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

April 1985

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Konstantin Chernenko Answers U.S. Cable News Network Correspondent Stuart H. Loory

Question: Do you think that the agreement reached between the USA and the USSR in Geneva on talks to begin on March 12 creates conditions for serious and fruitful discussions about how to prevent an arms race in space and end the one on Earth?

Answer: We have no doubts about that. The agreement on the subject and purposes of the forthcoming Soviet-U.S. negotiations objectively offers such an opportunity. It contains a correct scheme for resolving the problem of nuclear and space arms — the only possible one, I would say, under the present conditions. Today no limitation, never mind reduction, in nuclear arms can be attained without effective measures to prevent the militarization of outer space. This organic interconnection has been clearly recorded in the joint Soviet-U.S. document.

Another fundamental point. The document explicitly states that efforts by the two sides to limit and reduce arms should ultimately lead to the complete elimination of nuclear weapons. I would like to recall that this is precisely what the Soviet Union has been consistently advocating since the appearance of atomic weapons. I might also point out that so far the USA has been unwilling even to talk on the subject.

Let me say again: a basis does exist for negotiating in a serious and purposeful manner. What is required now is to abide in good faith by the Geneva agreement and to adhere strictly to every part of it in practice.

We are giving our delegation clear-cut instructions to proceed in this way. We expect the same from the U.S. side.

Question: Why does the Soviet Union object so strongly to the United States' concept of a strategic defense initiative, given that at present the U.S. government is speaking only of conducting scientific research in this field?

Answer: Use of the term "defense" is a play on words. In substance this concept is offensive, or, to be more precise, aggressive. The aim is to try to disarm the other side and deprive it of the possibility of delivering a counter-strike in the event of nuclear aggression against it.

To put it simply, the aim is to acquire the capability to deliver a nuclear strike, banking on impunity, with an ABM "shield" to protect oneself from retaliation. This is the same old line of seeking decisive military superiority, with all the ensuing implications for peace and international security.

I believe that makes it clear why we are so resolutely opposed to this concept and such plans.

All talk that what is involved here for the time being is merely research can only be misleading. One might recall that the A-bomb appeared as a result of scientific research under the Manhattan

Project. Everyone knows what it meant for the people of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Since then the entire world, including Americans themselves, have lived under the shadow of nuclear weapons. We must not allow a terrible danger to be created in space now.

I would like to be understood correctly. Our reason for being so sharply opposed to the arms race spreading to outer space is not that we will not be able to respond to these plans of Washington. If compelled, we will do our utmost, as we have repeatedly done in the past, to protect our security and that of our allies and friends.

But the truth has to be faced: militarization of outer space would upset the Soviet-U.S. treaty on the limitation of anti-ballistic missile systems, which is of unlimited duration, and also many other international agreements presently in force. Militarization of outer space would not only mean in effect the end of the process of nuclear arms limitation and reduction, but would also be a catalyst for an uncontrolled arms race in all areas.

Question: Many U.S. officials have said recently that the new talks will be difficult and will not result in quick agreements. Do you share that view? What do you consider to be the most serious obstacle to a successful outcome to the talks?

Answer: Indeed, we are aware of such statements in the USA, including those made by persons involved in the preparations for the talks. The negotiations have not yet started but there is already talk about insurmountable difficulties, public opinion is being conditioned in advance for the prospect of years of fruitless discussions, and there are calls not to yield to "Geneva hypnosis" but rather to continue the accelerated build-up of nuclear weapons and intensify the space programs. If mention is made at all of the possibility of reaching any agreements, it is only individual questions pertaining to nuclear weapons that are meant — and naturally ones beneficial to the U.S. — while it is suggested that the problem of outer space should be deferred to the Greek Calends.

However, I would not like to give the impression that we in the Soviet Union expect the forthcoming talks to be easy. We take a realistic view of things and see the difficulties. And they are considerable.

But they are surmountable. What is required is good will on each side, willingness to make reasonable compromises and strict observance of the principle of equality and equal security.

And it is certainly inadmissible for any steps to be taken which impede constructive negotiations or run

counter to the task of preventing an arms race in outer space and halting it on Earth.

The thinking should take a different direction — how to create a favorable climate for the talks. There are real possibilities for this.

Would it not promote the talks and the goal jointly set by the two sides, i.e. ultimate elimination of all nuclear weapons, if the USA, following the example of the Soviet Union, renounced the first use of nuclear weapons? A freeze on nuclear arsenals and a complete ban on all nuclear weapon tests would securely put the brakes on the nuclear arms race and thus help the talks as well.

Question: What impact is the present state of Soviet-U.S. relations having on the general international situation? How can the forthcoming talks change that situation?

Answer: Regrettably, things are not going too well between the Soviet Union and the United States. This certainly must affect the general international situation, which remains complicated and tense.

Yes, agreement has been reached between the USSR and the USA to hold talks on issues central to universal security. It is only natural that this step has met with approval throughout the world and has raised hopes. But do not let us close our eyes to the fact that the causes of the tension existing in the world have not been eliminated.

Has the United States cancelled a single of its programs aimed at military superiority? No, it has not. On the contrary, assembly lines are churning out arms at full capacity to attain that goal. Or perhaps the deployment of new U.S. nuclear missiles in Western Europe has been discontinued? No, that is also not the case.

The USA likewise refuses to renounce methods of diktat in relation to other states. The international situation today comprises the undeclared war against Nicaragua, support for Israeli aggression in the Middle East, and abetment of the racist terror in

southern Africa, that is, manifestations of policy that have been rejected by the overwhelming majority of people on all continents. The peoples repudiate and condemn this policy and resolutely demand an end to it.

To sum up, I would say that humanity is at a critical point in its history. The very future of human civilization depends on whether the major tasks facing the world today are resolved — first and foremost, that of removing the nuclear threat, preventing the militarization of outer space and using it exclusively for peaceful purposes, and combining the people's efforts to resolve global economic and ecological problems.

Incidentally, this, I believe, also answers the second part of your question. A positive outcome to the new Soviet-U.S. negotiations on nuclear and space arms would favorably influence the world situation and would be a big step toward solving the cardinal problems of today.

The Soviet Union will work toward this goal, seeking meaningful and concrete results in Geneva. But not everything depends on the Soviet side alone.

People are not merely aware of the dramatic times in which we live; they understand ever more clearly where lies the watershed between the two main policies — the policy of peace and the line of war preparations. The peoples and governments resolutely advocate an improvement in the international situation, an end to the arms race, a peaceful outer space, and removal of nuclear weapons from the face of the earth.

Just recently this was rightly and strongly stated by the heads of state and government of India, Mexico, Sweden, Tanzania, Argentina and Greece in a declaration adopted in New Delhi.

Our two countries' lofty responsibility before the present and future generations makes this incumbent on them.

Pravda, February 2, 1985

Rebuff the Mad Ideas of Revanchism!

Statement by the Presidium of the Board of the German Communist Party (GCP)

Forty years after the liberation from war and fascism, the GCP, together with other democratic forces, takes a resolute stand against the provocative actions of the revanchist outfits and the tolerance of their moves on the part of the leaders of Bonn's government coalition.

The GCP regards the democrats' mounting protests against revanchism as evidence of the growing vigilance of broad circles of our people, and as the result of the activity of the peace-fighters, the struggle carried on by the communists, social democrats, trade union activists, Greens, Christians and non-party people in the spirit of the anti-fascist traditions.

The GCP regards the protests and action against revanchism as confirmation of the correctness of its

line, which it has pursued over a long period of years, insisting on the recognition in international law of the post-war borders and post-war development in Europe, and simultaneously as an impetus for all the democratic and anti-fascist circles inducing them to multiply their efforts in the struggle to ensure peace, and to continue to do everything to block the way of revanchism and its sponsors.

The GCP stigmatizes the overt complicity of the leading forces of the CDU/CSU, above all the chairman of these parties' parliamentary group Dregger, and also some members of the government with the bosses of the revanchist fellow-countrymen's associations like Hupka and Czaja. These circles stubbornly refuse to reconcile themselves with the fact that the majority of our people want to

maintain good relations with our socialist neighbors and recognizes the existing state borders. That is why they have been trying hard to fan a malicious campaign of slander against the socialist states and against the historical results of the Second World War.

The demonstrative support of Hupka and Czaja by the chairman of the CDU/CSU parliamentary group Dregger and other CDU/CSU leaders is a scandal cutting across the national interests and a provocative challenge to the neighboring peoples.

Public opinion has scored a success in the sense that under its pressure the Federal Government has distanced itself from the blatantly provocative publication in the official organ of the Silesian Landsmannschaft. That is a step in the right direction. But its sincerity will remain under doubt so long as solidarity is being displayed with the revanchist leaders, so long as all material and ideological support of them has not ceased, and so long as Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl's promise to take part in the revanchist rally in Hannover in June remains in force.

The warmongering publication in the official organ of the Silesian Landsmannschaft is not "the quirk of a madman," but is rather a reflection of the principled stand taken by the leading circles of the fellow-countrymen's associations and the forces supporting them. This drivel echoes the provocative motto of the "Silesian rally": "Forty years of Expulsion — Silesia Remains Our Future in a Europe of Free Peoples."

This provocative motto, which cannot but arouse a sense of alarm, testifies most clearly that the revanchist associations, which enjoy the Federal Government's support, are making claims to lands and areas situated beyond the boundaries of the FRG. They are once again trying to extend the sphere of power and domination of imperialism toward the East. This motto reflects imperialism's adventurist urges to "liberate" the East of Europe from socialism — 40 years after the peoples' victory over Hitlerite fascism.

We communists stress: 1985 is not 1939, nor is it 1941. Any new anti-communist "crusades" are doomed to failure. Those who tolerate revanchist policy, support and encourage it cut across the fundamental vital interests of the citizens of the Federal Republic, the interests of all those who were born, who live in this country, and regard it as their homeland.

Forty years after liberation from fascism and war, we communists are consistently guided in our actions by the principle that war must never again start from German soil. That is why we vigorously oppose any manifestation of revanchism whatsoever. We demand most resolutely that the Federal Government should, at long last, and without any reservations, get down to translating into life the international law recognition of the post-war European borders, and should rebuff the mad ideas of the revanchist fellow-countrymen's associations in ac-

cordance with the spirit and content of the treaties with the neighboring socialist countries.

It is high time to put an end at long last — in order to ensure peace — to the material and financial aid going to the revanchist fellow-countrymen's associations and their moves, an end to the "Great German" dreams, the relics of the Adenauer era! It is not right for Federal Chancellor Kohl to address the June rally of the revanchists in Hannover!

Forty years after liberation from fascism and war, January 30 is the day on which in 1933 the Hitlerite fascists took power — and it sounds yet another warning demanding that all the peace-loving and democratic forces in our country should do their utmost to have the lessons of history learned. January 30 sounds a call on social democrats and communists, Christians and non-party people, Greens and alternativists to join together in resisting the policy of stepping up armament and confrontation, revanchism and militarism, and gives a reminder of the need for joint action in order to ensure peace. We communists resolutely favor the successful holding of the Geneva disarmament negotiations, and advocate jobs instead of missiles, a halt to the arms race instead of social dismantling, a ban on the militarization of outer space, and the withdrawal of the U.S. first-strike offensive missiles already deployed in our country.

Unsere Zeit,
January 31, 1985

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Consolidating Joint Action

Declaration of the Second Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties of the Region of the Eastern Mediterranean, the Near and Middle East and the Red Sea

Representatives of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, the National Liberation Front of Bahrein, AKEL of Cyprus, the Egyptian Communist Party, the Workers' Party of Ethiopia, the Communist Party of Greece, Tudeh Party of Iran, the Iraqi Communist Party, the Communist Party of Israel, the Jordanian Communist Party, the Palestinian Communist Party, the Communist Party of Saudi Arabia, the Syrian Communist Party, the Communist Party of Turkey and other communist and workers' parties of the region of the Eastern Mediterranean, Near and Middle East and Red Sea met in Nicosia in January 1985 and examined in common the situation in this region.

The communist and workers' parties of the region with great concern ascertained that the developments internationally as also in the region are rapidly acquiring an exceptionally dangerous character.

Since the meeting in 1981, certain significant events have occurred such as: the U.S.-Israeli aggression against Lebanon and the further intensification of imperialist intervention and military presence in the region; the U.S. aggression against Grenada, the aggressive activities against Nicaragua and the people of El Salvador and the threats against Cuba; the imperialist military build-up in the Gulf and the Indian Ocean; the developing of nuclear weapons by the reactionary regimes of South Africa, Israel and Pakistan; the deployment of the U.S. nuclear Pershing II and Cruise missiles in Western Europe and the U.S. escalation of the nuclear arms race and its expansion to outer space by their plan for "star wars," which brings humanity still closer to the brink of a thermonuclear catastrophe.

The communist and workers' parties of the region emphasize that the one solely responsible for this cold war turn in international relations is imperialism and especially U.S. imperialism. Its aims are:

- the overt efforts of the USA to break the existing balance of forces so as to acquire military-strategic superiority over the USSR in order to advance the aim of world domination;

- the undermining of and the overt striking against — with all means possible, including military intervention — the national liberation and progressive movements and countries, and to isolate them from their natural allies — the Soviet Union and other socialist countries;

- the strengthening of U.S. hegemony in the capitalist world, the eradication of every centrifugal tendency and differentiation from it, and the strengthening of the cohesion of the NATO coun-

tries and other aggressive imperialist alliances.

Nevertheless, despite the fact that today world peace is threatened as never before since World War II, détente has strong roots. The forces of peace — the countries of the socialist community headed by the Soviet Union, the working class movement, the national liberation movement and the peace and anti-war movements all over the world — are ever growing and mobilizing to curb the criminal war plans of imperialism. Even to certain ruling circles of capitalist countries the adventurist policy of the USA gives rise to concern and discontent.

The participants in the meeting take into consideration that:

- the main problem of our times is the prevention of war, the termination of the arms race and the struggle for disarmament, first of all, nuclear disarmament;

- the problem of peace is directly linked with the solution of the social and economic problems of the working class and other working people;

- détente and peaceful coexistence ensure better conditions for the struggle waged by the peoples for their vital interests.

They reaffirmed their resolution to step up their struggle to the highest level possible and, together with all the progressive, democratic and peace-loving forces of their countries, to prevent the militarization of outer space, to stop the deployment of the U.S. Pershing II and Cruise missiles in Western Europe, and fight for the withdrawal of all those already deployed, for the prevention of a thermonuclear catastrophe which threatens humanity, for the return to the policy of détente and peaceful coexistence. This is why they support the peace-loving initiatives of the USSR and other members of the Warsaw Pact as well as the defensive counter-measures which they were compelled to take to prevent the USA from achieving military superiority and from violating the principle of equal security. They also support the initiatives of other peace-loving countries, parties, personalities and movements which seek an end, above all, to nuclear armaments, and complete and comprehensive general disarmament. They support the creation of denuclearized zones in the Balkans, the Mediterranean, the Middle East and elsewhere.

The communist and workers' parties which took part in the meeting ascertained that the developments in each single country in the region are closely linked with the more general developments taking place in the region and the world. The peoples of the

countries in the region are confronting a series of common problems which are created by the efforts of imperialism to recover and stabilize its positions in this crucial geopolitical region.

The policy of the imperialists is manifested in:

— the developing strategic alliance of the USA and Israel;

— the encouragement of the Israeli invaders in the continuation of their aggressive actions; the escalation of the threats of armed attack against Syria; the military intervention of the USA and other NATO states in Lebanon; the agonizing efforts for the continuation of the line of Camp David and the Reagan Plan aiming at the imposition of U.S.-Israeli hegemony in the region and the frustration of the just cause of the Palestinian people;

— the escalation of the attempts to turn Cyprus into an unsinkable aircraft carrier of NATO in the region with the building of air, naval and missile bases in Northern Cyprus, following the proclamation of the state of Denktash, which constitutes yet one more step toward the partition of Cyprus;

— the extension, activation and reinforcement of the U.S. bases in the region; the development and the constant exercises by the rapid deployment force as well as the creation of the new U.S. Central Command for the region, the creation of local, military agreements and intervention forces;

— the threats and provocations against the countries of the region which have freed themselves from imperialist domination as well as the efforts to undermine them and to export counter-revolution to them; the incitement of local wars, civil wars and internal clashes;

— the encouragement of provocations on the part of the Turkish fascist regime and the reinforcement of its role in imperialist plans in the region; the all-sided support and reinforcement of local reactionary regimes and forces;

— the transformation of Pakistan under the military regime, into a major springboard of U.S. imperialism for conducting plots, interventions and aggression against the countries of the region, particularly against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

Despite the intensified attack of imperialism, Zionism and reaction, the difficulties arising from the complexity of the situation, the popular and national liberation movement in the region has not ceased to grow.

The vanguard role of the working class and of its parties is increasing, giving the popular and national liberation movement even more anti-imperialist content and orientation. The fight against imperialism, the reactionary regimes and forces and for national independence, democracy, economic development and social progress is growing.

The revolutionary regimes in Afghanistan, Ethiopia and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen are being consolidated more and more, and they are taking important steps toward completion of the stage of the national democratic revolution on the road to socialism.

The patriotic forces in Lebanon with the support

of the Arab and international anti-imperialist forces achieved a great victory by the cancellation of the Lebanese-Israeli agreement of 17 May 1983, and the withdrawal of the U.S. and other NATO forces. They reinforce their unity of action, escalate their armed resistance against the Israeli occupation and U.S. intervention and they are taking important steps in the direction of thwarting imperialist, Zionist and reactionary plans.

The many-sided material, political and moral support given by the countries of the socialist community and, in the first place, by the USSR, to the revolutionary and patriotic regimes and the popular and national liberation movements constitutes a great contribution to the cause of the peoples, of national independence and sovereignty, of socio-economic development, and of the peace and security of the countries of the region.

The communist and workers' parties participating in the meeting, vehemently condemn the Israeli occupation of Lebanon. They reaffirm their active solidarity with and support for the Lebanese Communist Party, the Lebanese National Front of Resistance to the occupation, the National Democratic Front and the other patriotic and democratic forces in their struggle for the immediate, complete and unconditional withdrawal of the Israeli forces from southern Lebanon, for the preservation of its national independence and sovereignty, its territorial integrity, the unity of its people, its Arab identity and its democratic evolution.

The participants reaffirm their militant solidarity with Syria in its determined resistance to the threats, pressures and undermining plans of the imperialists, Zionism and Arab reaction.

They reaffirm their militant solidarity with and support to the Palestinian Communist Party, the Arab people of Palestine and its legitimate and sole representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization. They stress the need for the protection of the unity and independence of the PLO and of its anti-imperialist line, strengthening the resistance to the efforts to drag it to any capitulationist solution by adhering to the Aden and Algeria Agreements and the resolutions of the Palestinian National Council particularly those of its 16th Session. They also reaffirm their support to the Palestinian people's resistance in the occupied territories.

They reaffirm their solidarity with the Communist Party of Israel, the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality and other peace forces of Israel in their fight against the Israeli aggression, for a just and lasting solution of the Palestinian problem and for a comprehensive peace in the area.

The solution of the Middle East question, and the realization of a just, comprehensive and permanent peace in this region demand the complete withdrawal of the Israeli forces from all the Arab territories occupied since 1967, the dissolution of all the Israeli settlements in them, recognition and respect of the national rights of the Arab people of Palestine, and, above all, of the right of self-determination and the foundation of its own independent national state on Palestinian territory, respect of the right of all states in the region to independent and peaceful life

within secure and internationally recognized frontiers. The latest proposals of the USSR for the solution of the Middle East crisis through the convening of an international conference constitute a decisive contribution in this direction.

The continuation of the Iraq-Iran war serves only imperialism and the reactionary forces in the two countries and the region more generally. The immediate cessation of hostilities in the Iraq-Iran war is imperative, along with the solution of the differences between the two countries through peaceful means, on the basis of mutual respect, national independence and sovereignty, and in accordance with the rules of international law. The recent movements of units of the U.S. Fleet and of other imperialist states in the region of the Gulf and of the Red Sea, and also the intensified anti-popular and anti-democratic measures taken by certain governments of Gulf countries, on the pretext of the war, make the need for this war to be ended even more imperative.

The withdrawal of imperialist fleets, forces and bases from the region of the Gulf, the Red Sea and the Arabian Peninsula, the preservation and respect of the national independence, sovereignty and the non-alignment policy of the region's states and the curbing of the huge arms expenditures would contribute to their economic development and progress, the removal of tension from the region and its transformation into a zone of peace and security.

The proposal for the transformation of the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace is particularly timely. In this direction the efforts are positive which are being exerted within the context of the UN and the proposal which was approved by the last summit conference of the non-aligned movement, for a summit conference to be convened on the Indian Ocean.

The representatives of the communist and workers' parties condemn the proclamation of the illegal Turkish-Cypriot state and the instigators and supporters of this illegal action of Turkish chauvinists and U.S. imperialists. They condemn the construction of big military bases in the occupied territory of Cyprus for the U.S. rapid deployment force. They greet the progress in the proximity talks under the auspices of UN Secretary General and support his efforts for a comprehensive solution of the Cyprus problem at the high-level meeting to be held in New York on January 17, based on the UN resolutions. They support the struggle of AKEL and the Cypriot people for an independent, sovereign, territorially integral, federal, non-aligned and completely demilitarized Cyprus, without foreign troops and foreign bases.

The participants in the meeting condemn the provocations of Turkish chauvinist circles and U.S. imperialism in the Aegean Sea and they consider that the Greek-Turkish differences must be settled as quickly as possible by peaceful means and on the basis of the rules of international law, the Helsinki Final Act, the UN Charter and the respect for national independence, sovereignty, and the territorial integrity of the two sides, and without any imperialist tutelage or arbitration.

The development of atomic weapons by Israel and

the deployment of U.S. nuclear missiles at Comiso in Sicily, constitute additional factors of tension and a direct threat for the countries of the region and beyond it. The participants demand that U.S. nuclear missiles be removed from the region and that Israel stop the development of atomic weapons and sign the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

The participants in the meeting greet the struggle being waged by the peace-loving forces in the region of the Mediterranean and they underline the need for the fight to be stepped up for the removal of the U.S. first-strike nuclear missiles and other nuclear weapons from the territories of the region's non-nuclear countries, and, more generally, for the removal of all the foreign military bases and facilities, and the transformation of the Mediterranean basin into a zone of permanent peace, security and cooperation among the peoples. In this direction, the materialization of the Warsaw Pact proposal for the withdrawal from the Mediterranean Sea of the ships which are armed with nuclear weapons, can make an important contribution.

The participants strongly condemn the imperialist provocations, threats and interventions against Libya, Angola, Mozambique, Grenada, Nicaragua and El Salvador and reaffirm their full solidarity with and support for the peoples of these countries and all the revolutionary and patriotic regimes and the popular, national liberation, anti-racial, and anti-dictatorship movements in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

The participants condemn the atrocities committed by the Israeli occupation forces against the population of the occupied territories in Lebanon, Palestine and the occupied Syrian territory of the Golan Heights. They condemn the rising racist and fascist activities inside Israel and demand that Israel should sign the international convention of human rights.

They condemn the crimes of physical extermination, detention and torture committed by the Iranian fundamentalist regime against the Tudeh Party of Iran and democratic and progressive forces in Iran and also those committed by the dictatorial regime of Iraq against the Communist Party of Iraq and other democratic forces.

The participants condemn the fabricated trials and physical extermination of progressive people in Turkey and the elimination of democratic life and the introduction of emergency rule in Pakistan. They express their solidarity with the Kurdish people who are languishing under national oppression in our region.

The participants condemn all practices jeopardizing democratic rights and freedoms, especially torture and arbitrary detention, committed by the Egyptian regime against progressive, democratic and patriotic forces. They condemn the recent continuing wave of assassinations committed by the extermination bands connected to the ruling circles in North Yemen against tens of Yemeni patriots and demand the dispersal of these extermination bands and the bringing to trial of the instigators and executioners and the disclosure of the whereabouts

of the prisoners declared missing.

The participants note that the Gulf Cooperation Council has become a military alliance serving imperialist machinations in the region of the Gulf. They condemn the oppressive measures practised by the states of this council against the patriotic and democratic forces, condemn the violations of human rights especially in Saudi Arabia, Bahrein and Oman. They demand the disclosure of the fate of the political detainees, their release, and the endorsement of the international declaration of human rights. They condemn the practices of searches, summary detention, torture of prisoners and the elimination of general liberties in Sudan, Somalia and Jordan.

The parties which participate in the meeting express their firm conviction that the imperialist attack in the region, especially of U.S. imperialism which bolsters up the Israeli Zionist and other reactionary circles, can successfully be bridled and the balance of forces in the region be changed in favor of the forces of peace, national liberation and social progress. The basic prerequisite for this is the cooperation of the broadest anti-imperialist forces in the region with the active participation of the popular masses through the defense and restoration of their democratic freedoms and rights, the satis-

faction of their basic social and economic needs. It is imperative that differences on secondary issues be set aside, that the discrimination against the communists be overcome and the efforts by certain forces to isolate them be ended, so that a broad anti-imperialist front can be created to raise a barrier against the imperialist attack, finally free our region of dependence on imperialism, open up the road of national independence and progress for all the countries in the region, and to contribute to the consolidation of peace in the world.

The fraternal parties participating in the meeting consider that anti-Sovietism and anti-communism aim mainly to maintain the subjection of the peoples and exploitation of the working masses, to weaken the patriotic, democratic and progressive forces, and international solidarity and the struggle against imperialism and reaction. They consider that the unity of the communists constitutes the basic factor for the advance of the unity of the world workers' movement and of all the anti-imperialist and anti-war forces.

The participants express their conviction that an international conference of communist and workers' parties to promote joint action against the imperialist threat, for détente and peace; is necessary and timely.

Isolate Big Capital, Push Back Rightists! For Democracy and Social Justice!

Document of the 27th Congress of the Left Party-Communists of Sweden

The regular, 27th congress of the Left Party-Communists of Sweden (LPC) was held in Stockholm from January 2 to 6, 1985. It was attended by 275 delegates from 22 district party organizations.

The congress devoted much attention to international matters, and its documents emphasized the importance of intensifying the party's efforts in the struggle for peace and disarmament.

The delegates discussed the party's home political activity at the present stage, and the party's highest forum called on party members to carry on a vigorous fightback against the right-wing forces' policy.

The congress elected the party's new Board, and re-elected Lars Werner as Chairman of the LPC.

The need for change is ever more pressing. The LPC is involved in a mounting movement demanding that the threat of nuclear annihilation should be removed, and that men and women should be rid of hunger and unemployment, exploitation and humiliation. If that is to take place, there is a need for deep changes both within the existing societies, and in the relations between them.

REMOVE THE DANGER OF NUCLEAR WAR

The whole of humankind is alarmed over the threat of a devastating nuclear war, a threat which could become a horrible reality if the arms race continues and the nuclear stockpiles keep growing. All people of good will should unite in the struggle for disarmament and the total prohibition of nuclear weapons.

This demand is addressed above all to the great powers whose nuclear arsenals are many times greater than the quantity of weapons that could totally wipe out human beings and nature itself. The demand for disarmament and peaceful coexistence applies to all states.

SOLIDARITY WITH THE THIRD WORLD PEOPLES

The economic gap between countries and peoples in various regions of the world has further widened. The rich developed states assure themselves of a growing share of raw materials, foodstuffs, manufactured goods and technological information. The peoples in the Third World suffer gravely from the burden of debts and the gap in the prices of raw materials and manufactured goods. Great masses of people on the Earth suffer from

hunger, while food surpluses keep accumulating in the rich countries.

An end must be put to this dangerous and unjust development. There is a need to even out on an international scale the development level of the rich and poor countries. Solidarity with the peoples of the Third World must become the governing idea not only in matters of international policy, but also in the solution of basic national problems.

STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM

So long as the imperialist power system is predominant, lasting peace cannot be ensured, and the plundered peoples of the Third World cannot achieve liberation. That is why the fight against imperialism in every form is the key political task.

Sweden is a part of the imperialist system. The transnational enterprises located on its territory are involved in plundering the working class of a number of countries, and also of the peoples of the Third World. The enterprises of Swedish capital abroad have been set up to the detriment of Swedish national industry. Our country's dependence has been intensified with the growth of foreign capital investments in Sweden, its adherence to various international organizations, and changes within the system of production. The U.S. administration wants Sweden to support its policy of embargo.

A strong and free Sweden can be built only on the basis of independence. Our country must stop following the imperialist example. Development relying on the growing use of our own raw materials and greater diversification of foreign trade creates the best potentialities for maintaining solid ties with the Third World countries as well.

BREAK THE POWER OF BIG CAPITAL

Since the Second World War two trends have operated in Sweden's economic and social development. On the one hand, concentration and centralization have continued rapidly within the capitalist economy. Power in the key spheres of production has been increasingly concentrated in the hands of a small group of financiers and financial institutions. On the other hand, the public sector has been markedly enlarged. A growing part of production has been withdrawn from the sector oriented solely toward profit and transferred to the control of various governmental and elective public bodies. In some spheres, the working class has succeeded in strengthening its positions.

Negative phenomena have been increasingly spreading over the past decade. Capitalist speculation and financial machinations have come to prevail over productive capital investments. Workers' real wages have greatly shrunk, while firms and individual capitalists have amassed great wealth. The overall situation is characterized by growing unemployment, inflation and declining rates of development.

It has become obvious that the domination of economic life by big capital is the root cause of the difficulties faced by the country and the people. The power of big capital has to be broken if important objectives are to be reached.

ALL MUST BE ASSURED OF SUITABLE JOBS

Mass unemployment has once again become a permanent feature of Swedish society over the past decade. Men and women of the older generation remember the vast unemployment of the 1930s, and also the hopes awakened after the war that unemployment would become a thing of the past. Now the disappointment is all the greater. Many people are deprived of the right to rational labor employment. The most to suffer are the young, who have to begin their adult life by lining up at the unemployment office.

That must not be so! A society that is incapable of providing work for all its members thereby announces its bankruptcy. Unemployment does great economic and social harm. We have the right to work! The existing system of economic power and the corresponding social relations cannot be allowed to prevent the pursuit of a full-employment policy of which the enlargement of the public sector and efforts to further Sweden's industrialization are a component part.

REDUCE THE WORKING DAY

For many working people, a long working day and long trips to work and back, together with the greater intensification of the labor process, are becoming an ever heavier burden. The most to suffer are those who work in arduous conditions for a low wage, and who have large families. After a working day many of them, especially women, have to do additional work in the household.

That is why the demand for a 6-hour working day is so important. Its realization in the 1980s would mean the availability of jobs for many of those who now have none. The social advantages of reduced working hours are even more important. It would produce better possibilities for ensuring the equality of men and women. Those engaged in arduous work would have more opportunities for social and cultural activity or other rational use of leisure.

SAFEGUARD AND IMPROVE THE ENVIRONMENT

Many phenomena in modern society have done grave harm to the environment. The consequences of air, water and soil pollution, the destruction of important elements of the ecological chain and the poisoning of human beings and nature are ever more tangible. The struggle against the destruction of the environment has not yet helped to halt these processes, let alone starting the rehabilitation and improvement of the habitat. The danger here is becoming ever more acute from day to day.

Safeguarding and improving the environment is a task of primary importance, and it should be reflected in any document relating to economic and social processes, with special attention being given to the condition of man himself. Many men and women are disabled as a result of arduous, monotonous and dangerous work. Grave consequences, frequently hazardous to life itself, result from work in chemical production. The number of shop-floor accidents is great. A society which forces people to

sacrifice life and health for the sake of production is an inhuman one.

New values should become definitive for the whole of economic life. Success should not be measured only by the quantity of material goods and services, regardless of the quality and the content of the labor process. We must switch from an economy based on the drive for profit to an economy oriented toward human wants.

DISTRIBUTION FOR THE SAKE OF EQUALITY AND JUSTICE

Social inequality has increased in the recent period. The value of shares, land and other real estate has greatly increased as a result of speculation and inflation. Fortunes running to millions have been built up through greater exploitation of the working people, reduced real wages, and also at the expense of small depositors in banks and investors in insurance companies. Class distinctions in education, culture, public health, production and leisure have again begun to grow and deepen. The same applies to housing policy.

Such development must be halted. An active struggle must be started for higher real wages. There is need for firm penalties and limitations against big capital, the sharks of speculation and the multimillionaires waxing rich at the people's expense. There is a need for a fair, healthy and effective fiscal policy. The people must have enjoyment of the wealth created by their labor.

The struggle for a distribution policy based on equality and justice effects not only incomes and fortunes. It is also a struggle for the right of all citizens to have access to education, culture and public health, to make rational and effective use of leisure time, and above all the right and opportunity to obtain fitting and permanent work and also good housing. The strengthening and enlargement of the public sector, democratized and purged of bureaucracy, are a prerequisite of these rights and opportunities.

FOR GREATER FREEDOM BASED ON COOPERATION

Man's emancipation must be the goal of political activity. Capitalist society prevents the individual from developing all of his or her potentialities and the richness of the human personality.

That is why a struggle is on for emancipation from exploitation, from the erosion of strength and health, and from the oppression and ignorance which humiliate the individual. Freedom can never be secured at the expense of others, by trampling on one's neighbor. Freedom can be based only on cooperation between people.

The bourgeois view of freedom signifies growing power for capital and the financial oligarchy, and when this mentality gains the upper hand the class character of society is further intensified, and freedom for the majority is further curtailed. The working class movement must expose the false prophets of freedom. That is why what is required is not a drawing closer to their political line, but the working people's joint struggle and resolute advocacy of socialist objectives by the working class movement.

ISOLATE BIG CAPITAL AND THE RIGHT-WING FORCES

The struggle for the necessary changes in Swedish society and for an alteration of its attitude to the Third World should rest on support by the majority of the people. It has to be won over for the policy aimed against the domination of the financial oligarchy and capital, and this requires a halt to the ongoing shift to the right in policy and in social relations.

It is big capital that is at the back of the shift to the right. It makes conscious use of the conditions of crisis for an organized offensive on the living standards of the working class, and for creating a political and ideological atmosphere favoring a fortification of its power. The international organizations and supra-governmental organs representing the interests of transnational capital are at the head of the ideological campaign aimed to substantiate the policy leading to the use of tougher methods of capitalist exploitation. The working people's social gains are under attack along the whole front.

There is also a preaching of the ideology which identifies the interests of the nation with those of the leading transnational companies, and which is aimed to erode the class awareness and cohesion of the working class. It is a policy and ideology of so-called neoliberalism preaching the freedom of individualism, but implying subjection for the majority of the people. It claims to be national, but in fact enables transnational capital to trample the right of nations to an independent formulation of their policy and ways of development.

This broad political and ideological offensive has shifted the bourgeoisie's political organizations to the right. The Swedish association of entrepreneurs and the Moderate Coalition Party — the mouthpieces of big capital — have won dominant positions in the bourgeoisie's ideological and political activity.

In order to halt the shift to the right, there is a need for a policy meeting the interests of broad strata of the working people and directed against big capital, and more vigorous activity by the working class movement.

The social-democratic leadership has taken a hesitant and ambiguous attitude to the shift to the right. In many areas it has come out against the political representatives of the rightists and their views, in an effort to limit their influence. But at the same time it prefers to run the country *together* with big capital. Like the bourgeoisie, it identifies the interests of the nation with those of big capital. It has pursued a policy of "belt-tightening," and also an incomes policy which is aimed against the working people who live on wages, and the arguments for which have been borrowed from bourgeois theories. It has abandoned its old class assessments of important matters, such as taxation and income distribution. It has retreated in the face of right-wing campaigns glorifying a vile egoism and freedom of action for the stronger. That tends to produce contradictions, hesitancy and passiveness within the working class movement.

The shift to the right cannot be overcome by mak-

ing concessions to big capital and bowing to its ideological offensive. Compromise with the right-wing forces and constant retreats before them lead to ideological surrender and a weakening of the working class movement.

In order to put an end to the shift to the right, the working class movement must conduct a vigorous socialist working class policy. The ideals of equality and justice, which are fundamental for the working class movement, must once again become the guiding star of its policy. The socialist alternative must become even more clearcut, thoroughly considered and authentic.

ISOLATE BIG CAPITAL, PUSH BACK THE RIGHTISTS

The domination of capital and the shift to the right in social life conflict with the common interests of broad strata of the people. These interests need to be brought together. The necessary political unification must come from the class of wage workers, in the broad sense of the term, who have common interests in the struggle against the domination of capital. Broad strata of the people affected by the

power of big capital could be involved in this unification, with diverse popular organizations and movements being the crucial force.

Big capital and the right-wing forces pose a threat to the very foundations of the country's well-being and independence. Big capital's inherent drive for profit and the right-wing forces' egoism are, at root, incompatible with values like peace and disarmament, a habitat fit for human beings and harmonizing with nature, the right to work, certitude in the future, social security, equality, solidarity and national independence, the values for which the people aspire and for which they are prepared to fight.

Accordingly, the Left Party-Communists of Sweden believes that its most important task is to promote the people's broadest unification in order to isolate the right-wing forces and big capital and to curtail their power. This is a matter of Sweden's national future. It is a matter of the people's work and well-being. It is a matter of democracy, equality and freedom. It is a matter of Sweden promoting peace and justice on the Earth.

Abridged from *Arbetartidningen* — *Ny dag*,
January 17, 1985

The 25th Congress of the French Communist Party

The French Communist Party held its 25th Congress from February 6 to 10, 1985 at Saint-Ouen, a working class suburb of Paris. The congress drew 1,722 delegates representing over 600,000 communists and was also attended by delegations from more than 100 fraternal communist and workers' parties, national liberation movements and other progressive organizations.

FCP General Secretary Georges Marchais presented the Central Committee report on the activity and tasks of the party (a summary of the report follows).

The delegates discussed the CC report in detail and approved it by a 96.7 per cent majority vote.

The Central Committee of the French Communist Party elected by the congress held its first meeting. It elected the Political Bureau and Secretariat of the CC FCP and the Central Political Control Commission.

Georges Marchais was re-elected FCP General Secretary.

In conclusion the congress adopted an "Appeal of the 25th FCP Congress to the French People."

Report by Georges Marchais

This congress is deliberating in an unusual situation. We are all aware, as the pre-congress discussion showed, that French politics is at the crossroads. One long period is over and another is beginning. In three years the people's hope born of so many years of grim struggles against the Right has given way to uneasiness and increasing perplexity. The new orientation of government activity that emerged in 1981 has been succeeded by a policy of "austerity"; unemployment is on the rise and the crisis is deepening.

The political parties which the electorate blames for this state of affairs suffered a telling reverse: in the elections to the European Parliament last June the Socialist Party lost about half of the votes cast for François Mitterrand in the first round of the 1981 presidential elections; our party, too, suffered a fresh setback after the 1981 elections.

After making a self-critical analysis of the party's

activity, Georges Marchais said that the task now is to draw all the lessons from the experiment that has been carried out and to answer the questions asked by the French: How did it happen? What made it possible? We must ascertain the consequences which it can have for our activity. We must begin the new period correctly, must indicate the roads leading into the future and offer the popular movement a clear, realistic, mobilizing perspective.

Throughout the past months the party has been widely discussing the draft resolution of the 25th congress answering the fundamental questions which the people and the country are faced with.

Recent decades have seen France undergo considerable changes in every sphere. The deep-going reforms effected in the period of liberation and in the postwar period substantially altered people's lives and thinking and shook the whole of society. Demands were made everywhere for development, a

better life, progress and transformation. The leaders of big capital took this into account. They could do nothing to prevent change and so decided to bring this movement under their control, to channel it, to limit its progressive substance and use it for their class aims. To this end they thoroughly changed their system of domination by sharply increasing the concentration and centralization of capital. They reshaped the entire political and government system of France to concentrate all powers at the top of the executive authority and greatly restricted the real possibilities of public involvement.

Comparing these gigantic efforts for renewal and adjustment made by the big bourgeoisie with our policy of the time, we understand better what the 23rd and 24th FCP congresses called our "strategic lag." This is not to say at all that we want to put the whole blame on the party's former leaders. The present leaders of the Communist Party make no attempt whatever to shift the responsibility by turning criticism against their predecessors. "As leaders of the FCP we consider ourselves responsible for the entire activity of the party as a whole."

Looking back, we say proudly that throughout the 65 years of its existence the French Communist Party has always sided with justice and freedom, the national interest and internationalist solidarity. The sacrifices made by several generations of communists who inspired the French people's struggle were not in vain. The choice made by the founding congress of the FCP at Tours was and remains correct.

Georges Marchais made a detailed analysis of the crisis of capitalist society, which seriously affects every aspect of French life today. Communists were the first to point to the existence and nature of the crisis. The centerpiece of their 1981 campaign relating to the presidential elections was an action plan making it possible to decide on a realistic and effective way out of the crisis. Thus the Communist Party played a profoundly innovating role as regards this highly important issue. This is beyond question. However, the FCP analysis of French reality and the conclusions which the party drew for its policy lagged behind the problems that cropped up.

In the three years that have passed since the previous FCP congress, the situation in our country has changed sharply for the worse. While some of the positive steps taken after the 1981 victory are still in force (the lowering of retirement age to 60 years, longer paid holidays, a shorter working week, and so on), most of the social measures adopted by the government with our participation are being gradually curtailed and then nullified altogether.

As a result, all difficulties have increased. Crisis phenomena have gained in acuteness and depth following a certain improvement in the situation in 1981. In most spheres the crisis is graver than before the change of political power three and a half years ago. Since then industry has lost 500,000 jobs and the number of unemployed people has grown by 700,000. At the same time the profits of private enterprises have been going up by an annual average of 25 per cent and investment in production is still generally very low. The situation in agriculture has deteriorated and the working people's purchasing

capacity has fallen off. As many as 600,000 jobless people who were entitled to relief until October 1982 no longer get any. After 1981 the rich became richer still. Social inequality is greater than ever.

The schools are in a worse situation than before. In June 1984 as many as 200,000 school leavers joined the ranks of the unemployed; moreover, they lack vocational training. Fewer homes are being built than in 1981. Doctors charge more. Many hospitals are short of funds. Crime and other violations of the law have increased by nearly 25 per cent since 1981.

France's international positions have weakened since 1981. Its foreign debt has soared. The drift to Atlanticism is more and more noticeable.

What are the reasons for the present situation? Why is it so bad? The French Communist Party answers: This is due to the crisis of French society, to the very system of which it is part, to capitalism.

Yet the crisis is not inevitable. It is a product of specific decisions that are made every day and that carry it deeper. A bitter class struggle is under way in every sphere — economic, political, ideological — between the forces pushing the country into the morass of crisis and those who offer a way out.

The future which the big bourgeoisie wants to impose on the country and which is promised by the programs of right-wing parties implies mounting pressure on the purchasing capacity of the working people and pensioners, a loosening of the social security system, growing unemployment and insecure jobs, encroachments on the guarantees and rights won; it also implies an unrestricted right to lay off, denationalization, reduced taxation of private enterprises, attacks on the rights of the working people and their trade unions, absolute control of the enterprises by the employers.

For years the Socialist Party criticized together with us the policy of the rightist alignments in power, justly accusing them of aggravating the nation's difficulties. Now, however, it has decided to stop disputing the principles of this policy. It has adopted the same remedies, that is, "austerity" and unemployment.

This explains why use is being made of the whole array of devices in an attempt to convince the French of the inevitability of the crisis.

Ours is the only political party opposed to this campaign. France has the resources needed to end the crisis. Combating this crisis means fighting for the future and the Communist Party has resolved to carry on this fight.

Georges Marchais then set out the proposals of the FCP for ending the crisis affecting France, and pointed to the need for working people's unity of action. The primary aim is to give production and the economy as a whole an impetus by mobilizing all resources for the creation of jobs and material values. To achieve this, it is necessary to proceed from the interests of our economy and not from those of this or that multinational corporation. Priority must be given to the creation of new jobs, which would make it possible to expand the home market, increase commodity production, extend the service sector and reduce the foreign trade deficit. This also

implies gearing industrial policy to real modernization according to the country's interests.

Our second aim is to move on along the road of justice and solidarity. The decline of production, the decline in the standard of living and curtailments of the working people's rights are accompanied by social retrogression. What is needed in these circumstances is a counteroffensive to make new social and democratic gains, an action demanding defense of the working people's interests and a reduction of capitalist profits. The FCP declares for tax reforms differing from those now being carried out and leading to higher taxation on incomes earned through work and providing favorable conditions for big fortunes.

To combat the crisis also means taking a step to safeguard freedoms. To democratize the whole life of society and grant the working people and other citizens new rights in regard to information and participation in politics and decision-making is a third task which we set before ourselves. In the enterprises, which are workers' collectives, only a few participate in management. Management must be put within reach of every member of the production staff; nationalized enterprises could and should play a key role in this.

The FCP stands for a deep-going democratic reform of state institutions, including a revision of the constitution. The National Assembly should wield real authority; the government should really perform its functions under the leadership of the prime minister; the president of the Republic should not be allowed to pursue a personal policy, for he must be a guarantor of the institutions, basic freedoms, national independence, territorial integrity and respect for treaties. To encourage a nation-wide discussion of this problem, the FCP puts forward the following nine proposals:

Elect the president for seven years without the right of re-election for a further term.

Not limit the number of candidates to two in the second round of presidential elections but allow all those who have polled over 10 per cent of the vote to seek election.

The policy of the country should be shaped by the government and not by the president.

On being appointed to his post and on forming the government by himself, the prime minister should ask the National Assembly for a vote of confidence on his program. Should the National Assembly reject the program, the government should resign.

The extensive presidential powers allowing him to dissolve the National Assembly lessen the rôle of this chamber of parliament as an exponent of national sovereignty. Minimally, dissolving the National Assembly in the year of election should be made impossible.

Extend the powers of the National Assembly. Parliament should be elected according to the proportional system.

Inscribe in the preamble to the constitution a declaration of freedoms based on the Declaration of Human Rights and the 1946 constitution.

Abolish the Constitutional Council, which has an unlimited power of censorship over parliament.

Effect a real decentralization; intensify the transfer of matters under state jurisdiction and the funds concerned to local government bodies.

Our fourth aim is related to France's activity in the world: it calls for resistance to all foreign domination, the restoration of France's opportunities for development and influence, and action in common with other nations for disarmament and development. First and foremost, it is a question of rejecting the domination of transnationals, speculators and major capitalist countries over the French economy. The French bourgeoisie accepts and profits by this domination; it visualizes the future of the country as merely that of a vassal of the USA, which is in crisis itself. By mobilizing its resources, France can limit dependence on the dollar and put an end to the flight of riches from the country. This can be done by restricting excessive imports, stopping the massive outflow of capital, reviving production, cooperating with developing countries and promoting mutually beneficial relations with socialist countries.

In addition to political and economic consequences, the activity of big capital calls into question the distinctive character of France. The American myth has become omnipresent. To uphold and foster the cultural identity of France is one of the goals of the struggle that are now the order of the day.

Lastly, France can play a more prominent part in the matter of meeting the aspirations of people all over the planet. What we mean is, among other things, action in favor of peace and disarmament, for a new international order, for freedom and in defence of human rights everywhere.

We communists consider that the only promising and realistic way out of the crisis is to build a new society which we call socialism in the French manner.

Our earlier congresses worked out the main lines of the socialist society which we offer to France. But we must constantly specify and enrich our project. Socialism in the French manner will be a fruit of creative effort by our people, hence there can be no question of restricting what is going to emerge in the course of struggle and construction to the framework of a finished pattern.

Nevertheless, we have defined the main orientation of the new society which we call on the people to build. To begin with, France needs a society of justice. It needs a new type of development directed toward meeting people's requirements and not against people. France needs freedom and democracy.

In our country, everything is being done to keep up the notion of a chaotic, dangerous world where democracy is allegedly shrinking under the pressure of dictatorships and fanaticism.

Reality fully refutes this view of things. Today's world is not sinking into barbarity. It is not slipping back to prehistoric times. On the contrary, what is on the whole winning the upper hand in spite of difficulties, reverses and dramas befalling humanity is human progress.

Hundreds of millions are building a socialist society, which has its peculiarities in each country. True, history does not follow a straight line but it

certainly has a direction. The advance to the liberation of peoples, to socialism, is a reality.

The capitalist countries are experiencing a deep crisis. Popular struggles are on the rise there. The peace movement is assuming unprecedented dimensions, in particular among youth. These are new facts.

The onward movement of the world is characterized by a multiform universal aspiration for justice, freedom, independence and peace, for new relations of friendship and cooperation between nations. The capitalist countries refuse to put up with this. They do everything in their power to check this movement, to nullify and reverse it if possible. Such is the meaning of what our latest congresses have described as a counter-offensive of imperialism, which has become more aggressive since Reagan took office.

Economic and ideological warfare and blackmail, using the threat of triggering a world conflict, are the lines along which this counter-offensive has been going on. There is also a bid to doom nations to dependence through the diktat of the dollar, to plunder them; and to determine their home and foreign policy by resorting to gross interference to the point of armed intervention. It is a question of putting military pressure on the socialist countries, of trying to influence their development by escalating the arms race. The USA urges its allies to actively support this policy. This is the meaning of the latest summits of industrial capitalist countries, of the revival of the Western European Union, of efforts to speed European integration. It is a policy fraught with danger to peace and security in many regions of the globe. It is worsening the international climate. Its grave consequences must not be underrated.

At the same time we need to see its limits, for the ongoing counter-offensive has yielded no really noticeable results even though fantastic means have been used. The leverage and role of the countries building a socialist society, of the peoples that have united in the non-aligned movement, of the revolutionary, democratic and progressive forces of the world, plus the vast scope of the movement for peace and disarmament and the difficulties generated by imperialism's own crisis explain why it cannot achieve its aims although it tries hard. The balance of world forces as a whole shows a trend favorable to the forces of progress.

The speaker called attention to the slanderous nature of information about the socialist countries that is being spread in all capitalist countries, especially in France. Every piece of information and every commentary serves one purpose: "selling" the idea that socialism is utopian while crisis-ridden capitalist society is the best of all possible worlds.

To be sure, the socialist countries have problems. But it is essential to see their nature, for they are problems of a different kind. There are problems arising from the low level of economic development of the countries in question at the time they took a socialist road, the effects of wars, blockade and boycotts, the burden of the arms race imposed by imperialism, the exigencies of internationalist solidarity. George Marchais also spoke of the problems

due to mistakes made in a number of countries in the course of socialist construction. Furthermore, there are contradictions and new problems arising from the very process of development.

In spite of these problems, all socialist countries have made substantial gains in a historically short time. They have proved that ill like hunger, poverty, child mortality, illiteracy and unemployment can be eliminated. These countries' successes in raising the standard of living, in the health services, education, housing, sports and culture are undeniable.

The difficulties encountered by the socialist countries differ from those besetting capitalist society. To end the crisis in the capitalist countries means effecting far-reaching social changes. By contrast, solving the problems of socialist society does not imply anything like replacing the system but rather using all its potentialities in the social sphere.

The rapporteur then spoke of the relations between the FCP and the communist parties in power in the countries building socialism. He pointed out that the FCP has no intention of breaking with the communist parties of the socialist countries, a step which the class enemy urges it to take. In keeping with its militant traditions, our party explicitly declares its commitment to active solidarity with communist parties as well as with all the forces taking part in diverse forms in the big battle for democracy, peace and man's emancipation. Such is the new internationalism which we want to apply as corresponding to our epoch.

The relations which our party maintains with many parties, movements and organizations are based on mutual respect, independence, non-interference, strict equality and recognition of distinctions or even differences over this or that issue. These principles now make it possible to promote internationalist solidarity on a clear and effective basis and to work in support of major common objectives.

We also maintain fruitful relations with many revolutionary parties and movements. We have established contacts with socialist and social democratic parties, trade union and religious forces, pacifist movements and representatives of various social movements. We intend to continue on this road.

Georges Marchais stressed the resolve of the FCP to help build up internationalist solidarity, particularly in three fields: the struggle for peace and disarmament, the struggle against hunger, for economic advancement and a new international economic order, and action to enforce respect for and extension of freedoms and all human rights.

Peace is our paramount goal. Indeed, the arms race has assumed terrifying proportions. The deployment of new US missiles that was begun produced a further escalation. Worse still, a new danger arose. Reagan is now talking about "star wars." He wants to militarize space. But his policy comes up against mounting resistance. The growing militancy of numerous diverse peace forces on all continents has been an important factor in recent years. Their efforts have not been fruitless. Recently the United States and the Soviet Union decided at Geneva to

hold new talks. This is the right way, one showing how important it is for all who are committed to peace to redouble their efforts.

We have done all we could to ensure the success of initiatives taken in this sphere in our country. Naturally, we will go on doing it, taking a stand for an immediate freeze on the deployment of missiles in East and West alike, for a constructive dialogue to reach agreement on cutting armaments to the lowest possible level and banning the militarization of space in any form; for the success of the negotiations under way and in support of all initiatives benefiting détente, whatever their origin; for a peaceful, negotiated settlement of all conflicts.

The French people want their country to work harder for peace and disarmament.

Action against the ruinous arms race is all the more necessary because the offensive of hunger is continuing. Every year hunger kills 50 million men, women and children. It is necessary, therefore, to render prompt aid to all the victims of economic backwardness. But everybody should also know that this drama is not fatal. The responsibility for these killings, the most numerous in man's history, falls on imperialism. This makes it necessary to fight against its hegemony in international financial organizations and replace today's relations based on domination by a new international order based on justice, democracy, cooperation and independence. We plan to hold a meeting on this problem with African parties and movements in order to evolve a common platform for joint, mutually complementary actions.

To fight for peace and economic progress also means coming out against violations of human rights on our planet. Revealingly, supporters of imperialism have made a point of laying hands on this very concept. Our 24th congress condemned their vast campaign aimed at manipulating public opinion. Our struggle would have been considerably weakened had we failed to resist these provocative attacks with proper vigor. The rapporteur pointed out the importance of perfecting the activity of the Committee for Freedoms and Human Rights in France and the World set up by the FCP.

Georges Marchais described the new popular majority alignment which communists are going to fight for. Is this struggle realistic and feasible if we consider that in the recent elections for the European Parliament we only won 11 per cent of the vote? A serious analysis of the situation entitles us to say yes.

The lag of our strategy behind reality expressed itself in, among other things, the fact that our alliance with the Socialists began to take a form unacceptable to us. Had we unquestioningly followed the Socialist Party, this would have helped us win a few seats but we would have had to pay for it by renouncing the main goals supported by the working people. The FCP could not be expected to do such a thing. We must lose no time in drawing serious lessons from past experience to chart a new road.

The task of working for the formation of a new popular majority alignment accords with our political strategy and our desire to advance along the road

to democracy, which is inseparable from alliance and struggle for a democratic, self-governing socialist system.

Our party's new major initiative would lose all its significance if isolated from our analysis of the crisis. To bring about a popular majority alignment means, in particular, heeding and taking into account vital aspirations of the people, working out real anti-crisis measures, publicizing them among the people and seeking their support.

A further question is whether there exist forces which can unite to lead France out of the crisis.

What are these forces? First of all, those who suffer directly from the crisis: jobless people, persons engaged in hard work, low-paid workers, pensioners getting low pensions, French men and women whose needs are heeded least of all and whose children are hit hardest by the miscarriage of the education system, and those whose housing conditions are particularly bad. We are thinking primarily of these millions of people, these millions of families, when we call for a society of justice, dignity and freedom.

It is not only workers but also engineers and administrative personnel that are now affected by unemployment and the decline in purchasing power. This applies to workers by brain, to scientists and artists, to handicraftsmen, small traders, medium and small employers.

Most young people, too, are ready to take a job and to fight for noble ideals. This is also true of women. They are hit harder than anyone else by unemployment, the lack of proper vocational training and low pay. French workers also have many goals in common with immigrant workers: the struggle against racism, for the right to work, a higher purchasing capacity, a decent life and the opportunity to give their children an education.

In putting the foregoing on record, we draw the following principal conclusion: it is both necessary and possible to launch a widespread movement against the crisis.

At the same time, the draft resolution of this congress specifies that we are willing to conclude, if possible, agreements with other political organizations, including the Socialist Party. Accordingly, we say again that "the Communist Party remains a firm supporter of the left unity."

We aim to bring about an alignment of the people on a scale going beyond the framework of the left majority of the past. It should be perfectly evident that in speaking of its vast scope, we do not mean the parties of the Right. We are fighting and will go on fighting resolutely against them. But we will also approach those Frenchmen who do not necessarily class themselves among the Left and yet have reason to join in a broad movement because they want to contribute to economic, social and national progress. Our proposal for a new popular majority alignment is a major political initiative. We hold out our hand to the millions of disillusioned or misled men and women and young people. This is a new perspective mobilizing them to fight.

The activity of party branches is a decisive factor

in implementing the party's policy. We do not deny that after the 24th congress the trials that befell us resulted in a weakening of our ranks: late in 1984 our party had 608,543 members. The rapporteur stressed the importance of forming FCP branches where the working people are, that is, in factories and offices.

Georges Marchais emphatically condemned the continuing anti-communist campaign in which national radio and television are taking an active part. All that we say or do is falsified and slandered. Attempts are made to gradually efface from people's minds what our party has been and still is for France and its people. Blasphemous attempts are made to equate the Communist Party with the extreme right. This is not only insulting to us communists but is also disastrous to democracy in our country.

Speaking of organizational matters, Georges Marchais noted that during the pre-congress discussion the vast majority of communists reaffirmed their allegiance to the principle of democratic centralism. This principle guarantees the unity of action of all communists and makes the workers and the people as a whole confident that our party is unanimous and is following a common policy.

The 25th congress of our party is taking place under the double motto of hope and struggle. This hope is not blind. It will materialize if backed by the struggle of our people, author and protagonist of their own advance to freedom and happiness. The task is now to work for this.

Summarized from *l'Humanité*,
February 7, 1985

Resolution of the 25th Congress of the French Communist Party

I. PREAMBLE

During the last two years the great hopes expressed in spring 1981 have gradually given way to extreme discontent. The setbacks suffered by the French Socialist Party (FSP) and the French Communist Party (FCP) in the June 1984 elections revealed the depth of this discontent.

Given the fact that the government brought to power by the 1981 elections did not meet the expectations of those who elected it and refused to take into consideration the significance of their voting in the European elections at a time when a new government was being formed, a new situation emerged in the country. The communists drew the necessary conclusions from this, deciding last July not to participate any longer in the government. An entire period in French political life was thus ended. It includes not only the three years after 1981 but also the longer period — almost a quarter century — in which a plan to set up a left government gradually took shape around the idea of a joint government program, a left government which was later victorious.

The policy of unemployment, social regression and industrial decline led the Right and the entrepreneurs to the defeat of 1981. It is the return to this austerity policy, which ignores the people's aspirations, that is today causing disappointment, anger and sometimes even despair. The reactionary forces are rejoicing at the results of their pressure on the government. They are openly planning *revanche*.

The fact that the policy of the present socialist government is aggravating the crisis and is fraught with defeat if it continues, and the fact that the influence of the French Communist Party is declining raises a number of questions. How and why did we get into this situation? What conclusions should our party draw from this experience in order to move forward? In the light of the latest developments, how should one assess the policy worked out by the French Communist Party at its last congresses and the way that policy has been implemented? Are there favorable prospects for the people's movement?

The point of the FCP's 25th congress is to answer these questions.

Favorable prospects do exist. The crisis calls for a transformation of our society. France needs a socialism that proceeds from its traditions and peculiarities, from the conditions of the epoch and the world in which we live, namely, socialism French style. And the most reliable way to it is unity of the majority of all the forces that want to transform our society in the struggle to get out of the crisis and on the basis of universal adult suffrage.

Naturally, we must reflect on what we have said and done during the last three years. But how could we have avoided difficulties when for many years we instilled in the masses' consciousness the idea that a joint program and a left government with communist ministers would resolve all the problems of the working people and our country — something which did not happen in the long run? Could we have avoided our participation in the government contradicting our criticism, our appeals for struggle, action and implementation of the policy elaborated by our last congresses, a policy that is new for the whole people, including the communists?

The experience of recent years confirms the need to give a positive response to the question facing the 25th congress: should we or should we not follow the way outlined by our last congresses? We say "yes." It is necessary to reaffirm this new political orientation, make it more profound in the light of the lessons of the past period and put it into practice by way of immediate initiatives.

There is hope. The disappointment is certainly deep and quite understandable, but it does not justify either despair, passivity or self-imposed isolation. The door to change is still open. Indeed, innovative action has already started.

To all who are today asking themselves questions, worrying, suffering and seeking a new perspective, the French Communist Party says: let us reflect together on what we have recently experienced. Together let us soberly and boldly learn the lessons from it. Let us build together a new unity of the

popular majority so as to get out of the crisis and take the road of socialism French style.

For the communists this prospect is neither an expedient nor a refuge but a very important political initiative. They are taking the decision to propose it to the country and to make its realization the center of their activity.

II. THE CRISIS AND ITS SOLUTION

Any reflection on the existing situation, the solutions advanced and the difficulties encountered by our party must take into account that which underlies France's problems at the end of the 20th century: the crisis of French society. In 1981-1984 this crisis eventually worsened because the possibilities offered by the initial positive reforms were not utilized.

What crisis is it that is meant?

The champions of capitalism have given a succession of superficial answers to this question that have in common a desire to inject confusion and mask their own responsibility. At first they even denied the existence of any crisis. Then, in the face of obvious facts they blamed the "consumer society" and lauded zero growth. Beginning in 1973, they saw the cause of all the country's ills in the sudden oil price increase, then they blamed competition from the developing countries. When this argument could no longer hold water, they put forward a new thesis in the 1980s: all the difficulties stem from technological advance. This entire chain of arguments was presented as a reflection of some kind of inevitability resulting from a supposed world crisis and requiring and justifying a policy of reduction in employment, rollback of production capacities, lowering of purchasing power, restriction of social and democratic rights, and submission to the domination of transnational corporations and the dollar.

Under cover of modernization, the Socialist government openly subscribed to these views and from mid-1982 began to pursue a similar policy.

The French Communist Party reaffirms that this policy, far from taking the country out of the crisis, can only worsen it further since it itself contains the profound causes of the crisis. From the second half of the 1960s, the communists brought to light the first signs of the crisis and analyzed its causes. Following its development in an all-round and consistent manner, they analyzed and demonstrated its nature.

The worsened living conditions and the drop in employment and rates of growth were engendered by the crisis of capitalism, the crisis of its system of world domination, of the type of labor productivity, social life and production management that is characteristic of it.

Indeed, it is a question of a profound, prolonged and global crisis affecting every area of the country's life and revealing the bankruptcy of capitalism and the increasing ossification of its structures, mechanisms and policy in the face of the tremendous growth in the productive forces and human requirements in the modern world.

It can be said that the main economic and social choices are made at the enterprises contrary to the

working people's interests and aspirations and in violation of their liberties and rights.

Only the working people's struggle can overcome all obstacles; only that struggle is capable of changing the decisions. And this implies the attainment by the working people of positions in the area of enterprise management from which it is desired to debar them.

In spite of the obstacles, the number of working people who understand these ideas is growing in both the private and state sectors.

The working people are increasingly opposed to the fact that the nationalized enterprises are still managed on the basis of capitalist criteria.

Real modernization of the enterprises calls for a completely new way of looking at management. This means taking as the starting point employment, growth and also a rise in the working people's skills so as to create new competitive values meeting the greater needs of society.

The worsening crisis also affects politics and the state institutions.

The principles determining the role and function of state institutions and the practice that continued to develop from 1958 and after the 1962 reform, which legalized election of the President of the Republic on the basis of a universal vote, concentrated supreme state power in the hands of one person. The government's status is limited to the role of executor of the political decisions of the head of state. Parliament's role has been virtually nullified.

Political discussion has become extremely scant and takes place around some "leaders" presented by the mass media as having what it takes to be president.

In these conditions political life could seem to many French people to be far removed from their concerns and aspirations and completely beyond their influence.

At the same time, systematic anti-communist campaigns are under way, campaigns which are a main means of demobilizing the popular forces. The national radio and television have been playing a considerable role in them.

This harmful activity must be of concern to all democrats.

The French Communist Party resolutely fights against all such actions and advocates true democratization of the state institutions and of the country's entire political life. It is already waging a struggle to make the state institutions more democratic and to involve the working people and all citizens more broadly in decision-making during the later transition to self-government.

Social and human relations are being seriously degraded in the situation of crisis.

Unemployment has not only material but also social and moral consequences; it influences the behavior of people, especially the youth, and leads to numerous dramas.

Throughout society there is growing tension, intolerance and insecurity. Drug use is on the rise.

The situation in the overseas departments and overseas territories has deteriorated since 1981.

The mass information and culture media, which

are used to manipulate the masses, often merely spread standardized products of the U.S. mode, attack revolutionary ideas and the forces of progress in the world, regularly resorting to slander and deception; they sow downheartedness, submission, despair.

People's growing requirements and their desire for new values and a new way of life run counter to the decaying bourgeois society and call for fresh answers.

The developments in the crisis that are characteristic of the situation in France have not bypassed other capitalist countries, even while each of them maintains its own peculiarities.

That is the case with the United States. The forces of capital, referring to conditions remote from our country's peculiarities, realities and potentialities, recommend Reagan's policy as a model. But the thesis that recovery of the U.S. economy provides a way out of the crisis is built on deception. This recovery is unstable and unsound. It is dealing severe blows at the American people themselves. The rise in interest rates and in the dollar, which has brought about a massive flow of capital to the United States, is undermining the economy of many countries, destroying their production potential, and imposing an austerity policy which often condemns the population of these countries to misery.

This imperialist policy has a very dramatic effect on the Third World countries and their development and impedes mutually advantageous cooperation. It worsens the ills which afflict them. The capitalist forces even go so far as to use the "food weapon," thereby bearing direct responsibility for the death of tens of millions of men, women and children.

The consequences of this policy are also felt in the European Common Market countries, where, confronted with the crisis of their system, the ruling capitalist circles have been pursuing a similar policy, thereby facilitating the further strengthening of the United States' dominant position in the capitalist world. Shaken by the contradictions engendered by the policy of these countries and the struggle of the peoples, the Common Market institutions are themselves in crisis. All of this is taking place in a context in which the United States, with the participation of other capitalist forces, is speeding up the arms race, intensifying research on a war in outer space, fanning local conflicts and employing armed force against the peoples fighting for their independence. If they could the leaders of the capitalist world would not hesitate to unleash a world war! While extremely dangerous, this stance of the capitalist system is not a sign of strength.

The peoples' struggle for peace and disarmament is broadening. And it is bearing fruit, as shown by the opening of new talks on peace and disarmament, which we have constantly advocated. Forces capable of succeeding exist, forces that are capable of combating underdevelopment and hunger, promoting mutually beneficial cooperation, advancing toward a new international economic order, and establishing more democratic and more equal relations between all states irrespective of their social system. New manifestations of spirited solidarity

between the peoples and between the progressive forces can counter the law of the dollar, help gradually get rid of its domination, develop and encourage fair and effective cooperation and new policies to increase employment and speed up economic growth.

In France, every manifestation of a will to struggle for disarmament is a useful contribution to the movement for security, development and well-being. Every step to develop cooperation with other countries or their firms so as to create jobs and other values of mutual interest is a factor in the fight against the crisis. Such cooperation with all countries is also a factor of détente.

Our analysis of the crisis and its development shows that it is not at all inevitable. Causes of the difficult problems are known and solutions to them do exist. Since the present crisis is one of the very foundations of the existing system of the domination of capital, a resolution of the problems connected with it must necessarily lead to profound economic, social and political transformations at every level of society, to socialism French style.

The problem of surmounting the crisis is in fact at the very center of the class struggle. The Right and the entrepreneurs want to liquidate the working people's main social and democratic gains and to take the country decades backward. They want to deprive France of the means on which its independence and capacity to develop are based and to further subordinate it to U.S. domination. As to the Socialist Party, it has not attacked the profound causes of the crisis; its policy has merely been aggravating it. And both of them are after the same basic political objective — to weaken the FCP.

All this would lead to a new and more profound aggravation of the crisis.

III. REAFFIRM AND DEEPEN OUR POLITICAL ORIENTATION

What is the way out of the crisis that has hit French society in the conditions of our epoch and the world in which we live? Our party's 22nd, 23rd and 24th congresses gave the following answer to this central question: build socialism French style, a democratic and self-governing socialism. That is our fundamental political orientation, or, as they say, our strategy.

The aim of socialism French style is to satisfy the people's desire for more justice and fraternity, to meet their need for freedom and participation in society's affairs, to enrich human relations. The aim is for the working people and all the other people to gain control over their working and living conditions and the right to decide their fate and that of their country.

Socialism French style corresponds to our country's traditions and characteristics and the requirements of our epoch. It is a completely new society.

The increase in the aggressiveness of the most reactionary circles of our planet is encountering a resolute rebuff throughout the world. Forces exist which can make these circles adopt realistic positions, agree to peaceful coexistence and respect the

will of peoples and nations. That has been a decisive feature of the world situation for several decades. It is precisely this reality that opens before our people the possibility of advancing toward socialism along an original road that suits them. This is the essential foundation of our strategy. Far from signifying abandonment of the fight for transformation, this strategy calls for fierce class struggle against the opponents of change, who use all means at their disposal to deceive, divide, lead astray and where possible intimidate the working people.

The democratic road is therefore one of both struggle and of unity. Struggle and unity are inseparable. They are necessary in order to find and effect urgent solutions, advance real life and raise mass consciousness, and in order to prepare the conditions for and guarantee the success of the supreme goals.

This democratic way of struggle and unity can only be paved thanks to the existence and activity of a revolutionary party which inspires, directs and encourages all forms of struggle by the working people and all the other people, that is, the French Communist Party.

The transition to socialism will proceed at a pace with the advancement and realization of the tasks of the society's revolutionary transformation in a movement whose conditions, framework and rate of development cannot be predetermined. Socialism cannot be imposed on the people. It is only the people who can choose socialism for themselves.

The society which we want to build, that is, socialism French style, like the way of building it, are fully democratic. The plan and the approach to its implementation are quite new. They constitute a new form of policy, which differs from previous concepts and practice, from past experience.

The development of the world, the changes in French society and the major questions raised at the 20th congress of the CPSU in 1956 called for an answer to these questions. But it was only in 1976 at the FCP's 22nd congress that our approach to this problem was manifested in its entirety and all its depth and that the bases of our new political orientation were laid.

This lag had certain consequences for our policy of alliance.

Thus, in 1958, in the period of the conspiracy in Algeria and the subsequent installation of a regime of personal power embodying capital's intensified domination against which we had rightly fought, we proposed as the sole prospect only those forms of alliance and struggle that had been effective in the past.

We focused our activity on the demand for a joint government program and in 1972, after a long and difficult political struggle, we concluded an agreement with the Socialists.

We managed to have included in the joint program measures aimed against the domination of big capital. But we thereby helped to foster the illusion that the Socialist Party is prepared to break with capitalism. The need for a resolute ideological and political struggle around the problems connected with the crisis, its causes and its outcome is pushed into the

background. It is clearly evident today, when the Socialist Party, having renounced its anti-capitalist declarations, is participating in the spreading of harmful ideas about the inevitability of the crisis and its effects.

On the other hand, the joint program, like the summit agreement between the Socialist and Communist Parties, created the illusion that the solution to all problems could come from above, and encouraged a more or less passive wait for this solution while the way out of the crisis requires very broad, active and responsible intervention by the masses in every area. The social movement was assigned the role of a mere instrument of pressure to help to bring about the summit agreement on a program and then to support its implementation.

And finally, at a time when a solution to the crisis requires constant original activity of an influential revolutionary party to develop the popular movement around the tasks of society's transformation, the agreement on a joint program has led many to believe that there is no longer any difference between the Socialist and Communist Parties either on the content of change or the desire for alliance.

The Socialist Party, and François Mitterand in particular, understood that they could use this situation to attain their fundamental objective, that of weakening the French Communist Party.

Certainly, even after 1972 we did not forget the real nature of the Socialist Party, which represents the social-democratic current in our country, its fear of a broad movement of the working class and the masses, its vacillation in the class struggle against big capital, its tendency toward compromise with capital and toward class collaboration. We therefore correctly assessed the degree of risk. In our work and our publications and in the new orientation elaborated on the basis of the resolutions of the party's 22nd congress, we sought to oppose these tendencies. The analysis of the 23rd and 24th congresses showed that in the period from 1977 to 1981 the FCP's activity and initiatives were aimed at opening the way to real change. But movement had begun. And we were not able to go against the current.

For the last quarter century the French Communist Party has carried out intense and fruitful work. Encountering many difficulties and sometimes even repression, it courageously fulfilled its duty. The FCP was the only party which defended the working people's interests and rights, opposed the colonial wars and fought for national independence and peace. Not one of the working people's gains in the area of social progress, democracy and peace would have been assured without the Communist Party and its struggle.

Nevertheless the effectiveness and significance of this activity were weakened and our party was even forced to retreat because of the general political situation in which it had to operate.

It is in the light of this analysis that one can understand what happened in the period from 1981 to 1984.

Let us first recall some facts.

In 1981 the majority of voters preferred François

Mitterand's proposals to ours. The electorate, many of whom primarily wanted to defeat the Right, gave the Socialist Party the absolute majority in the National Assembly. In these conditions we concluded with the Socialist Party an agreement to which that party still declared itself loyal on December 1, 1983, and took our place in the government in a clear minority position. Our decision was in keeping with our basic orientation of doing under all circumstances everything in our power to facilitate each step forward in resolving our country's problems. We do not regret our decision to participate in the government and are proud of the fruitful work done by the communist ministers in difficult conditions.

Because of this we were able to implement a number of useful measures — notably in the first year — some of which are far from negligible. But although our work contributed to the achievement of positive results, the popular movement, and our party as well, were not in a position to force the government to take the necessary measures against the capitalists' abuse and the continual waste of our country's resources. And this was so from the very first weeks of the government.

We called on the government to take more persistent action in this direction and to tackle resolutely the existing difficult problems. Unfortunately, we were not heeded. In the summer of 1982 there were increasingly obvious signs that the government's economic and social policy had begun to change. The government embarked on a road of placing ever greater funds at the entrepreneurs' disposal with no guarantee whatsoever that they would be used to modernize our industry and create jobs.

This so-called austerity policy made possible a sharp rise in the entrepreneurs' profits. But it cost the country dearly. The gains of the previous period were gradually eroded and then nullified: unemployment began to grow again, purchasing power fell, inequality deepened, severe blows were dealt at decisive sectors of industry and capital was wasted in a scandalous manner. Far from being utilized against the squandering of resources and for a new economic policy, the important resources with which the activity of the Left had provided the country, for example, nationalization of banks and monopolies, were made virtually sterile.

We repeatedly warned the government of and alerted public opinion to the danger of such an orientation.

During the European elections on June 17, 1984, convinced that the government had not kept its promises of 1981, notably on such crucial questions as unemployment and purchasing power, millions who had voted for the Left expressed their discontent three years later by abstaining.

There was obviously a need to heed the signal and change government policy in the necessary direction. It was this which we demanded immediately following the elections and again, in no uncertain terms, when the question of the formation of a new government was posed. But in vain. The prime minister was changed but the disastrous political orientation which the electorate had only just con-

demned was maintained and even worsened.

In these conditions we were forced to refuse to participate in the government and to show clearly that we had no part whatsoever in the direction and running of the country's affairs.

Can it be considered that responsibility for this situation rests with the Communist Party? This would be an unfair shifting of responsibility.

All our activity since 1981 was marked by a striving to achieve the jointly fixed objectives. And we worked toward this end in a very honest and loyal fashion. We sought to mobilize the popular forces to work toward these goals, and to make better known the causes of the crisis and the nature of the means that needed to be employed to resolve it. This work was certainly not without its mistakes and shortcomings, which ought to be analyzed.

But the main thing is that our efforts were hampered by the aforementioned negative tendencies of the joint program policy, whose consequences continued to have an effect, including on the party itself. For example, we encountered difficulties in developing popular action in the framework of our participation in the government, and there was a greater and greater tendency to reduce our policy merely to participation in a government of the left alliance when, as we were seeing, a solution to the crisis required that the bourgeoisie's power should be contested at every level: economic, ideological and state.

A new situation has now come about. Far from calling into question the bases of the policy elaborated by our previous congresses, it is our view that the development of the situation in the country and in our party revalidates these bases in the light of the worsening of the crisis and the obvious unsoundness of the solutions used in the struggle against them by both the Right and the Socialist Party, and in connection with the new aspirations and needs of the working people, which continued to grow, and the rich experience gained by the party and the people. New bases therefore exist for further progress, though the difficulties of the tasks ahead of us must be recognized.

IV. CREATE A NEW UNITY OF THE MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE

The French Communist Party believes in the future of France and its people's ability to unite so as to take the country out of the crisis generated by the rule of capital.

In order to take this road, we are proposing to the country and placing at the center of our activity the creation of a larger, more solid, more durable and more conscious alliance than in the past, one capable of effecting the transformations which France needs. This will be a new unity of the majority of the people. It will be new in the objectives around which we propose to create it, in the size which it can and must reach, in the role which it should be assigned, and in the demands which it makes of the communists' activity.

In the present crisis, with the concentrated political and ideological pressure and with socialism at the center of the battle of ideas, unity requires that

strong, clear and effective ideas and solutions to the country's crucial problems be advanced.

In order to help the working people and other strata of the population to work out the bases of their struggle, we propose as an example, with their being in no way confining, the following major objectives:

- focus new economic growth on employment;
- raise the living standard in a spirit of justice and efficiency;
- improve vocational training;
- the individual must be the subject and means of national renewal;
- continue the struggle for women's equality;
- give the youth a fitting place in society;
- broaden freedoms;
- build a world without weapons and wars.

The goals which we propose for joint action are not exhaustive. We put them forward to be pondered and enriched by way of criticism; they are a direct part of our vision of the socialism which, in our opinion, France needs.

The decisive role in taking France out of the crisis and building socialism French style belongs to the popular movement.

This stems primarily from the fact that the democratic road, which suits our country and necessarily includes exercise of universal suffrage and democratic attainment of leadership of the state, is largely the way of constant and many-sided class struggle by the forces of progress against the forces of capital.

What is more, the crisis cannot be surmounted today without the very broad initiative and active intervention of the working people and all citizens, which is an indispensable condition for the democratization of all social life. Hence the new and enlarged role of the popular movement.

V. OUR SOCIAL PROJECT — SOCIALISM FRENCH STYLE, A DEMOCRATIC AND SELF-GOVERNING SOCIALISM

We must answer the question: what are the essential features of the socialism which France needs and for which we fight? It is social justice, new economic growth, development of the freedoms and of democracy, revival of culture, and an independent and peaceful France that is in solidarity with other peoples.

Now a vibrant reality, socialism is acquiring ever newer forms. It is the cause of peoples with differing history and political traditions. Everything that is linked with this movement of peoples and nations and with the socialist countries is the object, in particular in France, of a continual smear campaign. This campaign, which is not without effect, has profound causes.

In the confrontation between the old and the new, it is very important for those who profit by the present system to deprive their victims of all hope. They must resign themselves to the inevitable ills which austerity, unemployment, the domination of big finance and hunger are supposed to be. The crisis is said to be a worldwide phenomenon; there are no prospects: the countries which have embarked on a

socialist road have met with failure, some people even going as far as to deny their socialist character.

As to socialism, the position adopted by the 24th congress needs to be confirmed and it seems necessary to give it a much more vigorous character.

This position consists in knowing the truth better and taking it to the people. This means a very thorough assessment of the contribution of the peoples building socialism, and of the diverse conditions and existing difficulties of this construction.

The completely new experience gained in an historically short period and in an ever increasing variety of conditions and forms by one and a half billion people deserves to be examined without prejudice or bias. It merits a serious discussion.

The peoples engaged in the building of socialism have considerable accomplishments to their credit. They are demonstrating an ability to resolve major questions such as the right to work, struggle against hunger and illiteracy and social security. The crisis in which capitalism is gripped does not affect them.

We pay attention to the answers which these people give to the problems confronting them: the initial low level of development for the majority of them, the effects of the war, a past of dependence or colonialism, the constraints of the international environment, with its echoes of the crisis of the capitalist countries, the burden of the arms race imposed on them, the need for internationalist solidarity; there are also problems stemming from errors and serious mistakes which have slowed socialism's development; and finally the new problems brought about by their own development.

The countries that are engaged in building a socialist society have advantages. They are carrying out numerous experiments and introducing innovations so as to find answers to the questions facing them.

The facts show that socialism is coping with the tasks set by the development of civilization at the end of the 20th century better than capitalism.

The masses fighting throughout the world for peace and progress, independence and a new international economic order highly appreciate the role of the socialist countries. They are able to see for themselves the constant support which the socialist countries render to the struggle for national liberation and social emancipation. The authority and activity of the socialist countries have been essential in establishing international relations of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems.

VI. THE PARTY

In today's France there is only one party which, in the face of all who preach resignation, sacrifice and renunciation, can clearly affirm that we are able to surmount the obstacles and put an end to the crisis, and that we can shake the domination of capitalism and advance toward a new society. Only one party, the party of the French communists, opens a positive prospect before our people.

That is why the popular forces, too, are urgently in need of this party, which lights the way to France's future and works to bring it about. These forces are interested in seeing the party restore its influence

and play a fittingly important role in every sphere of the country's life.

A new unity of the majority of our people to combat the crisis is the central objective of our activity. It will be built and will develop on the basis of the tasks and preoccupations which concern and unite people. This new policy is being born in a difficult and complex period. Its very novelty makes necessary extraordinary efforts by party members. In this connection, we must give our theoretical thought, political activity and work among the masses a new dimension and a new style. Much depends on the ability of every communist and every party organization to display the necessary initiative. And this obviously requires that we be more resolute in placing the party member and party cell at the center of all our activity. This means being everywhere, going to people, speaking with them, developing ties with the masses and particularly with the active participants in the social movement.

Extending the party's influence and working to make it an ever larger mass party is a main means of diffusing our assessment and proposals, one enabling us to tackle concretely the innumerable questions that are posed daily.

France is experiencing a difficult period. It is searching anxiously for the road to its future. The communists, who are also confronted with problems, will never fail in their mission of bearing hope to the masses. Conscious of today's conditions and requirements, they are undertaking important work directed at the broad masses to create the new unity of the popular majority which the country needs in order to get out of the crisis and move toward socialism French style.

This task is difficult. The challenge is a bold one. But there is no other reliable road. The country can count on the French Communist Party.

Abridged from *l'Humanité*,
February 12, 1985

Enlarged Plenary Meeting of the Jordanian Communist Party CC

In the first half of October 1984 the Central Committee of the Jordanian Communist Party held an enlarged plenary meeting at which a thorough analysis was made of international developments and the situation in the Arab world, in the Palestinian quarters and in Jordan. The plenary meeting adopted several resolutions, including the following.

Against Terror, for Democratic Freedoms

The course aimed at suppressing democracy and civil rights and liberties has been a feature of life in Jordan for decades. It remains unaffected by shifts in the situation, changes of government, turns in the course of developments or new internal and external factors. Essentially, it has become an integral and salient element of the domestic policy conducted by the Jordanian authorities.

This policy is reflected in the suppression of the people's fundamental freedoms, in the crushing of the most elementary constitutional principles and civil rights of the population. There is no trace of any freedom of opinion or of expression, of the press, of party and trade union organizations; equally non-existent is the right to hold meetings, demonstrations or strikes. Paralyzed or intimidated, legislative authority takes no action. The rights, powers and independence of judicial bodies are curtailed; they are replaced by courts-martial operating under emergency legislation that ignores basic civil rights and liberties.

The authorities are not content with infringements of these rights and freedoms. The security services and the courts-martial terrorize and persecute Jordanian subjects of independent political views and convictions (and even their relatives): they are threatened; their applications for passports are denied and old passports are revoked, which prevents

them from travel abroad; they are subjected to interrogation and imprisonment; they are dismissed from their jobs and expelled from educational establishments. The authorities engage in gross arbitrary action against the inviolability of the home, of university campuses and other premises of educational institutions.

Pursued for many years, the policy of suppressing democracy and civil rights and liberties has resulted in a brutal and nation-wide reign of terror. This has proved fertile ground for corruption, bribery, theft, embezzlement, all kinds of illegal profiteering, nepotism and favoritism. Monopolization is accelerating; exploitation is intensifying; price manipulation is becoming increasingly widespread. The funds allocated for major economic projects are misappropriated; the economic structure is deformed out of recognition; tens of thousands of working people and students have moved abroad; the country's defense, economic and manpower potential has grown weaker. This policy has always evoked condemnation, protest and resistance on the part of the popular masses and the national patriotic movement which uses every opportunity and every means available to put forward insistent demands of democracy, of an end to the policy of suppressing freedom, of an awakening from the nightmare of terror and reprisals. The latest parliamentary by-elections have

demonstrated the firmness of our people's commitment to freedom and democracy and their unflagging dedication to the attainment of goals they have no intention of abandoning. Despite the overt and covert interference by the authorities, national slogans were advanced throughout the country. Everywhere, the masses raised their voice upholding their rights and freedoms, demanding that thorough preparation and mobilization of forces be conducted to rebuff the aggressors and invaders, that the chimera of a settlement American style be abandoned, and that earnest efforts be undertaken to ensure genuine Arab solidarity and develop friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and other countries supporting our just cause.

This powerful popular outburst prompted several members of parliament to support, during the discussion of the government's domestic policy, the

demands and slogans put forward by the masses in the course of the election campaign. This turn of events has disconcerted the ruling quarters, stumped by the fact that the long years of terror, reprisals and arrogant authoritarianism have failed to sap our people's strength and to make them give up their just demands.

The Central Committee of the Jordanian Communist Party hails all honest citizens of our country, all those who hold the dignity of the motherland and the people dear and value the right to life, freedom and democracy; it calls on the popular masses and on all national patriotic forces to close their ranks and continue the struggle to end the policy of terror and persecution and ensure healthy and democratic operation of the parliament which will enable the people to exercise their basic rights and freedoms.

On the Country's Economic Situation

Our country's economy is going through a crisis which deteriorates daily. Its manifestations include a drop in production; a decrease of national income from all sources and in all sectors — agriculture, industry, construction, trade and the service sector; an increase in the deficit of the trade balance and the balance of payments and of the national budget as a whole; a sharp drop in the volume of foreign aid; a growing domestic and foreign debt; the falling dinar, inflation, rising prices, dwindling stocks of foreign exchange; unemployment, especially among doctors, engineers and graduates of higher and secondary specialized educational establishments; the return of thousands of emigrants who are no longer wanted in Kuwait and in the Persian Gulf states; bankruptcies of many businesses and companies; the failure of many major economic projects, including those built to produce potash, fertilizer, cement, lumber and glassware and still operating at a loss; and the worsening conditions on the Amman securities market.

This crisis stems from the collapse of the economic and financial policy pursued for many years by a succession of governments which failed to create a firm basis of agricultural and industrial production in spite of the fact that the resources received for years as aid from Arab sources were quite sufficient for the purpose. However, these huge sums were mostly spent to purchase consumer goods abroad and build a multitude of fashionable hotels and wasted on other luxuries. The money was also used to expand the administrative apparatus, above all the security services which became exorbitantly costly to maintain. Inadequate attention to the sectors of material, commodity production and the unwarranted expansion of the service sector increasingly deformed the economy. Exports of agricultural and industrial products diminished steadily. There was a simultaneous increase in the imports of consumer goods to which the authorities threw all the doors wide open while holding forth on "rationalizing" consumption. Add to that the corruption of the administrative apparatus which con-

trolled the follow-up of the projects in the state and private sectors, the embezzlement of the funds allocated for these projects, the inability to see them through to the planned level and the debts and heavy losses they incurred.

The collapse of the economic policy pursued by a succession of cabinets in the spheres of production, marketing, capital investment, exports, imports, labor and manpower was the direct cause of the crisis which spread throughout the national economy. This fact cannot be concealed by attempts to camouflage the crisis, understate the severity of its consequences or blame it on some external factors claiming that it is an integral element of a global economic crisis.

The Central Committee of the Jordanian Communist Party condemns the economic policy of the governments that succeeded one another and blames it for the current crisis and its possible complications threatening the material conditions of workers, peasants and the rest of the working people, for the deformed structure of the national economy and for the inability to ensure its rational development. The Central Committee calls on the popular masses and the national patriotic forces to keep up the struggle for the establishment of a national democratic government whose priority task would be to draw up a rational economic strategy. Its aims should include a re-orientation of the national economy; correction of its structural imbalances; creation of a base for advanced agricultural and industrial production, which would make it possible to increase exports and cut down on the imports of consumer goods, thus reducing the deficit of the balance of payments and of the state budget, to diminish the dependence on foreign assistance and end the drain on manpower and the flow of re-emigration; a struggle against monopolization, exploitation, inflation, high prices and unemployment; and a reorganization and purge of the administrative apparatus.

Al-Jamahir,
late October 1984

FMLN-FDR Proposals for a Negotiated Political Settlement of the Crisis in El Salvador

Below is the full text of a document presented by the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front and the Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador at the first meeting of the joint commission of the FMLN-FDR and the Salvadoran government held in Ayagualo on November 30, 1984.

The FMLN-FDR, expressing the patriotic, democratic and revolutionary aspirations of the Salvadorans, addresses this proposal for a negotiated political settlement and peace to our people, the government of El Salvador and the international community.

For many years the organized people have been resisting the most cruel forms of violence and repression, and our organizations' military and political potential has grown. Expressing the whole people's desire for peace, justice and freedom, our fronts have since 1981 repeatedly pointed to the need for dialogue to reach a political settlement of the profound national crisis.

That is why the talks between the FMLN-FDR and the government of El Salvador are an encouraging revolutionary gain of the people.

Peace can only be established in the country by removing the causes of the war — injustice and absence of democracy. Peace is inseparable from justice and freedom. This is the only realistic and viable point of departure in the search for a political solution.

The causes which forced our fronts to wage a struggle using political and military methods still exist: the death squads have not been liquidated and the illegal arrests and torture continue, having merely become more sophisticated. The majority of our people have no access to the country's wealth. The fact that we live in a poor country is made worse by the scandalous luxury in which the ruling minority wallows, dooming the majority to poverty.

New factors have been added to these main features of the situation in the country, factors which, if disregarded, will make a political solution impracticable.

(a) A general war has been in progress for the past four years, a war whose course has made clear a situation of dual power: two armies control parts of the territory, and power is divided between the government and the FMLN-FDR.

(b) In those four years, a fifth of the population has been forcibly removed from its place of residence. Some are in camps for displaced persons inside the country, while others have ended up in neighboring or even very distant countries.

(c) In those years 50,000 Salvadorans have been killed by the police, the death squads and paramilitary formations, whose criminal actions have caused the people to suffer.

(d) In those four years, the country has experienced a marked economic recession that has further impoverished the working people, more than halved their purchasing power and postponed until the next century the possibility of restoring the level of economic development achieved before the war.

(e) In those four years, the country has been drawn into the United States' geopolitical orbit in keeping with the Reagan administration's plans for world domination, contrary to the will of the Salvadoran people and in violation of the homeland's independence and sovereignty.

In sum, El Salvador is living in a situation of general war, deteriorated social relations, dual power, absence of political consensus, systematic violations of human rights and a drastic worsening of the population's living conditions.

In this situation there can be no simple solution. Neither will those solutions be viable that are purely formal and based on absolutization of the constitutional order since they are incapable of confronting the problem of the war fundamentally and in its totality. It is neither serious nor realistic to expect that one of the parties will display political confidence in the good intentions of the other. Solutions based on the subordination of the people's organizations to the official powers are no longer possible in El Salvador.

Our proposal for a negotiated political solution to the national crisis includes necessary gradual steps. They are all just and realistic and correspond to our people's basic aspirations.

The stages and elements of the political solution we propose objectively accord with the concrete realities of the war, the sharp polarization of Salvadoran society, and the complicated and long-established situation of mutual distrust between the political forces that are decisive in the life of the country. Account is also taken of the serious impact of the U.S. administration's military and political interference in the conflict in El Salvador.

At the first stage we should take political steps to restore national sovereignty so as to take into our own hands the search for a solution. Without this step, which is important for all Salvadorans, we will not be able to establish a just and lasting peace.

It is also necessary to use all possibilities to ensure that humane norms are observed in the conflict and to restore political liberties.

At the second stage we should be able to propose a

suspension of hostilities based on reliable agreements giving guarantees to both sides.

Having accomplished the foregoing, at the third stage we can institutionalize the democratic norms discussed during dialogue and talks.

Our people and our fronts want peace, but a peace with justice, a peace without death squads, with national independence, with real freedom of political expression for all sections of the people. This peace must be the outcome of our people's efforts and sacrifices during the military confrontation and of the process of dialogue which we have been able to start at the final and decisive stage of the war.

Stages of dialogue and talks.

First stage. Creation of political conditions for a sovereign negotiated solution to the conflict.

(a) Convocation of a National Forum.

The parties shall pledge to convene and ensure the normal activity of a National Forum that will give all participating social and political forces the opportunity to express their ideas and take part in the search for a solution to the political and social conflict in the country.

(b) Agreements in the area of human rights and political liberties.

The government of El Salvador must take concrete effective measures to liquidate the death squads and bring to trial those guilty of or involved in crimes against the people. This applies in particular to the following crimes:

1. Murder of Archbishop Romero.
2. Murder of comrades from the FDR Central Executive Committee.
3. Murder of the four U.S. nuns.
4. Murder of the two U.S. advisers and the director of the El Salvador Agrarian Reform Institute.
5. Murder of Mario Zamora Rivas.
6. Murder of Melvi Rigoberto Orellana.
7. Murder of the four Dutch journalists.

The government must take verifiable measures to:

1. End the torture.
2. End the kidnappings and disappearance of persons.
3. Guarantee the professional and political activity of social organizations, trade unions and political parties.

The government must lift the state of siege and cancel repressive laws that infringe on the people's interests.

(c) Agreements concerning observation of humane norms during the war.

The parties must pledge to fulfil the Geneva Conventions, in particular as regards an end to the bombing of the civilian population and its property, preservation of the life of and non-use of physical force against captive soldiers of both armies, aid to and evacuation of the wounded, and obligations in relation to medical institutions and the personnel of both armies.

(d) Agreements on cessation of U.S. military intervention.

The government of El Salvador must assume the commitment to guarantee the withdrawal of all U.S. military advisers on our country's territory and to halt all joint exercises or maneuvers with troops of

the USA or other countries on national territory.

(e) Agreement to halt the arms accumulation.

The government of El Salvador and the FMLN-FDR shall pledge to order an immediate and complete end to the delivery of arms, ammunition and military equipment to El Salvador, accepting the use of international control mechanisms.

(f) Agreement regarding sabotage in the economy.

The parties shall assume the obligation to cease fully economic sabotage, thereby contributing to the progress of the talks.

(g) Agreement on control over fulfillment of these commitments.

When assuming the forementioned obligations, the parties shall establish a reasonable and mutually acceptable period for control over their fulfillment and for ensuring the basic conditions for a political solution to the crisis.

Second stage. Cessation of hostilities and agreements on guarantees.

(a) Conclusion of agreements on participation in the government.

An effective agreement on participation in the government by all the political and social forces involved in the search for a negotiated solution will be a manifestation of a real consensus in the country.

The government shall pledge to:

1. Guarantee strict fulfillment of the agreements concluded during the talks.
2. Restore the country's independence and national sovereignty.
3. End the interference of the U.S. administration or authorities of any other state in the country's internal affairs, in the activity of the government and the leadership of the armed forces of El Salvador.
4. Ensure effective measures to disband the repressive apparatus and create the bases for true democracy.

5. Satisfy the most immediate and urgent requirements of the broad masses and take measures to realize structural economic and social transformations.

6. Take all other necessary measures to end the present state of war.

(b) Fixing of mutually agreed dates for elections.

(c) Agreement on a ceasefire.

1. The parties will discuss the question of a ceasefire, delimiting beforehand the territory under the control of each of them.

2. A bilateral commission of both armies shall be set up to verify and control the ceasefire.

(d) Return of the displaced persons and repatriation of the refugees.

The government and the FMLN-FDR shall do everything to promote measures to bring about the return home of compatriots who are now under the jurisdiction of church organizations, the UN Supreme Commissioner for Refugees and the International Red Cross.

Third Stage. Institutionalization of democracy.

(a) Creation of a government.

In order to fulfil the relevant agreement reached at the previous stage, a government of national unity shall be set up.

(b) Constitutional reforms.

An agreement shall be concluded on holding a national referendum on the constitutional reforms necessary for the practical implementation of the political solution reached.

(c) Reorganization of the armed forces.

Reorganization of the country's armed forces shall begin on the basis of the two existing armies.

(d) National elections.

Elections will be held as scheduled, with the organization and holding of truly general and free elections with the participation of all political forces of the country.

Such are the peace proposals which the FMLN-FDR offers to our people and the international community as its contribution to a solution of the national conflict and the establishment of peace in the region.

End Chinese Interference in Afghan Affairs

Letter from the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China

The PDPA Central Committee deems it necessary to address this letter to the CPC Central Committee in connection with the growing Chinese interference in Afghan affairs and increasing Chinese support for the counter-revolutionary forces fighting against the Afghan revolution. Facts prove incontrovertibly that this support is mounting. Increasingly often, weapons stamped "Made in China" are found among the combat supplies and materiel supplied by the United States and other NATO countries and captured from the bandits.

China is conducting an openly hostile campaign against the revolutionary regime in Afghanistan, resorting to lies and inventions and fomenting an unfriendly attitude to the new system and to our people. Chinese officials bluntly state China's intention to continue its extensive military and other assistance to the counter-revolutionary gangs committing their outrages on Afghan soil.

We justifiably protest against this attitude, all the more so because it has been assumed by the PRC, a country which has itself felt the full impact of imperialist oppression and which has passed through the crucible of revolutionary liberation struggle. We are well aware of the high price the Chinese working masses paid for their victory in the people's revolution and of the losses and privations it demanded of them. The People's Liberation Army of China had to spend many years fighting a pitched battle for freedom, first against the Japanese invaders and then against the forces of the Kuomintang supported by imperialist quarters, first and foremost, by the United States.

We all know that in this, China's Communist Party received enormous political and other support from the Soviet Union. The defeat of the Japanese Kwantung Army in Manchuria effectively aided the Chinese Red Army in the struggle to liberate China both from Japanese occupation and from the sway of the Kuomintang.

It would have been logical for China, which passed through all these trials, to render support to the April 1978 revolution from the very first steps it took: after all, the Afghan patriots were essentially

fighting for the same goals for which thousands of Chinese revolutionaries gave their lives during the revolutionary war of liberation. The PDPA, which is now marking its 20th anniversary, spent many years fighting, in harsh clandestine conditions, for the victory of the revolution. We have always advocated national independence for Afghanistan; liberation of the Afghan people from age-old poverty, illiteracy and backwardness, from the sway of the landowners, feudal lords and usurers; construction of a society free from exploitation of man by man.

The Afghan revolution was made against the despotic regime of Daoud, for the good of the people. It has already brought considerable benefits to the people, and we can take just pride in our first achievements. In 1983 the output of the national economy was 15 per cent — 24 per cent in the state and mixed sectors — greater than in 1981. Over the revolutionary years, the share of the state sector in the economy has increased 20 per cent.

A democratic land and water reform designed to raise the rural living standard is under way in Afghanistan. Various forms of collective mutual assistance are developing. As many as 308 agricultural and 138 consumer and handicraft cooperatives have been set up; 140 cooperative retail stores have been opened. All these are only the first steps.

Between 1979 and 1983 we upgraded the wages and salaries in the state sector twice. Twice we have raised the raw cotton and sugar beet purchasing prices. The government provides large subsidies to maintain a stable level of prices for essential goods bought by wage and salary earners and of public transport fares. Over the past five years the number of hospital beds has increased 84 per cent and the number of doctors, 45 per cent. More than one million people have learned to read and write. The party pursues a firm course aimed at promoting genuine democracy in the country. Government in our country is already based on the nascent alliance of workers and peasants and expresses the fundamental interests of all working people, all Afghan patriots. The creation of such government is a major accomplishment of our revolution.

We are taking new steps to increasingly involve the working masses in government, above all at the local level. Under newly adopted legislation, the assemblies (jirgahs) of people's representatives and their executive committees will become new local government bodies. Comprising them on the basis of equitable representation will be patriots of all national, ethnic and tribal backgrounds. The democratization of local government is designed to expand and strengthen the links binding our government and our people together, to help in resolving matters in the interests of the working people more promptly and fully.

The party attaches great importance to mass organizations, viewing them as extremely important elements of the new political system. The social fabric is being increasingly influenced by the trade unions, cooperatives, youth, women's and other organizations created in our country over the post-revolutionary period.

We can thus state with full justification that creative efforts and progress are the essence of our revolution.

Over these years, revolutionary Afghanistan could have advanced even farther along the road of building a new life were it not for the fact that fighting against the Afghan revolution are all those who would like to keep Afghanistan on the periphery of history and forever relegate it to the status of a backward and poverty-ridden country. Their criminal activities prevent our revolution from fulfilling its creative potential even more comprehensively, from expanding the opportunities for improving our people's life. Up in arms against our revolution are the feudal lords and their lackeys, the tribal élite, the comprador bourgeoisie and other social elements which the revolution deprived of their privileged status. By advancing fraudulent slogans, they have managed to sway part of the ill-informed and backward population. There is no doubt that the enemies of the Afghan revolution would not have lasted long had they not found support abroad — with U.S. imperialism and the reactionaries in our region. These were the forces which encouraged and in fact organized an undeclared war against revolutionary Afghanistan. The vicious forays of the reactionary forces against the Afghan revolution are rooted in their class-inspired hatred of social progress and of genuine freedom of nations; their objective is to set up a bridgehead of anti-Soviet aggression along the southern borders of the USSR.

But while the alliance of imperialists, regional reactionaries and Afghan counter-revolutionaries hinges on their common class interests and their obsession with strangling all free and democratic movements, the fact that the PRC has also joined them appears totally incomprehensible. How can a country which speaks so much of revolution and social progress help the imperialists and reactionaries of all hues, united by their common hostility precisely to revolution and social progress — in other, more blunt words, the direct heirs of those who tried to drown the Chinese revolution in blood?

It would be logical to expect Chinese agricultural machinery, tractors, food supplies and equipment to

be sent to Afghanistan and Chinese experts to work side-by-side with the Afghan people so as to bring about an economic and cultural revival of our long-suffering country and help it overcome the harsh legacy of its feudal and tribal past. Instead, infiltrating our country from abroad are bandits who are armed with Chinese weapons and who use them to kill old people and children, blow up schools, hospitals and mosques and interfere with our people's creative efforts.

The PRC supplies the insurgents with mortars, recoilless guns, anti-tank bazookas, anti-aircraft weapons, small arms, missiles and other types of materiel. Repelling the attacks of the domestic counter-revolutionaries and the external anti-Afghan forces, our soldiers have captured many such weapons. This deadly hardware includes 300 rockets and 12-tube rocket launchers.

Special camps have been set up on Chinese soil in Sinkiang, an area in close proximity to the DRA; there, Chinese advisers arm and train Afghan bandits who are then sent into Afghanistan to fight against our legitimate government. Several hundred Chinese instructors train Afghan terrorists in camps located in Pakistan. Besides, in the summer of 1984, some 2,000 machine-guns, 1,000 anti-tank bazooka projectiles and almost 500,000 rounds of small arms ammunition were handed over to the bandits via the Pakistani army. One wonders how all this can be squared with the Chinese leaders' protestations of support for the revolutionary, liberation struggle. A class approach and considerations of genuine internationalism are alien to this policy.

We also object resolutely to your position vis-à-vis the presence of the limited contingent of Soviet troops in Afghanistan. This presence has a legitimate basis: the United Nations Charter and the Treaty on Friendship, Good-Neighbor Relations and Cooperation concluded between Afghanistan and the USSR in December 1978. We would like to remind you of the time when, guided by the noble principles of internationalist solidarity, the Soviet Union rendered extensive military assistance to the People's Liberation Army of China. You received military equipment and materiel from the Soviet Union. All weapons and other hardware captured from the Kwantung Army, routed by the valiant Red Army in 1945, were handed over to you free of charge. Soviet military advisers were attached to the PLA. The Soviet contribution to the victory of the Chinese people over the Kuomintang and its U.S. imperialist supporters has been recognized broadly by Mao Zedong, Chou Enlai, Wu De and Liu Shaoqi. What, then, is the reason why Soviet military assistance to revolutionary China was welcomed while the right of our revolution to such assistance is rejected? This is clearly a contradiction on your part.

We Afghan revolutionaries entertain no feelings of hostility to the CPC, to the great Chinese people. Afghanistan firmly and resolutely supported the admission of new China as a full-fledged member into the international community, both at the United Nations and at the Bandung Conference. We want to

live in peace with you as good neighbors, to develop mutually beneficial and equitable relations. The only imperative is that China abandon its hostile course toward the Afghan revolution and cease its support

of the counter-revolutionary forces. This step would serve the vital interests of our two peoples and the cause of universal peace.

Bakhtar News Agency

For Solidarity of All Opposition Forces

Statement by the United Party of Haitian Communists (UPHC)

In his January 2, 1985 speech, Jean-Claude Duvalier reiterated his appeal of December 24 to representatives of all political currents to participate in a "renewal," by which is meant necessary democratization of social life.

This speech, like Duvalier's other past discourses on this subject, did not "fall on deaf ears" for in general we are attentive to all that takes place in the country's political life. But it must be recalled that up to now such calls by the authorities have been inconsistent, to say the least, and have never yielded practical results in the broadening of liberties.

We note, however, that this time the government's appeal is "to all political tendencies," the communists not excluded. This implies a future lifting of the anti-communist law of 1969, and this is a main demand of the democratic forces. The wave of repression in November last year showed how the government uses anti-communism to attack the democrats as a whole, including representatives of religious circles. The vile law of November 28, 1969 must be revoked.

Like all opposition forces, the Haitian communists have always upheld their right to participate in the political, economic and social development of Haiti. This demand, and the very existence of the opposition despite persecution and exile, is a constant challenge to the dictatorship, which tramples on civil liberties.

For our part, we have always put forward concrete demands that are in accord with those of a sizable part of the opposition. These common de-

mands constitute a basis for joint actions by the opposition forces fighting for democracy. It is now up to the government to take practical steps to make its promises credible.

In this respect, we agree with the chairman of the Haitian Human Rights League, who is not inclined to believe the President's statements until they are followed by a general amnesty.

Along with all opposition forces, we demand:

- release of all political prisoners, including the communists, Rock Dérose and others, who have been discriminated against in the area of legal procedure, never having been charged with anything;

- freedom of movement of citizens throughout the country's territory and an end to the police practice of banning certain opposition figures from leaving the capital;

- respect for the right of political parties, including the United Party of Haitian Communists, to organize and operate freely;

- respect for freedom of speech.

We are still convinced that in the struggle for democracy it is necessary to rely not on presidential initiatives but on opposition solidarity and the people's support. Active solidarity of different forces and broad support for their demands are the basis and most reliable guarantee of democratization, whose objective is to ensure the social development which our people need urgently.

January 8, 1985

René Théodore, UPHC General Secretary

Vietnam: With Faith in the Future

From a speech by Le Duan, CC General Secretary, Communist Party of Vietnam, at a ceremonial meeting in Hanoi to mark the CPV's 55th anniversary.

Fifty-five years have elapsed since the founding of our party on February 3, 1930. The birth of the Communist Party of Vietnam has gone down forever in our country's history as a shining landmark, a great turning-point.

The Vietnamese revolution of national liberation and social emancipation has since then had a leading force which represents our nation and epoch — our party, the party of the Vietnamese working class and working people founded and tempered by President Ho Chi Minh and armed with Marxism-Leninism.

Having been trampled upon for nearly a century by colonial and feudal regimes, our country has entered a new era when national liberation struggle

merged with the struggle for the liberation of the working class and working people, national independence with socialism, and the Vietnamese revolution became an integral part of the world revolution.

Our party led the people's struggle for national liberation and the national democratic revolution, which has brought about profound changes of historic significance in the political and social situation of the country. Our party and people had to wage a 45-year-long struggle to fulfill this glorious task.

The first 15 years were years of a life-or-death struggle against the extremely brutal rule of the colonialists, fascists and the decadent feudal regime.

In that period, our party organized and led the masses in three successive revolutionary upsurges in 1930-1931, 1936-1939 and 1940-1945, which culminated in the triumph of the August Revolution. That was a typical people's national democratic revolution led by the working class and the first to be victorious in a colony. The triumph of the August Revolution has completely changed the destiny of our country. It heralded the oppressed peoples' unswerving desire to take the path of the October Revolution, smash the fetters of the imperialist forces and regain their legitimate right to be masters of their own destiny.

The ensuing 30 years saw two heroic resistance wars against the truculent imperialist forces, representative of old and new colonialism. The enemies of our nation attempted to throttle our worker-peasant state in its early stage. They wanted to nip socialism in the bud, socialism which had been established following the attainment of national independence. But they failed completely.

The victory of the people's national democratic revolution in our country has highlighted a truth of our time, namely, that national independence must be linked with socialism.

Only socialism can be a firm guarantee of national independence; only socialism can mobilize all the people's capabilities and talents and ensure a prosperous and happy life for the people. On the other hand, the building of socialism can only succeed when its universal laws are applied creatively, in conformity with the nation's economic, social and historical conditions.

In the past 10 years, the Vietnamese revolution entered a new stage. The whole country has been carrying out two strategic tasks: building socialism and defending the fatherland. Under the leadership of the party, the armed forces and our compatriots in the southwestern and northern provinces have won glorious victories in the wars of aggression waged against our country by the Chinese reactionaries, thus checking their expansionist and annexationist scheme in relation to our country and the whole of Indochina and contributing to saving the Kampuchean peoples from genocide. At present, they fight against the enemy's land-grabbing war and multi-form war of sabotage, reliably defending our fatherland's borders and the gains of socialism.

At its fourth congress our party fixed the general economic line for the entire transitional period and later, at its fifth congress, determined the objectives, content and major policies of the initial phase.

The essence of the party's line is to build up the regime of collective management by the working people, mobilize the masses actively to carry out three revolutions: a revolution in the relations of production, an ideological and cultural revolution and a scientific-technological revolution, the last of these being the kingpin and socialist industrialization the central task of our activity. Reality has proved the correctness of this line.

Following the course charted, the party organizations and the economic and cultural management apparatus have, through hard study, exploration and experimentation, gradually acquired a more thor-

ough and unanimous understanding of the party's line and applied and concretized it in a manner which conforms more and more with reality. At the fourth and fifth plenary meetings of the Central Committee and in the process of revolutionary practice, we have uncovered the uniformities of the transformation of small-commodity production into large-scale socialist production. In particular, we have shed further light on the content of the new economic structure, namely, the closer link between industry and agriculture, the central economy and the local economy, the productive forces and the relations of production, and between division of labor in the country and international cooperation through export-import and external economic activities.

In the initial phase of the transitional period we established from the very outset the working people's regime of collective management and used it as the driving force to reorganize the economy and above all to put to maximal use our labor and natural resources, increasingly satisfy the needs of the population and gradually create large-scale industry. We have taken the first step toward changing the planning work, improving the style of work, gradually doing away with bureaucratism, and creating a new management structure which will be in keeping with the regime of socialist collective management.

The past 10 years were a trying period for our country. Foreign aggression and natural disasters occurred in quick succession. However, we have recorded many major achievements. The people's living conditions have been ensured and in many rural areas are being improved despite the fact that the population has grown by another 10 million in the past 10 years. The old relations of production are being transformed along socialist lines. The country's material and technical basis has been strengthened and many major projects have been built, some of which have already been put into operation. Agriculture, especially food production, has experienced fairly good growth. Industry has been restored and is on the way to further development. Progress has also been recorded in export activities in recent years. National defense and security have been ensured. Activity in the scientific and technical, educational and cultural spheres has become increasingly linked to economic construction and management.

The achievements of the past 10 years have revealed the great historic significance of the victory of revolution in the three Indochinese countries and especially of the Vietnamese-Lao-Kampuchean solidarity, which, forged at the very birth of our party, has now grown into a strong and solid alliance that is closely connected with the socialist community, whose mainstay is the Soviet Union.

The achievements of the past 10 years are very great. Nonetheless, there have been shortcomings and mistakes in the organization of the economic structure, in socialist transformation, in ideological and cultural work and in organizational and cadre work.

In order to build socialism, in the years ahead we will continue to readjust the economic structure in keeping with the party's line. We will continue striv-

ing to take agriculture one more step toward socialist large-scale production, rapidly develop the consumer goods industry, and strengthen heavy industry and transport and communications with a view primarily to give an impetus to agriculture. At the same time, we must prepare conditions and use every possibility for building a number of key heavy industry projects, especially in energy, engineering and metallurgy. We will continue to step up the socialist transformation in close combination with construction, and establish socialist discipline and order in all fields.

We will strive to build a society endowed with an ever better material and cultural standard, a beautiful life-style of "one for all and all for one," a society in which man and nature live in harmony. True, the living standard of our society of collective management is not yet high, but the new quality of life will make our people feel happy and truly free. In such a society, the relationship between people is one between friends, and the individual, family and society are closely linked and develop harmoniously.

Over the past 40 years since fascism was defeated, the U.S.-led warmongering imperialist forces have unceasingly opposed the revolutionary cause of the world's peoples. Today, its position weakening and declining, U.S. imperialism is frenziedly accelerating the nuclear arms race and using outer space for military purposes, thus pushing humanity to the brink of a war of annihilation.

At the same time, it is colluding with the expansionist and militarist forces to counter-attack the revolutionary currents of our time. The U.S. imperialists themselves have directly kindled hotbeds of war in many regions of the world. But they cannot hinder the growth, the offensive posture and the victory of the three main revolutionary currents — the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.

The Vietnamese people warmly welcome and fully support the important peace initiatives of the socialist countries, especially the just stance of the Soviet Union in the current USSR-USA negotiations aimed at checking the nuclear arms race, easing world tension, and consolidating peace and security of nations. We have always stood on the side of the Asian, African and Latin American countries which are struggling for sovereignty and national liberation and have opted for the path of non-capitalist development. We energetically support the working class and other working people in the developed countries in their struggle for democracy and social progress. We must expand our close coordination of actions with the broad struggle of the peoples of the world for a lasting peace and for durable relations of cooperation and friendship among nations.

While reaffirming the principle of self-reliance in our fight for the cause of national construction and defense, we set great store by and strive to make full use of the assistance of the Soviet Union and other fraternal and friendly countries and all progressive forces in the world.

In implementing the joint declaration of the Feb-

ruary 1983 Summit Conference of the three Indo-chinese countries, we will continue to strengthen the militant alliance and expand economic integration and cultural, scientific and technical cooperation with Laos and Kampuchea. This is in the vital interests of the three nations and is an historical responsibility of the three peoples in the fight against imperialism and the expansionist forces in Asia and the Pacific, especially in Southeast Asia.

We must develop close cooperation with the socialist countries. In particular, we must strive to raise the quality and efficiency of our all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union in line with the Vietnam-USSR Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation. This is a strategic principle of the party and decisive factor for the victory of our revolution and is dictated by the nation's interests. It is also our people's internationalist duty.

We must strive to expand our economic, cultural, scientific and technical relations with other countries on the basis of equality and mutual advantage.

We are prepared to normalize relations between our country and China and firmly believe that friendship between the two countries will be restored. It cannot be otherwise.

We are determined, together with the parties concerned, to embark on dialogue to find an early solution which would bring peace and stability to the Southeast Asian countries. An independent, free, prosperous and happy Vietnam is an important guarantee of national independence and peace in this region.

Over the past 55 years our party's activities have made a deep imprint on life in this country in its new era of development. In the present revolutionary stage our party must raise its militant strength and capacity of leadership to the level required by the two strategic tasks.

The party must uphold the principle that "nothing is more precious than independence and freedom" and must lead the entire people and army to defend reliably our national sovereignty and territorial integrity.

The party must develop a revolutionary spirit in order to ensure victory for socialism in the political, economic, cultural and ideological fields.

Our party must always remain in close touch with the masses, resolutely combat bureaucratism and authoritarianism, condemn every violation of the people's right to collective management and avoid alienation of party members from the masses.

At the age of 55, our party is full of vitality, well tempered in the struggle for national defense, and has become more mature in leading the socialist revolution. Our whole party, from the Central Committee to each rank-and-file member, is determined to go forward in fulfilling its historical mission of leading the entire people and army in the struggle reliably to safeguard our independence and freedom, make our country "ten times more beautiful," and bring about a happy life for the whole society, for every family and for every Vietnamese.

Abridged

Yalta: Lessons and Prospects

Pravda Editorial

February 1945. Victory had already dawned. One of the last battles of the great struggle to liberate Europe was over. In a mighty push the Soviet Army had in just over two weeks advanced 500 kilometers from the Vistula to the Oder and along with the Polish Army had driven the hated occupiers from Poland and approached the vital centers of Nazi Germany.

Indeed, the entire Second World War was for the Soviet Union not only the Great Patriotic War but also a war to liberate other countries and save human civilization. In the battles on the Eastern Front the bulk of Nazi Germany's armed forces were ground to powder, though the industrial and technological potential of the whole continental Europe had been placed at the service of the Nazi aggression. Only these factors made possible the successful Anglo-U.S. landings in Italy and Normandy, the liberation of France, Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg and Italy's withdrawal from the alliance with Nazi Germany. By bearing the main blow and breaking the back of the German armies, the Soviet Union not only saved those countries from permanent Nazi rule but also prevented the occupation of Britain.

Because of all this the Soviet Union and its army were admired throughout the world, and especially in the Allied Powers, and the military, political and economic cooperation between the countries allied against Hitler's Germany received a powerful impetus.

For the first time since the October Revolution the leading states belonging to different social systems forged allied relations of such breadth and depth. Underlying the alliance was recognition of the main thing: those countries had to join forces in order to save humanity and achieve the common goal of defeating fascism and establishing a lasting peace.

The Crimea (Yalta) Conference of the leaders of the three Allied Powers, Joseph Stalin of the USSR, Franklin D. Roosevelt of the United States and Sir Winston Churchill of Britain, which was held from February 4 to 11, 1945, was the clearest reflection of the desire of the peoples not only of the participating countries but also of the whole world to join forces so as to ensure the earliest possible victory and bring the long-awaited peace. As a result the conference managed to agree on cooperation in defeating Nazi Germany and its ally, militarist Japan, as soon as possible and jointly to lay the bases and elaborate the principles of peaceful postwar development. The decisions taken in Yalta largely determined the course of international life in the second half of the 20th century.

What is the abiding significance of these decisions? It is many-sided and lies, above all, in the

condemnation of militarism, fascism and aggression. "It is our inflexible purpose to destroy German militarism and Nazism and to ensure that Germany will never again be able to disturb the peace of the world," declared the three powers.

In the course of the Second World War there was a radical change in the peoples' thinking on and attitude toward militarism, and the Yalta decisions strengthened the rejection of and resistance to the preparation, let alone the waging, of wars of aggrandizement.

On German soil itself, this was manifested in due course in the fact that in the east — in the German Democratic Republic — the basic provisions of Yalta and Potsdam (the Three Power Conference in July and August 1945) were fully implemented. The GDR became an important factor of peace and international cooperation. In the west, that is, in the Federal Republic of Germany, the people have had a policy of militarization forced on them since the 50s. In consequence, the country has been transformed into a bridgehead of very great concentration of troops and U.S. nuclear missiles in Western Europe. The lifting of the last restrictions on the production of heavy conventional arms in the FRG is creating the preconditions for the Bundeswehr to become NATO's offensive strike force within the framework of the aggressive U.S. "Airland Battle" strategy. However, in spite of the decades of brainwashing, the people have never resigned themselves to militarization, and opposition to it continues unabated.

The verdict pronounced against militarism at Yalta is of universal significance. For nearly 20 years during the cold war and for over four years again recently, Western imperialist quarters have been extolling their "policy from a position of strength." But even in its new wrappings militarism is as repugnant to the peoples as ever. Washington realized this during its adventure in Vietnam, during the shelling of Lebanese towns, the invasion of Grenada, and, in Western Europe, in the imposition and deployment there of its nuclear missiles. A powerful movement against the U.S. plans to militarize outer space is mounting around the world.

Another act, one of paramount importance both for the postwar peace structure in Europe and for the present period, was effected by the leaders of the three powers at Livadia Palace in February 1945. It was the delimitation of European frontiers, above all, Poland's western borders. It was decided to return to Poland what had been Slavonic lands since ancient times.

The documents and materials of the Yalta Conference particularly on the question of Poland, show that there was a sharp struggle over the future of the nations to be liberated. The head of the Soviet dele-

gation persistently urged "... the creation of a strong, free and independent Poland." In the end, all the Yalta conference participants arrived at this consensus: "... Poland must receive substantial accessions of territory in the north and in the west."

Neither did the conference condone the attempts to replace the Polish Government formed during the country's liberation by the government in exile, which sat out the entire war in London and consisted mostly of reactionary elements. The bourgeois-landlord regime, which had condemned millions of Poles to flee from their ravaged country, would have been an obstacle to Poland's social development. It had completely discredited itself during the war. After that, it was inconceivable and criminal in respect of the Polish people to impose the decadent regime from without.

The joint document of the Potsdam Conference announced the recognition of the Polish Provisional Government of National Unity by all the three powers and said that this "... had caused the British and U.S. governments to withdraw recognition of the former Polish Government in London, a government which no longer exists."

Agreement between the USSR, the USA and Britain on the major points of the postwar peace settlement was recorded in the joint Declaration on Liberated Europe that was adopted in Yalta. In that declaration, the three powers stated that "the establishment of order in Europe and the restructuring of national economic life must be achieved by ways which enable the liberated peoples to destroy the last vestiges of Nazism and fascism and to create democratic institutions of their own choice."

However, the opponents of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems have not given up the attempts to place in a bad light the principles and practice, established in Yalta, of the great powers' achieving unity on the main problems, and to challenge the foundations of the postwar peace settlement in Europe. For example, the U.S. State Department has circulated a document among U.S. journalists giving some kind of instruction and suggestions as to how they should cover the 40th anniversary of the Yalta Conference. It recommends that they discredit the Yalta decisions of the great powers so as to give Washington the "right" to interfere in the internal affairs of other sovereign states. And Brzezinski has used the occasion to offer the ruling circles of the world of capital an entire concept of a "thought-out but cleverly started" "abduction" of individual countries from the socialist community and of its destruction.

The immutability of political realities and the inviolability of the existing borders are the primary condition for the preservation of peace in Europe and throughout the world. All encroachments on the decisions achieved in Yalta are encroachments on peace.

Poland's right to independence and to its old lands in the north and west was formalized later, at the Potsdam Conference. The finality and irrevocability of that act was confirmed by the decision of the great powers "on the resettlement of Germans from Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary." When, for example, the head of the Soviet delegation at the

Potsdam conference said: "It is a question of borders rather than of a temporary line of demarcation that is under examination here. This question should not be evaded," neither the U.S. nor the British leader made any objection. This is quite understandable because the decision by the Big Three on the resettlement of the German population had the objective of preventing these ethnic minorities from ever being used as a pretext for encroachments on the territorial integrity of new Poland and Czechoslovakia.

So if these resettlers, and now their descendants, are still being maliciously exploited in the FRG to whip up revenge-seeking sentiments, this only confirms the historical validity of the Yalta and Potsdam decisions. The attempts by the West to sow doubts regarding the legitimacy of Poland's western borders and to present the matter as if they are "not final" are totally groundless and ineffective. It is being said that there is no peace settlement and that the great powers had not yet drafted a document which would be "accepted for this purpose by a government of Germany when such a government is formed." True, the protocol of the Potsdam Conference had envisaged that the foreign ministers' council endorsed by it would be used to prepare a peace settlement, but this settlement was frustrated precisely by the United States and Britain. They saw Germany primarily as a dangerous competitor on the world market and strove to weaken it as much as possible. While still in Tehran the U.S. President suggested dividing Germany into five parts. At the talks in Moscow in October 1944 Churchill presented the British plan for dividing Germany into two parts: Prussia and an Austro-Bavarian state, with the Ruhr-Westphalia and the Saar mining and industrial areas being made a zone under international control.

At the same time, London and Washington were working on another variant. Partition Germany or gradually make it an ally to rebuff the Russian threat in 20 years time, Allan Brook, chief of Britain's Imperial General Staff, wrote in his diary. Of course, the Western capitals had no illusions as regards drawing the Soviet zone of occupation of Germany into the projected new anti-Soviet pact.

In Livadia Palace, Roosevelt said that he saw no other way out but division. It was merely a question of into how many parts Germany was to be divided. And the U.S. President then uttered the words that the U.S. and U.K. later endorsed in practice. He said that perhaps zones of occupation would be the first step toward division of Germany. The first step was followed by a second, a third, etc. This is not the place to reproduce the timetable of the creation of a West German separate state, but it must be noted that a single Germany as such was not restored after the war as a state because the green light was given to plans to involve its western part in an anti-communist crusade.

Developments deviated from the course charted in the cold war headquarters. The German Democratic Republic and its eastern neighbor, the Polish People's Republic, turned the perennial starting point of German aggression into a frontier of friend-

ship. In the early 1970s, the principle of the inviolability of European borders, particularly those of Poland, the GDR and Czechoslovakia, was also endorsed by West Germany in its treaties with those states and the USSR. The postwar period in Europe ended. The Helsinki Final Act confirmed the inviolability of European borders and broadened the prospects for peaceful cooperation thanks to the process of international détente.

In the new situation the relations of cooperation which began to develop in the 1970s were a kind of sequel to the spirit of accord, the spirit of Yalta, where the conference participants declared that a stable and sustained peace, humanity's supreme aspiration, could only result from continuous and growing cooperation and mutual understanding between our three countries and all peace-loving nations.

The conference in Livadia Palace reached a crucial agreement to establish by joint efforts a universal international organization to maintain peace and security. The communiqué of the Crimean Conference stated that the activities of the United Nations Organization should be essential both for preventing aggression and removing the political, economic and social causes of war through the close and constant cooperation of all peace-loving nations.

The idea of agreement of states with different social systems on the main thing, on the need to prevent a new war, is a very valuable legacy of the Crimea Conference. Time has not diminished but rather has increased its significance. What does the experience of the past four decades show? Soon after the war, and then from the early 80s, the West-

ern powers violated the principles they had accepted in Yalta and Potsdam, and embarked on the road of confrontation. And what has been the result? The whole world knows of the failure of the first "crusade." As to the present stage of the confrontation undertaken by Washington, it has reached an important line which could become a turning point. The world must not repeat the tragic experience of the 30s when, by declining the Soviet proposals for a collective security system, the West condemned the world to the horrors of the Second World War. A third world war, this time a nuclear one, will be a mortal danger for humanity.

The Soviet Union remains loyal to its Yalta and Potsdam commitments. As before, it advocates accord with the Western countries on the main issues of war and peace. The USSR's broad concrete program aims to reduce the intensity of the arms race, reverse it and avert a nuclear disaster. In the struggle to preserve life on earth we rely on the unity of the socialist community and on the ardent support of the overwhelming majority of humanity.

The preparation for the Crimea Conference was code-named "Argonauts" by the Western powers. In Greek mythology that was what the heroes who sailed on the ship *Argo* to Colchis in search of the Golden Fleece were called. In Yalta the major participants of the anti-Hitler coalition found an invaluable peace formula for all the Earth's inhabitants: however great the contradictions, accord is possible and necessary in order to prevent a new world war and strengthen peace.

Pravda, February 6, 1985

USA: Transnational Militarism and Developing Countries

Esteban Morales Dominguez

ANTECEDENTS

The developing countries' growing participation in a phenomenon like the arms build-up, which was stepped up in the 1970s, cannot be understood unless the confrontation between the two world systems — socialism and capitalism — is taken into account.

Nevertheless, the arms build-up pursues diametrically opposite objectives, depending on whether it takes place in developing countries with an on-going liberation process, or in countries where it has still to begin.

Such a distinction can be made, if one takes into account the following:

— countries belonging to the first group, regardless of whether they are or are not a part of the socialist system, have to arm because of the inevitable need to defend themselves against imperialism's continued attempts to reverse the liberation processes;

— in countries of the second group, the arms build-up results from a set of factors forcing these

countries to take part in imperialism's global strategy.

This work is aimed above all to analyze the repercussions of the arms build-up in countries belonging to the second group, in order to determine their role in the strategy of militarization conducted by the imperialist powers, notably the United States.

At the end of the Second World War, the United States assumed the leading role within the capitalist system, and in order to be able to perform the functions of international gendarme, which such a position makes implicit in the confrontation with socialism, the United States created a complex offensive system, with the leading role played by military alliances, bilateral agreements, international treaties, military aid programs and other mechanisms which, in view of the ceaseless increases in military expenditures by the United States and NATO, are of great importance as a system of international pressure and material and political camouflage of the process of transnationalization of the U.S. militaristic economy.

What has been said constitutes the essential cause behind the formation and development primarily of a transnational arms trade system, and more recently, the manufacture of arms by the imperialist powers, principally by the United States.

THE ARMS TRADE AND ITS FUNDING

We can get an idea of how this aspect of the imperialist military economy developed by looking at the data on the arms trade and some data on its financing mainly in the military economy. The United States executed a great leap in the arms trade. In 1970, it exported weapons worth \$4 billion, and in 1980 — four times more, which meant an unprecedented growth of arms sales in peace-time.

Moreover, we shall find that in the 1970s arms sales under contract increased as never before, so providing yet another important indicator of the growing need for the U.S. economy to increase the sales of the growing manufacture of weapons, and also an indicator of the level of the compromises made by the other capitalist countries to U.S. military production. These concessions largely depend on the transnational character acquired by the manufacture of and trade in weapons, and equally on the political pressure exerted by the United States in its efforts to secure in every case ever greater participation by the imperialist powers in the strategic task of containing communism and national liberation movements.

The U.S. supremacy in the transnationalization of the imperialist military economy is exemplified by the control exercised by the U.S. arms monopolies over the military industry of the other NATO countries:

1. In the 1977-1979 period, U.S. military-industrial consortia were involved in the production of over 90 per cent of all the weapons acquired by the FRG. This active participation by the U.S. transnational corporations in West Germany's arms industry is exemplified by the aircraft-maker German Dutch Fokker, more than 26 per cent of whose stock is owned by a single U.S. company, United Technologies.

2. In Holland, the U.S. consortium Northrop owns 20 per cent of the stock of Dutch German Fokker VFW Co. In addition, 71 per cent of the weapons imported by Holland are of U.S. origin.

3. As for Belgium, seven projects for the manufacture of missiles, aircraft and armored carriers set in train in 1979 involved the use of U.S. licenses. In its aviation industry, the leading company SABCA is participating jointly with the United States in a program for the manufacture of the F-16, also involving SONACA, which, besides, is a subcontractor for the U.S. Boeing. Similarly, ACEC, Belgium's largest enterprise in the electronics industry, is an affiliate of Westinghouse.

This sheds light on the leading role of the U.S. militaristic economy within the subsystem of the relations analyzed above; that is why when we speak about the transnational militarized economy, it should be seen primarily as the U.S.-led internationalization of economic, military and political ties inherent in the U.S. military-industrial complex. It is highly important to take account of this phe-

nomenon if one is to understand the fundamental role of the United States in the growing militarization of the capitalist economy, the arms race and the danger of a third world war.

The great extent to which the U.S. arms industry depends on some types of raw materials gives us a broad picture of the international character of the U.S. militaristic economy. One need merely recall that of the 95 types of raw materials used by the United States, it is now forced to import 68.

Such U.S. dependence on a definite group of raw materials adequately explains the aggressiveness with which the U.S. monopolies pounce on the international markets, and also the U.S. disposition to use armed force whenever any of these markets appears to be jeopardized.

SPREAD OF TRANSNATIONALIZATION OF IMPERIALISM'S MILITARY ECONOMY TO DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Imperialism's aggressive policy, whose main instrument is the military-industrial complex, requires that developing countries should constantly increase their military expenditures in response to the strategy of militarizing the economy and the imperialist worldwide line, which pursues the following main objectives:

1. to encircle the socialist community, in particular, the Soviet Union;
2. impede national liberation movements;
3. support and develop the transnational system through which military-industrial corporations obtain high profits;
4. amplify the sphere of competition between the imperialist countries in the lucrative arms trade;
5. secure constant access to material resources, wherever these may be located;
6. make use of cheap labor, especially in countries importing armaments;
7. fortify the offensive capabilities of the states which support imperialist policy;
8. sustain the internal positions of so-called local oligarchies which facilitate or cover up the resource-plunder policy.

The imperialist strategy of spreading transnational militarization to developing countries is expressed in the following:

1. the growth of military expenditures by the capitalist-oriented developing countries;
2. the induced growth of military spending by the group of socialist-oriented developing countries or those pursuing a progressive policy and forced to allocate sizable funds for defense in the face of the constant threat of aggression by imperialist states;
3. creation and development of regional sub-gendarmes, which is expressed in the formation of a group of developing countries constantly building up their military capability;
4. implementation of programs of overt or covert military aid, and also the establishment of a system of military schools and camps for training personnel to feed the ruling oligarchy in capitalist-oriented developing countries;
5. creation and development of a military industry in the various capitalist developing countries for the purpose of increasing the offensive potential of the

strategic armed forces of the principal imperialist powers;

6. the growth of arms exports to developing countries and the arms trade between them.

Let us analyze, however briefly, the phenomena engendered by the ever greater spread of the transnationalization of the imperialist military economy to the countries of the so-called Third World. The growth of their military expenditures is the best indicator of the scale on which developing countries are forced to participate in the arms build-up.

It took only a decade for these countries to double the level of their participation in the total military expenditures. There is an important difference between countries in possession of oil deposits, and countries without such deposits. In view of the vast revenues obtained from oil prices in the 1970s, the OPEC countries had greater possibilities of coping with the growth of military spending, but things were different for the non-oil countries, which, besides, suffered from the high cost of energy and were more seriously affected by the economic crises of that period.

DEVELOPING COUNTRIES' PARTICIPATION IN THE ARMS TRADE

When speaking of developing countries' participation in the arms trade, one generally implies that they only import arms. That is why it is important to note that the most salient feature of this phenomenon is the growing role of some developing countries in arms exports, which is a logical outcome of the transnationalization of the arms build-up by the imperialist powers and the stake which some local oligarchies have in taking part in this lucrative trade.

It is interesting to note how, from the very beginning of the 1970s, the developing countries' share of arms exports and imports has steadily grown.

A small group of countries has taken shape as sellers of weapons in which Brazil and Israel stand out with 67 per cent of the total arms exported by the Third World. There is nothing surprising in that, considering these countries' economic potential and role in their regions, especially that of Israel, the principal sub-gendarme in the service of imperialism against the revolutionary Arab movement.

The place where the arms trade going to the developing countries is concentrated will be easily discovered in the light of the following.

From 1967 to 1976 alone, the developing countries purchased arms worth \$50 billion, allocated as follows: Latin America — \$3.5 billion, Africa — \$5.1 billion, Southeast Asia — \$20.8 billion, and the Middle East — \$20.6 billion.

From 1973 to 1975, Iran bought weapons from the United States worth \$10.5 billion. In 1981, Saudi Arabia purchased weapons worth \$55 billion — and also from the United States.

The Third World is absorbing roughly 75 per cent of the world exports of military materiel, and that is where the world's principal buyers of arms will also be found.

In addition, by the end of the 1970s, Brazil was selling military materiel to 33 countries, and Saudi Arabia, Argentina, Chile, the Ivory Coast, Egypt,

Gabon, India and Malaysia were also importantly involved.

Let us recall that the U.S. share comes to roughly 45 per cent of the world's arms trade.

Consequently the high level of participation in the export of weapons attained by the developing countries shows that they have an arms industry.

This arms industry emerged and continues to exist in virtually total dependence on the hardware and technology of the leading imperialist states, primarily the United States, because it is engaged in the making under license of components of military equipment made by the capitalist powers. In other cases or parallel with them, there is an assembly industry — to the utmost monopolized by the state — engaged both in the production and sale of military equipment.

In his work, "The Social and Economic Crisis of the World," Fidel Castro was quite right when he said: "More than 30 countries of the underdeveloped world now manufacture weapons. In 1979, the output of their military industry came to \$5 billion."

The three factors which we have considered — the growth of military expenditures, the participation in the arms trade, and the development of a definite level of arms industry — have generated through their simultaneous impact, and as a result of the pressure exerted on the Third World countries by imperialist militarization, an increase in the size of the underdeveloped countries' armies.

Just now, military personnel in Third World countries come to roughly 60 per cent of the total military personnel on the globe.

OTHER MECHANISMS OF TRANSNATIONALIZATION OF IMPERIALIST MILITARISM

So-called military aid programs are a part of the policy of the military-industrial complex, notably of the United States.

One example of concrete actions taken by the United States under these programs is the so-called system of military schools and training (set up in the 1952-1953 period), which has done much for the militaristic policy of imperialism in the Third World countries.

With a few exceptions, these schools have been an invaluable source of personnel for the most reactionary oligarchies of the Third World.

By means of these programs, the United States has also funded since the Second World War numerous measures aimed to bolster its offensive capability in various parts of the globe.

The scope of these programs clearly shows the U.S. role as the chief financier of the worldwide arms race, and indicates the extent to which the other imperialist powers and developing capitalist countries are subservient to the U.S. militaristic strategy on a global scale.

Following the victory of the revolution in Nicaragua, the United States began to devote greater attention to Central America, sending in vast resources coming to more than 100 times those of 1979. The collapse of the Somoza dictatorship was seen by the United States as a grave threat to its hegemonic interests in the region, and this ex-

posed the true objective of the so-called aid programs.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES

When assessing the effects of imperialist militarization on developing countries, one must draw a distinction between the general and the particular consequences, in view of the classification of these states given at the beginning of this work.

With respect to developing countries which are a part of the world socialist system — Cuba and Vietnam — and those which in Asia, Africa and Latin America are advancing along the way of socialist orientation or national liberation, the militaristic strategy of the imperialist powers, led by the United States, has, apart from those listed, the following objectives:

1. To reverse the revolutionary processes in these countries.
2. To force the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries to increase their military assistance to these countries and so to force them into making additional expenditures that would retard their development, and also the development of the socialist community countries.

The transnationalization of the imperialist powers' military economy generates grave problems for all the developing countries, especially those still depending on the world capitalist system, which goes to worsen further their already distorted economic structure and largely to reduce their capacity to cope with the economic crisis affecting them. It is no accident that over the past 12 years, the economic indicators of developing capitalist countries have been steadily declining, and this coincides with the period in which the U.S.-led arms race took a sharp upgrade, so forcing these countries to make the greatest military expenditures in their history.

According to the latest data, the growth of military spending as a percentage of the gross domestic product is in inverse proportion to the economic growth rate; arms imports by developing countries

tend to worsen their balance-of-payments deficit, 5.9 per cent of the gross national product of the so-called Third World countries goes into military spending, while only one per cent is earmarked for public health, and 2.8 per cent for education. In Asia, Africa and Latin America, there is 1 soldier for 250 inhabitants, and 1 doctor for 3,700 inhabitants.

One hundred million people in the world are involved in military activity, a figure which is three times the number of available teachers and doctors. In more than 20 years, according to current prices, military expenditures have soared to \$15 trillion.

Everything that has been said here suggests some conclusions which are of great significance:

1. It became clear in the course of the 1970s that the high military expenditures on a world scale entail military spending by developing countries.
2. There has been an increase in the import and export of arms in developing countries forced, through the fault of imperialism, to take part in the current arms race.
3. If the developing countries do have a tendency to ever greater involvement in a phenomenon like militarization, they have no possibility of improving the indicators which truly help to improve their socio-economic condition. On the contrary, the low level of education, medical services and other equally important aspects is most depressing.

All of this confirms the fact that the arms race, as Fidel Castro said in his work "The Social and Economic Crisis of the World," is "an ever more evident manifestation of the absurd dementia and irresponsibility of its ideologists and sponsors." Fidel Castro goes on to emphasize: "The arms race now confronting humankind in reality signifies the most direct and immediate threat to its existence. To halt and to reverse it is without any doubt the most resolute contribution to the cause of peace, the most essential and definitive objective facing the world."

Abridged from *Cuba socialista*,
No. 11, 1984

Brazil: The People Out in the Streets. Democracy Taking On Visible Features

Tancredo Neves the candidate of the Democratic Alliance (DA), a bloc of anti-dictatorial forces, supported by the communists, won the presidential elections in Brazil on January 15, 1985. Although the military regime had insisted on an indirect poll in the electoral college, the opposition, with the support of the overwhelming majority of the population, inflicted a crushing defeat on Paulo Maluf, the official candidate. Of crucial significance for that important victory of the democratic forces was the mobilization of the popular masses in support of the consistent democratization of Brazilian society.

Below is an analysis summing up the political results of 1984 and outlining the immediate perspectives of the communists' activity in Latin America's biggest country which appeared in the newspaper *Voz da Unidadi* on the eve of the elections.

In political terms, 1984 was one of the most important and eventful years of the Brazilian Republic. Gradually accumulating after 1964, the gains of the democratic forces at last became adequate to impeding yet another "self-reproduction" which the authoritarian regime intended to effect by a change of presidents. The main result of the past year was

certainly that the conditions were created for dislodging the hard core of the forces ensconced in power. The realistic prospect of a changing of the guard in government dealt a fatal blow at the putschist project with which Brazil's political life was saddened years ago.

There was nothing accidental about such a train

of events. It resulted from a whole series of new factors on the Brazilian political scene emerging with the development and deepening of the crisis of the military regime, whose beginnings go back to the parliamentary elections of 10 years ago. The project of "liberalization" whose final contours crystallized at the early stages of the Figueiredo Government was designed to so combine the concessions and the innovations as to ensure the survival of the ruling regime by means of reforms from the top.

The project failed in the form in which it had been conceived by the strategists of "liberalization." The regime's intention to fragment the opposition into tiny groups by means of a reform of the party system adopted on the eve of the parliamentary and gubernatorial elections of 1982 did not slow down the regime's growing socio-political isolation. Those who were elected in 1982 were no longer mere delegates taking orders from the central organs of power, as had been the case in the past. They were no longer able to ignore the voters who had put them in office through direct suffrage.

The changes in Brazilian political institutions, the chief of which was the winning of 10 gubernatorial posts by the opposition in the 1982 elections, were super-imposed on the effects of the socio-economic crisis, and in that situation the differences at the top of the regime, which it had earlier managed to surmount by brutal authoritarian means, became ever more manifest.

Since the elected officials took up their posts in 1983, political processes in the country have tended to acquire a different dynamic, precipitating a regrouping of forces that broke up the framework of the existing party pattern. The communists analyzed the existing situation and discovered a powerful surging tendency toward the cohesion and marked enlargement of the bloc of political forces seeking to put an end to the military regime, the tendency which became definitive in Brazil's political life in 1984. Its main expression in party terms was the irremediable fracture of the ruling Social Democratic Party (SDP).

These developments were, of course, also due to socio-economic causes. In the conditions of the crisis and economic recession, the regime's commitments to the imperialist circles forced it to conduct a monetary and financial policy infringing the interests of broad strata of the bourgeoisie, a government course which was most evident in its subservience to the IMF. As a result, a sizable section of the bourgeoisie, earlier a beneficiary of the regime's policies, began to abandon it. The urge for changes has become nation-wide due to factors like the sharp discontent of broad masses of people, organized pressure by the most militant contingents of the working class, and influence exerted through political channels opened up as a result of the 1982 elections.

The ruling regime was in no sense a passive observer of these developments. It acted on every front, resorting to threats and graft, and trying to find allies. But it failed to alter the course of events. The changes taking place in society began to have an influence on those who supported the military re-

gime which had outlived itself. They failed to preserve even a facade of unity, as they had hoped to do at one time. Under various pretexts (ranging from ideological differences to references to the glaring but never-punished corruption), some prominent members of the regime refused to act as "generals in a failing army."

Consequently, the political shifts which became evident in 1984 had resulted from a long process, in the course of which the struggle between the government's project for a reform from the top and the aspirations of the masses ended in a defeat for the forces seeking to keep the regime going.

The campaign for direct presidential elections started by the memorable events in Praça da Sé in Sao Paulo in January 1984 set in motion such broad popular strata throughout the country that even many professional politicians were amazed. It was a movement expressing the urge of the overwhelming majority of the nation for change and for democracy.

The masses saw the slogan of a re-establishment of direct presidential elections as something that was much broader than the problem of electing the President of the Republic. Their involvement in diverse acts under this slogan most visually demonstrated their rejection of the government's financial and economic policy and their protest against the economic recession and unemployment.

That is precisely why the refusal of the National Congress to approve a constitutional amendment re-establishing direct elections did not amount to a defeat of that massive campaign, which found a new course and provided extensive support to the most far-sighted political forces in the country which had decided to carry the struggle into the electoral college itself. The popular masses became aware of the meaning of that step and supported the single candidature of the democratic forces without hesitation. One must bear in mind that the communists supported the candidacy of Tancredo Neves even before the official nomination.

The campaign for direct elections accelerated the expansion of the democratic forces' front. The split of the SDP and the formation of a splinter Liberal Front (LF) were the direct outcome of the campaign. It is highly unlikely that events would have developed in that way without broad action by the popular masses, which, in effect, impelled the vacillating strata of the SDP to break with the political project for preserving the regime. The agreement between the opposition and the SDP splinter group, written into the document known as "Commitment to the Nation," constituted the basis for a political minimum program ensuring the country's transition to democratic government.

The main reason why Maluf, the government candidate, was rejected by virtually the whole nation and his pretensions rendered untenable is that his candidacy was a quintessential expression of the regime itself. Throughout 1984, the people made no distinction between the candidate's cynicism and the government's demagogic rhetoric. Maluf's defeat was also a defeat for the idea of perpetuating the regime.

The enlargement of the democratic front with the inclusion in it of forces that had earlier supported the regime largely helped to neutralize the attempts to provoke a political crisis (which regimes in a state of decline always stand to gain from) or even a right-wing coup.

In mid-1984, when the nomination of Tancredo Neves was winning general support, many rumors were circulating about an imminent coup, and the alarming symptom was that these rumors coincided with a series of terroristic acts staged by the ultrarightists. However, these "feelers" which reaction put out proved useless in view of the lack of any real socio-political support for the attempts of new putschist gambles. Nor did anything come of the provocations staged against the communists in the early part of October in an effort to disrupt the normal run-up to the elections.

At the end of October, under the impact of these failures, the official circles found themselves in a mood of pessimism and a sense of it being "the end of the fiesta." It became obvious that because of the broad and growing political importance of the democratic front, a new pattern of forces had taken shape, and that the question of moving on to democratic government was an immediate item on the agenda.

The regime, unable to reproduce itself through a change of presidents, also began to swiftly lose control over the electoral college, which had been set up to rubberstamp its decisions. Because of their broad alliance, the democratic forces were able to act within the framework of the college without precipitating a political crisis.

The real prospects of new forces coming to power, which appeared with the nomination of Tancredo Neves and José Sarney,* signify in this context that a transition from the authoritarian regime to democracy could be effected institutionally.

That possibility became something of a unifying element for the highly diverse forces within the democratic front seeking to set up a new political and juridical order in the country. It is already fairly clearly formulated in the "Commitment to the Nation," and its cornerstone is the convocation of a Constituent Assembly. However, the document only sketches the main lines of the transition to democracy, and the real content and form of the process will depend on the influence which the individual trends of the Democratic Alliance will be able to gain in the new year.

Each of these trends does, of course, have its own political program, and their relations are already marked both by unity of action and by struggle. The more conservative circles want no more than a formal re-establishment of civil rights, while the popular masses seek real democracy meeting the aims of social movements.

In any case, one thing is quite certain: the struggle within the democratic forces' bloc should not harm their unity, because of the great difficulties the

transition to democracy in our country is bound to involve. Any disruption of the democratic forces' unity will have a negative effect on the dynamic of democratization and will play into the hands of the most reactionary circles of Brazilian society.

Judging by the results of 1985, the democratic forces' unity will continue to be under constant attack, as will be seen from the stand taken, in particular, by some opposition trends, which, because of misapprehension or erroneous tactics, are incapable of duly promoting the actual strengthening of the democratic trends to the fullest extent. These features are in evidence, on the one hand, in the social-democratic project of the Party of Democratic Trabalhism (PDT), and on the other, in the proposals put forward by the Working People's Party (WPP).

Throughout 1984, the communists were in a position to test their orientation, which is based on the analysis contained in the "Democratic Alternative for the Brazilian Crisis," and to become convinced that it is the right one. With their constant efforts to fortify the unity of the democratic front, the communists have played an important role in the practical formalization of the Democratic Alliance. The communists' flexible tactics have enabled them to advance unhampered from the direct elections campaign to activity within the framework of the electoral college, and this policy has naturally resulted in the nomination of a single democratic forces' candidate, as the communists have advocated all along.

Indeed, as we anticipated, neither the rhetorical leftism, nor the regime's putschist aspirations managed to make any headway. The slogan of "Direct Elections Now or Chaos" proved to be a flimsy one in the face of the Brazilian people's political maturity, while fear of the possibility of a resurgence of authoritarianism proved to be groundless. The year 1984 showed that the communists' line of political realism was the right one.

From the communists' standpoint, the democratic front is a necessary instrument, for it opens up a realistic prospect for accelerating the advance to democratic government. There is no doubt that just now it is the conservative elements that have the leadership within that association, but what is really important is that the front helps to eliminate the obstacles preventing the popular masses from moving into the political arena.

In other words, from the communists' standpoint, the transition period, whose most important element is the advent to power of a new government, opens up exceptionally favorable prospects for the popular forces. That is why we shall continue our efforts to preserve the unity of all democrats. At the same time, we shall take a resolute stand for the working people's basic political demands, the chief of which is the convocation of a freely elected Constituent Assembly taking sovereign decisions.

This political project, of which the legalization of the Brazilian Communist Party is an unquestionable and pressing part, reckons with the immediate prospects of democratization. The communists are aware that the vast problems inherited by a new government from the military regime can be solved

*José Sarney, a former president of the governmental SDP, and a leader of the breakaway Liberal Alliance. Elected Vice-President of Brazil together with Tancredo Neves, as his running-mate on the Democratic Alliance ticket. — Ed.

and the country released from its heavy burden only if there is unity of action by the democratic forces of the transition period. But one should also bear in mind that the country's problems will be solved

through the satisfaction of the popular demands, which have been suppressed for so long.

Abridged from *Voz da Unidad*
January 5, 1985

The Aim is Unity

A Joint Meeting of the Central Committees of the Dominican Communist Party and the Socialist Bloc

On December 2, 1984, the Central Committees of the Socialist Bloc (SB) and the Dominican Communist Party (DCP) met jointly for the first time in a seven-hour session at the DCP headquarters to effect a coming together, acquaintance and exchange of opinions between the leading bodies of the two Marxist-Leninist organizations of the Dominican Republic.

The meeting was planned and prepared by the Political Commissions of the SB and DCP Central Committees. Leaders of these bodies, primarily their General Secretaries, had already held constant, detailed and friendly exchanges of opinion in the Dominican Left Front (DLF) and along other channels and in various forms.

The discussion at the meeting was based on a broad range of questions previously outlined by the DCP CC Political Commission and including the most fundamental Marxist propositions, an analysis of the current situation and the tasks of the revolutionary movement.

The program of the meeting included familiarization with the personal and political biographies of the participants, followed by main addresses delivered on behalf of their respective Central Committees by SB and DCP General Secretaries comrades Rafael (Fafa) Taveras and Narciso Isa Conde, and by individual contributions by the other leaders present.

Relevant conclusions were drawn and resolutions adopted in line with the discussion, and these documents are to be prepared for publication by a two-man interparty commission.

The meeting took place in a warm, comradely atmosphere. All the speakers very enthusiastically noted its importance and historic significance.

Speaking on behalf of the Central Committee of the Socialist Bloc, comrade Fafa Taveras referred to the different historical origins and initial characteristics of the SB and the DCP, and listed the social strata in which each of them enjoys the greatest influence. He also pointed to the main directions of the joint work undertaken through the two parties' joint efforts and to concrete examples of their cooperation in various areas of work.

The SB General Secretary highlighted the programmatic coincidences and similarities of the DCP and the SB which are evident in their basic documents and in their evaluation of the present situation and the tasks of the revolutionary movement, in

their assessment of the Left in the country and on many other matters.

BASIS FOR UNITY

Comrade Taveras noted that there is more than sufficient basis for uniting the SB and the DCP in a single party, and expressed confidence that the difficulties will be overcome by both parties' unswerving desire for unity.

In conclusion, comrade Fafa Taveras stated that the process of unity begun should be extended to the Party of Dominican Working People (PDWP), which should be drawn into joint work rather than antagonized. He also referred to the great international response which the steps toward unity will evoke.

For his part, DCP General Secretary comrade Narciso Isa Conde made note of the "considerable coincidence of views" apparent in the joint practical efforts of the Left in the DLF, which, in his opinion, makes it possible to create a united organization that would be stronger than each party individually.

Comrade Isa Conde recalled the processes of unification in which the SB and the DCP had participated: the merger of the Communist Core of the Working People, the Socialist Party and the Socialist Movement of Working People into the SB and the unification of the Movement of Socialist Unity with the DCP. He emphasized the need for a serious and strict but at the same time resolute approach to this process. "We must not be hasty but we should nevertheless be decisive," Isa Conde said.

Comrade Isa Conde centered his presentation on the main points which the DCP CC believes should underlie the process of uniting the Communist Party and the SB. He highlighted the most important class, revolutionary and national characteristics that should be the principal features of the new organization.

The DCP General Secretary stressed the need to pursue an independent and creative line in the international communist movement, of which the DCP is a part, and to have one's own view on international developments and one's own opinion about existing socialist models.

Comrade Isa Conde stated that if a common view can be reached on these questions, it could serve as the basis for a general approach to the other problems. The differences that may arise on some of these problems, the DCP General Secretary pointed out, will not halt our advance. He said that there was

a need to analyze the political situation and formulate a practical course as the next necessary step.

Other matters, for example the problem of the name and symbols of the DCP and the SB, should, in Isa Conde's opinion, be resolved as the unification process deepens and strengthens.

The DCP General Secretary voiced the communists' opinion regarding the coincidence of positions, differences and shortcomings detected in the course of analyzing Socialist Bloc documents. He said, however, that possibilities exist for bringing the views closer together and overcoming the differences.

PINPOINT THE DIVERGENCES OF VIEW

In conclusion comrade Isa Conde proposed two directions for future work:

— first, bring out that which is common and clarify the divergences of view;

— second, work out a united approach in keeping with the forementioned criteria.

The other comrades who took the floor referred to questions raised by the General Secretaries, emphasizing some aspects of their addresses. The following points received most attention:

1. Political action as a catalyst promoting the creation of conditions for unity.

2. The need to make an immediate analysis of the main elements of the situation so as to accord with the requirements of the people's movement.

3. Importance of pinpointing the features of the organization to be created.

4. Guaranteeing inner-party democracy and freedom of criticism within the organization.

5. A correct, vigorous but not too hasty conduct of the unification process.

6. Strengthening of common positions, a reasonable approach to differences and shortcomings and formulation of the key propositions of a program.

7. The need for agreements on joint work in the Dominican Left Front and in mass organizations; creation of joint bodies at every level.

8. A correct approach to the DPWP and its inclusion in the unification process begun by the SB and the DCP.

9. Combating of defeatism and fatalism as an indispensable condition for a conscious approach to unity.

10. Emphasis on politics and a profound analysis of ideological questions as a means of surmounting existing obstacles.

CONCLUSIONS AND RESOLUTIONS

The first conclusion drawn from a summing up of the discourses by CC members of both parties is that there is sufficient basis for successfully uniting the DCP and the SB in a reasonable space of time.

This basis lies in the evident coincidence of views both on ideological matters (attitude to Marxist-Leninist theory) and on the main programmatic questions — assessment of the present situation, state of the revolutionary movement and its tasks in mobilizing the progressive popular forces, and also

on the specific problem of unity of the revolutionary Left and the people's movement.

Evident also are significant coincidences in position on the question of alliances and an assessment of the regional and international situation, the role of solidarity and coordination of action with the revolutionary movement of Central America and the Caribbean.

Another conclusion drawn was the determination of both parties to take a conscious approach to existing differences and shortcomings and to tackle and overcome them in a revolutionary manner while maintaining unity.

It was decided that all questions deserving of discussion will be included in a list of subjects which both parties' CC Political Commissions are to prepare as an integral part of a general approach to all debatable problems relating to the organization of joint actions during the process of unification.

The joint plenary meeting of the Commissions will serve as a mechanism for coordinating this process and guiding the fulfillment of its tasks, the option remaining to convene a joint plenary meeting of both Central Committees when this is deemed necessary, opportune and convenient.

The Political Commissions are also charged with the analysis and discussion of the political situation, setting the immediate tasks and determining the prospects and strategic goals of our organizations.

In addition, it is a task of the Commissions to include the Party of Dominican Working People in the unification process. That party will be furnished with objective information about the meeting that has taken place and its results in order to create the atmosphere of trust necessary for its inclusion in the unification of all three of our organizations.

Stress was also placed on the need to coordinate the Political Commissions' joint actions in the Dominican Left Front so as to strengthen its unity and ensure that the Front organizations successfully carry out their tasks, and also to secure the Front's further development as the main instrument of struggle of the revolutionary people's forces.

It was decided to sum up the results of the meeting in order to provide precise information about it to all SB and DCP primary organizations. Both parties' organizations at every level are encouraged to follow this example, discuss the results of the meeting and take relevant steps toward unification.

Immediately after the meeting both parties will exchange their basic documents to facilitate the actions agreed on at the meeting and a better mutual familiarization of DCP and SB members with the parties' ideological and political concepts and positions.

At a convenient date a meeting will be held between the two parties' chief activists in the mass organizations in order to brief them and step up joint actions. This will be used to prepare similar meetings in every area of the parties' work among the masses, primarily among the workers.

Emphasis was laid on the need to exert great efforts to avoid duplication and parallel actions during the unification process, bearing in mind the level of

unity already achieved in the DLF.

The Political Commissions are responsible for making the results of the meeting public.

The Central Committees of both parties decided to dedicate their first joint meeting to the national

heroines, the Mirabal sisters, as a homage to their memory.

December 2, 1984
Hablan los comunistas,
December 13-20, 1984

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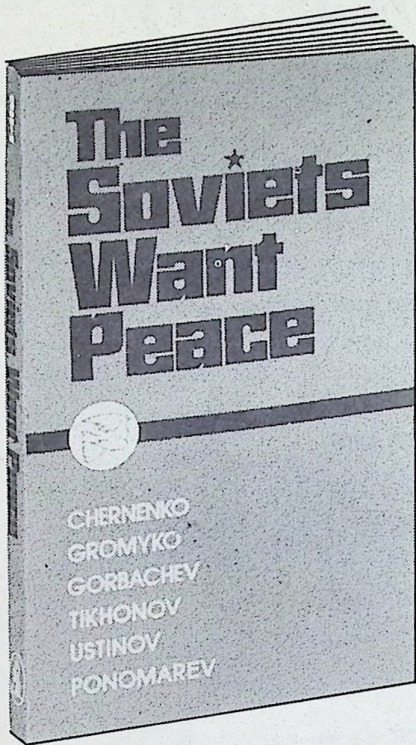
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