economic tasks promptly, to build up capacities and quickly eliminate bottlenecks in production. It would be advisable to develop it more actively in other areas as well, including the agro-industrial sphere.

The 1980s are characterized by emphasis on the social orientation of integration, by its turn toward direct satisfaction of the requirements of the peoples of the socialist community countries. To this end, the maximum possible development of cooperation is envisaged in agricultural production and in the processing of agricultural produce on an industrial basis so as to improve supply and the population's consumption structure.

It is planned to strengthen the raw material basis of the consumer goods industries, to increase substantially exchanges of such goods and to expand cooperation in the production of durables. These measures will facilitate an appreciable improvement in the variety of goods in each CMEA country and fuller satisfaction of the working people's growing requirements.

An indisputable achievement of socialism is the overcoming of the backwardness of some countries and peoples, which was inherited from the capitalist mode of production. Experience has shown that the international socialist division of labor is a mighty factor in the elimination of unevenness in the development of some countries. The gap in the levels of economic development in the European CMEA countries has now been considerably narrowed. The task now is to help speed up the development of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the Republic of Cuba, and the Mongolian People's Republic and to enhance the effectiveness of their economies with due regard for the need for socialist industrialization. Assistance should aim to accelerate the gradual evening of these states' development levels with those of the European CMEA member-countries. This process will be carried out by means of broader participation by Vietnam, Cuba and Mongolia in the international socialist division of labor through the sectors for whose development

favorable conditions exist. The CMEA member-countries regard such assistance as their internationalist duty.

While developing socialist integration to the utmost, the CMEA countries are striving to participate actively in the world division of labor, including with the capitalist states, on the principles of mutual advantage, equality, and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. Apart from the economic interests, they see in this a dependable material basis of détente. Expansion of relations with the developing countries has great prospects which will facilitate the growth of the national economies and the strengthening of the economic independence of the young states.

The participants in the Moscow meeting urged all nations and state and government leaders to take action to develop international economic cooperation.

The summit documents place great responsibility on each country to meet the obligations ensuing from them. The CPSU CC Political Bureau has instructed the Soviet organizations concerned to elaborate and carry out the necessary measures to fulfil the accords reached at summit level.

Measures for economic cooperation with the fraternal countries are an integral part of the Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1986-1990 and in the Period up to the Year 2000, which is being now prepared. The plans include a detailed study of our country's export potentialities and an examination of the ways to make greater use of integration factors in the fulfillment of the priority economic tasks. The CPSU CC pays unremitting attention to this work.

For the Soviet Union, and for the other socialist countries as well, foreign economic ties have become a highly efficient sector of their national economies. In 1983 alone our foreign trade turnover with the CMEA countries exceeded 65 billion roubles. In exchange for large-scale deliveries of its goods the USSR receives from the CMEA countries equipment and consumer goods, including machinery for the chemical, textile, food and printing industries, and various means of transportation. Soviet consumers know well many goods from the CMEA countries — footwear, furniture, garments, fruit, vegetables, medicines, etc., while Soviet-made cars, home radio electronic and electrical appliances, and other durable consumer goods are in high demand in the fraternal countries.

The new joint projects undertaken by the CMEA countries make cooperation considerably more efficient and of greater mutual benefit. In the process of coordinating the economic plans within the CMEA framework, the planning bodies and sectoral ministries should take fully into account our states' greater technical and production possibilities of turning out the most up-to-date, high quality goods. In so doing it is important to make maximum use of the advantages of the international socialist division of labor.

Mobilization of the reserves of integration will be promoted by our country's recent decision to create the economic conditions to make the ministries and

enterprises more interested in the broad development of international production cooperation based on direct ties. Direct participation in the integration of production collectives will make it possible to use more fully the potential of enterprises, develop international forms of emulation and step up exchange of experience. All this will strengthen the understanding and friendship of the fraternal countries' peoples. And this friendship and all-round cooperation based on the principles of socialist internationalism are now more important than ever.

This country's complete fulfillment of the commitments ensuing from the decisions of the CMEA economic summit must be a vital concern of the Soviet economic managers, engineers and technicians, all the working people. It is not only an economic but also a political task, which is why the party bodies and the party organizations of the

respective economic links must keep all this constantly under their control. The most serious attention must be paid to the timely delivery of high-quality goods to the fraternal countries.

* * *

The historic decisions of the CMEA economic summit are the result of collective analysis and summation of the path traversed by the socialist community and a major contribution to the theory and practice of socialist and communist construction. These decisions mark a new stage in the development of relations between the fraternal parties and states. Their realization will undoubtedly raise to a higher level cooperation between the socialist states, boost the economic potential and strengthen the positions of socialism in the world.

Pravda, July 30, 1984

Chinese Foreign Policy

It is Dangerous for ASEAN to Follow Peking

Never before have the ASEAN countries made such sharp slanderous statements against Vietnam and Kampuchea as they did in the document on the results of their Foreign Ministers' Djakarta conference, proving that the conference focussed on the so-called "Kampuchean question" and by no means on economic problems as had been suggested by Indonesia. It should be noted that the document says nothing about Peking's dangerous policy in the region. The ASEAN countries are thereby seeking to mislead public opinion and justify their hostile actions in alliance with Peking against the Indochinese states. There could be unpredictable consequences in the region if the ASEAN countries follow in Peking's wake.

The final document of the Djakarta conference distorts the true meaning of the latest withdrawal from Kampuchea of Vietnamese volunteers, who are there at the request of the lawful government of that country to safeguard the Kampuchean people's national revival. The ASEAN countries are trying to belittle the importance of this step as a manifestation of the good will of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the People's Republic of Kampuchea. They claim that Vietnam has been chasing the Kampuchean people to the Thai border when in fact it is the Pol Pot bands which have been compelling Kampuchean peasants to leave their villages. Even more cynical are the fabrications that the new proposals put forward by Kampuchea, Laos and Vietnam at their Foreign Ministers' conference in Vientiane are purely for propaganda purposes and that the root of the "Kampuchean problem" is the presence of Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea. And this claim is made at a time when it is obvious to the entire international public that the real cause of the

tension around Kampuchea is the expansionist, hegemonist policy of China, which has been using Pol Pot bands to achieve its ends.

The final document of the Djakarta conference was essentially an outline of a draft of the so-called "political settlement" proposed by Peking. What are its main demands? First, unilateral withdrawal of all the Vietnamese volunteers while the threat to the Kampuchean people on the part of China and the Pol Pot relics remains intact. Second, while a demand is made for the Kampuchean people's right to "sovereignty" and a "national consensus," there is not only no rejection of Pol Pot and his clique but an insistence that they return to power in Kampuchea. It should be pointed out in this connection that if the Kampuchean people are truly to exercise their right to sovereignty they must be given a chance to live in freedom and independence, the threat on the part of the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists must be removed, and the Pol Pot bands completely liquidated. Third, continuing to harbor illusions about using the UN flag to interfere in Kampuchea's affairs, the groundless demand is made for a security zone under international control in the west of the PRK. All this therefore actually serves Peking's desire to reverse the development of the situation in the PRK and to open the way to power in Kampuchea for Pol Pot.

It is necessary to note that the section of the Djakarta document dealing with the "Kampuchean question" contains nothing that would promote dialogue in Southeast Asia. This runs counter to the opinion of many social and political leaders of the ASEAN countries. As one ASEAN Foreign Minister declared, the key to resolving the Kampuchean problem is to remove the possibility of a return to

power by Pol Pot.

One could ask whether ASEAN is really pursuing an independent policy or is merely a mouthpiece of China, which is acting against the states of Indochina in collusion with the USA. The Djakarta document basically serves two aims: on the one hand, the plans of China and the other reactionary forces, which want to influence the international public on the eve of the next UN vote on the representation of the Kampuchean people and, on the other hand, stepped-up confrontation in Southeast Asia. That is why the document supports Thailand's hostile actions against Laos and Kampuchea. So long as there is no peace and security on Thailand's borders with those countries, there will also continue to be tension in Southeast Asia as a whole.

What can ASEAN gain by following Peking? In reality it is only doing the expansionists' dirty work while itself facing considerable difficulties, losing political authority and being increasingly isolated

internationally. Even political leaders in Indonesia and Malaysia have said that the main threat to Southeast Asia comes from Peking.

Our position is quite clear: we have repeatedly stated that we will withdraw all troops from Kampuchea as soon as the threat on the part of China and the Pol Pot bands is removed, and Thai territory is no longer used as a bridgehead for hostile actions against the states of Indochina. We have repeatedly proposed to the ASEAN countries talks between the two groups of countries based on the proposals of both sides. But under pressure from Peking and Washington the ASEAN states refuse to hold talks and continue to support Pol Pot. Their scheme is to impose their position on Vietnam and to impede equal talks based on mutual respect.

Only dialogue meets the aspirations of the peoples of the region. So which road will the ASEAN countries choose — dialogue or confrontation?

Nhan Dan, July 14, 1984

U.S.-China-Japan-Pakistan Axis in the Offing

The visit of a high-powered Chinese military delegation, led by Defense Minister Zhau Aiping to the United States has once again underlined the fact that Washington, Peking, Tokyo and Islamabad are making coordinated attempts to set up some sort of a joint structure of a clearly aggressive nature.

President Reagan's visits to Tokyo, Seoul and Peking, the visit of Vice-President Bush to Pakistan, the visits made by Japanese Prime Minister Nakasone to Peking and Islamabad, the trips of top-ranking Chinese officials to the United States, Pakistan and Japan, and the activities of Pakistani statesmen and military figures in the above-mentioned capitals put together reveal a pattern. It is not difficult to see that a Washington-Tokyo-Islamabad-Peking axis is in the making.

The priority of the respective capitals in this set-up is interchangeable depending on their interests at the given moment, and the aims which they pursue. However, this in no way changes the sinister nature of the axis which threatens the security of many countries in Asia and the Far East, including India.

All these countries are acting in unison in the political and diplomatic sphere, stressing the "coincidence of strategic interests," and cooperating in a whole range of international activities. Having formed a direct partnership, the United States, China, Japan and Pakistan are striving to knock together all sorts of alliances, blocs and unions to replace the bankrupt CENTO and SEATO blocs, and to draw other countries of Southeast Asia and the Pacific into the new alliance.

During his visit to Thailand and other countries of this region last year, President Reagan openly called for the turning of ASEAN into a new military bloc. Obviously, he hopes that after its formation, this bloc would become dependent on the United States and spearhead Washington's campaign against various Asian countries, particularly India, Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea.

The emissaries of China, the Japanese Foreign Minister, and the Pakistani leader Zia-ul-Haq all made similar appeals, although in a somewhat different form. During their reciprocal visits the leaders of all these countries stressed the coincidence of their "strategic interests," pointed to the desirability of joint or, at least, parallel actions on the international scene, and spoke out in support of the policies of their partners.

During President Reagan's visit to Peking, Deng Xiaoping virtually approved the U.S. policy of stepping up the arms drive. The Chinese leaders also spoke very highly of the policy of Japan, and encouraged the policies of the Pakistani authorities.

Cooperation in other spheres is founded on such "coincidence of interests" in the political and diplomatic fields, and forms the mainstay of the Washington-Peking-Tokyo-Islamabad axis.

Another significant fact is the firm trend among these countries to strengthen their military cooperation. Washington is the main supplier of arms to Islamabad. The military alliance between the United States and Japan is becoming increasingly a reality. Japanese Prime Minister Nakasone has declared that Washington can regard his country as an "unsinkable aircraft carrier."

President Reagan has thrown open the doors of his military arsenals to buyers from Peking. Early this year a Chinese delegation visited the United States with the purpose of purchasing military hardware. A new Sino-U.S. agreement on military cooperation was reached during Reagan's visit to Peking.

The Chinese are supplying Islamabad with tanks, aircraft, artillery, missiles, etc. They are also building munition factories in Pakistan and training Pakistani military personnel. The total volume of Chinese military aid to Pakistan runs into billions of dollars.

At any rate, Zia-ul-Haq has admitted that during his term in office alone the total sum exceeded two billion dollars. It goes without saying that this figure is an obvious understatement.

The cooperation of these countries in the nuclear field presents an even greater danger. Back in 1982, the Washington administration, which is favorably inclined toward both Pakistan and China, declared that Peking was helping Islamabad develop nuclear weapons.

Pakistan has given China access to the American technology of manufacturing conventional weapons which it receives from the United States. In exchange, Peking has supplied Islamabad with data for the production of materials necessary for the manufacture of nuclear weapons. China supplied Pakistan with such important components of a nuclear bomb as the "trigger mechanism," heavy water, and uranium hexafluoride.

New links have also been formed in the nuclear cooperation between these countries. During President Reagan's visit to Peking, a Sino-U.S. agreement was concluded on the utilization of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. Under this agreement, the United States will provide the Chinese with many components of nuclear technology. According to press reports, a similar agreement is about to be signed with Japan. And although these agreements are covered by the label of "peaceful usage," it is common knowledge that the development of a nuclear potential on the whole contributes to the development of military aspects.

Consequently, the development of nuclear weapons in China will receive a fresh stimulus, while Chinese aid to Pakistan in this field will become more active. And this, in turn, will increase the threat to security in Asia.

In the economic sphere also, cooperation between members of the Washington-Tokyo-Peking-Islamabad axis is, in many respects, extremely dangerous.

Although the Americans and Japanese have to cope with a number of problems in their bilateral economic relations, they cooperate very closely in the sphere of their relations with third countries. Even the Japanese press has admitted that the "Washington-Tokyo coalition" in international economic relations threatens not only the interests of the developing nations, but even the interests of the European countries.

The Indian Economy

A. I. Medovoy

**A scientific survey of India's
history and economy.**

Paper 205pp \$3.50

PROGRESS BOOKS

71 Bathurst St.

Toronto, Ont. M5V 2P6

China, on its part, while throwing wide open the doors for contacts with the United States and Japan, is becoming an increasingly serious rival for the Asian countries on foreign markets. Pakistan, which receives extensive financial aid from the United States, Japan and China, is now also joining this alliance.

Having become a member of the International Monetary Fund, Peking now demands from this fund a sharp increase in various credits and subsidies. The administrators of the IMF, in which the Americans call the tune, point out that this can be done only at the expense of such countries as India, Indonesia and other Asian states.

Cooperation in the field of intelligence and subversion is yet another sphere of coordinated action among the members of this "axis." In the subversive activities carried out by the CIA and the intelligence services of China, Japan and Pakistan against countries whose policies they do not approve of, there are many common elements.

The most obvious is the case of close cooperation of the "axis" partners in their subversive activities against Afghanistan. Many of the tragic events taking place in the border states of India such as terrorism, assassinations, religious riots, outbursts of communal strife, etc. are largely being instigated by alien forces — agents of the CIA, and the espionage services of Pakistan and China.

According to U.S. press reports, an American electronic tracking station and listening post is operating on the territory of China. This station gathers intelligence about the Soviet Union, India and other countries neighboring China. The Americans provide Peking with intelligence about the adjacent states received from spy-satellites. Tokyo also cooperates with Peking in this field.

According to newspaper reports, all these problems were discussed during the meeting between CIA Director William Casey and Chinese Foreign Minister Wu Zueqian, when the latter visited Washington last year, as well as during the talks between the leaders of the Pentagon intelligence bodies and top-ranking Chinese generals.

Members of this axis also act in concert in the sphere of territorial claims. China occupies many thousands of square miles of Indian territory, and lays territorial claims to the Soviet Union, Vietnam, Laos, and such ASEAN countries as Malaysia and the Philippines. Simultaneously, to justify its actions Peking claims that it is allegedly "threatened" by its neighbors.

Pakistan, which has itself seized large chunks of Indian territory, supports these Chinese territorial claims, and at the same time alleges that it is being "wronged" by its neighbors. In the autumn of 1983 Zia-ul-Haq is reported to have sent personal "secret messages" to President Reagan and Deng Xiaoping in which he asked for urgent military aid in order to cope with an alleged "conspiracy aimed at the dismemberment of Pakistan."

The Chinese have pushed into the background their controversy with Japan over the island of Senkaku, to which both countries lay claim, and support

Tokyo's territorial claims to the Soviet Kurile Islands. Washington, on its part, not only approves of the territorial claims of Pakistan, Japan and China, but also actively encourages these states to toughen their stand. The Reagan administration has obviously inherited the notorious "divide-and-rule" principle of the British colonialists.

As a result of the unilateral, joint and parallel actions of the United States, Japan, China and Pakistan, a sort of "zone of encirclement" has been created in Asia, or, to use the expression of the

well-known American political scientist Brzezinski, an "arc of crisis," which stretches from the U.S. military base on the island of Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean, through Pakistan and China, to the U.S. military bases in South Korea, Japan and Okinawa. All the states lying along both sides of this "zone" cannot but experience serious anxiety as a result of the actions of the Washington-Tokyo-Peking-Islamabad axis partners.

Abridged from *Patriot*,
June 19, 1984

Hostile Campaign

China's mass media have lately become noticeably more hostile on a broad range of issues of Soviet foreign policy and Soviet-Chinese relations. Anti-Soviet concoctions, both China's own and those borrowed from Western sources, appear more frequently in central and local newspapers, mass socio-political magazines and other publications, and are broadcast over radio and television.

Practically all the main aspects of the Soviet Union's international activity are crudely attacked. The thesis about the Soviet Union's "prime responsibility" for the heightened international tension, including in Asia and the Far East, is being pushed under cover of the so-called "theory of struggle against superpower hegemony." The Soviet peace initiatives, specifically on preventing the militarization of outer space, are portrayed as "misleading public opinion," although the progressive public stresses their enormous importance for ensuring humanity's peaceful future.

The basest fabrications about the situation in Afghanistan are readily picked up. The Soviet Union's support for Vietnam and the other countries of Indochina is presented as "anti-Chinese," is commented on in a crude form, and is distorted.

Attacks on the USSR's relations with the fraternal socialist countries and on the socialist community as a whole also continue. For example, the results of

the recent CMEA economic summit in Moscow were reported in this spirit.

Contrary to well known facts, Chinese representatives claim that it is the Soviet Union, not Peking that is raising "obstacles" in the way of normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations. The USSR is being accused of "stepping up anti-Chinese propaganda" and "enhancing the military threat to China." Publications aimed in some way to "corroborate" the territorial claims against our country continue.

The mounting anti-Soviet campaign is characterized by allegations that it is a "response to Moscow's actions." But this striving to misinform public opinion is doomed to failure. The consistent principled stand of the Soviet Union, which favors normalization of USSR-PRC relations without detriment to the interests of third countries and in the name of peace and neighborliness, is well known.

Peking's attempts to use anti-Soviet propaganda to pressure the USSR, to show the West its invariably hostile political course vis-a-vis the Soviet Union and to justify the active development of ties with imperialist states, including in the military sphere, cannot mislead anyone.

O. Petrov
Pravda, July 19, 1984

There Shall Be Retribution

V. Molchanov

Exposé of nazi war criminals now
in North America.

Paper 200pp \$3.95

PROGRESS BOOKS

71 Bathurst St.
Toronto, Ont. M5V 2P6

Jawaharlal Nehru

Biography of the first
Prime Minister of
independent India
cloth 340 pp \$6.95

PROGRESS BOOKS

71 Bathurst St.
Toronto, Ont. M5V 2P6

New Books

Einstein and the Philosophical Problems of 20th Century Physics

Papers by prominent Soviet specialists in physics and philosophy.

cloth 508 pp \$7.95

A New Information Order or Psychological Warfare?

Grachev, Yermoshkin

A critique of "communication imperialism."

paper 264 pp \$2.00

West European Integration Kniazhinsky

Policies and international relations.

cloth 426 pp \$6.50

Modern History of China Tikhvinsky, ed.

From the early 17th century to 1918-19.

cloth 735 pp \$13.95

The Ideology of African Revolutionary Democracy

Includes material on Nasser, Nkrumah, Cabral.

paper 203 pp \$2.95

Contemporary Development of Arab Countries

Social, economic and political development.

paper 236 pp \$2.85

PROGRESS BOOKS

71 Bathurst Street

Toronto, Ontario M5V 2P6

New Books

The Scientific and Technological Revolution: Its Role in Today's World N. Dryakhlov

Preconditions, characteristics, role.

Paper 264pp \$4.50

The Teaching of Political Economy

A critique of non-Marxian theories of U.S., Canadian and European academics.

Cloth 334pp \$7.95

Alexandra Kollontai: Selected Articles and Speeches

A long-awaited selection from the renowned communist, Soviet government member and diplomat; on women, peace and Lenin.

Cloth 215pp \$6.95

Populism: Its Past, Present and Future V. Khoros

Theoretical and historical analysis with focus on developing societies.

Cloth 294pp \$7.50

Terrorism and International Law I. Blishchenko, N. Zhdanov

A scientific approach, includes international agreements and documents.

Cloth 287pp \$5.95

Manzhou Rule in China S. L. Tikhvinsky, ed.

Scholarly articles on Manzhou rule (17th - early 20th century).

Cloth 358pp \$5.95

PROGRESS BOOKS

71 Bathurst Street,
Toronto, Ontario M5V 2P6